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THE MODERN REVIEW

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A Monthly Review and Miscellany

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

EDITED BY

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

ऋते ज्ञानान्न मुक्तिः
पुस्तक सं०.....
आगत सं०.....
तिथि०.....
गुरुकुल ग्रन्थालय कांगड़ी.

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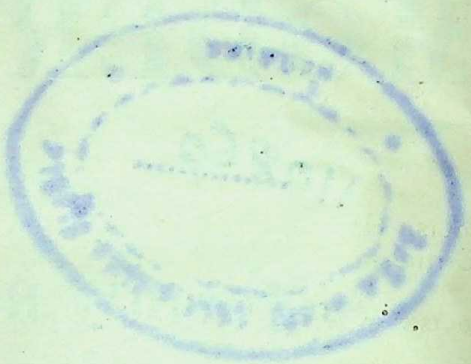
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SIVA AND PARVATI.

Ascribed to Mola Ram of Gahrwal, (D. 1833).

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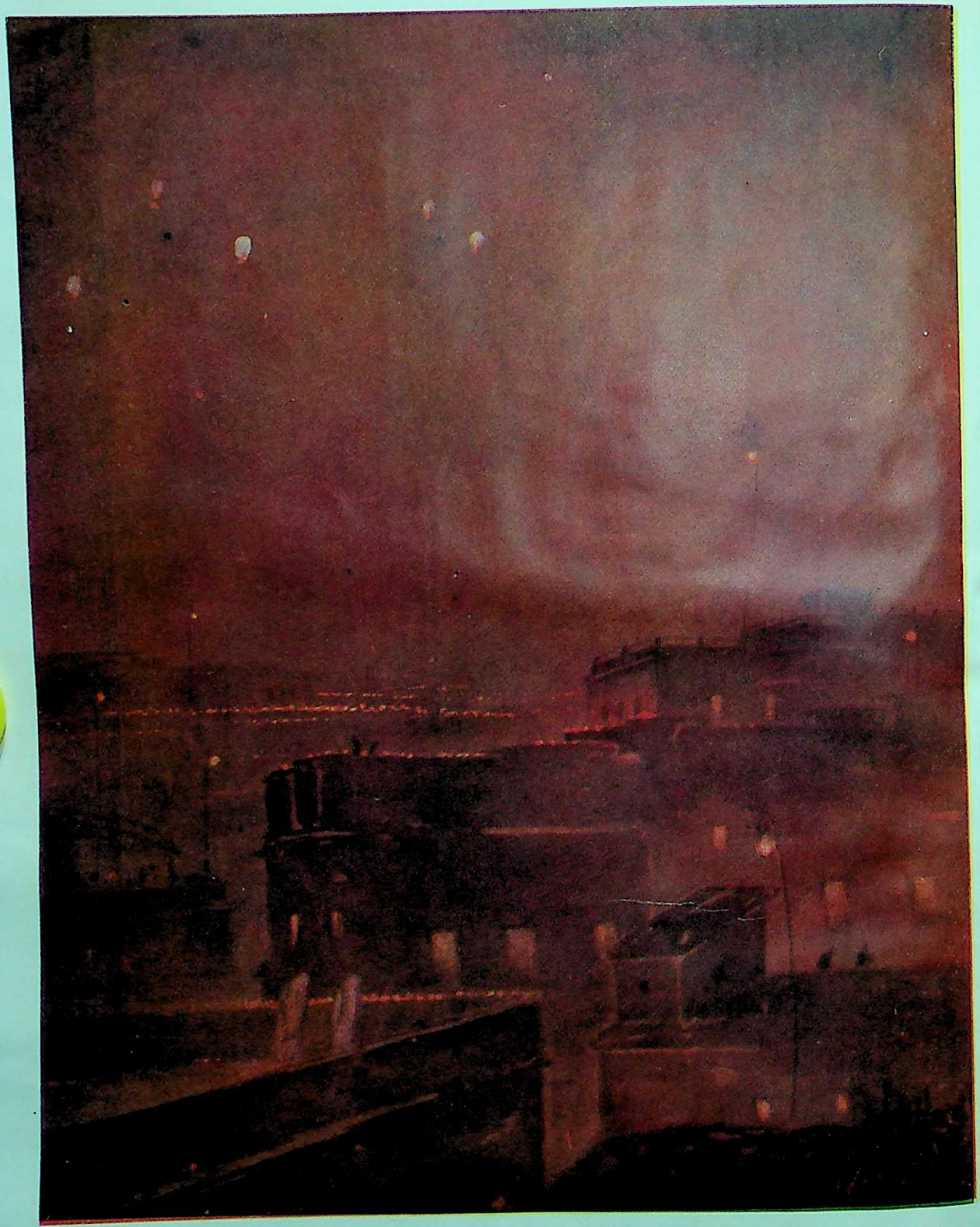
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DEWALI.

(Festival of Lamps).

From a watercolor by Babu Gaganendranath Tagore.

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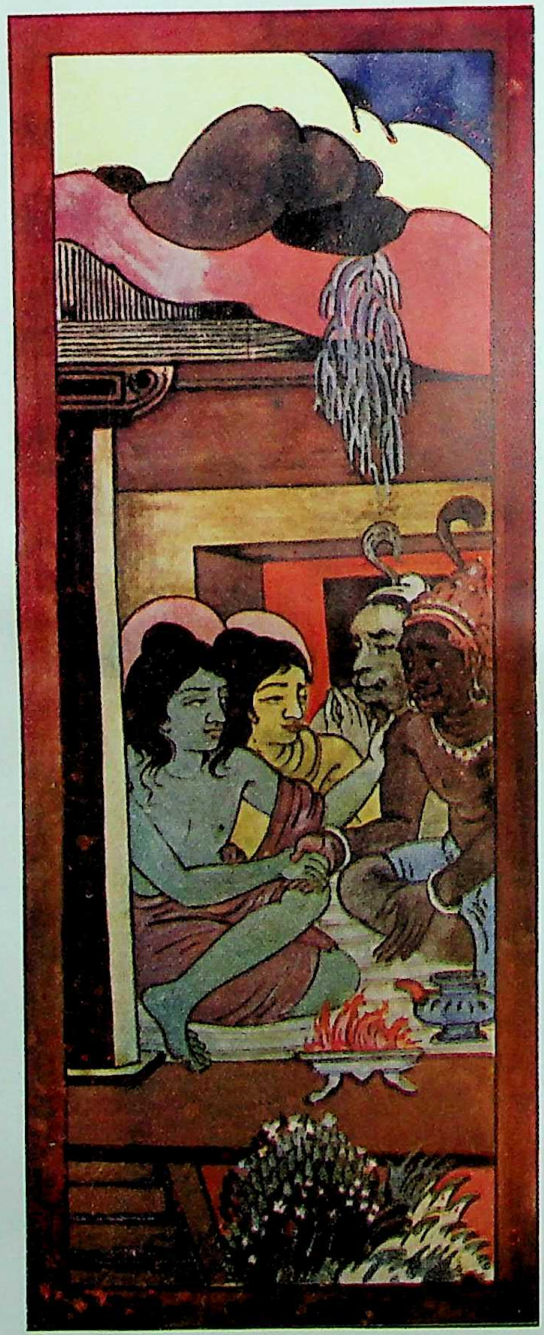
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RAMA AND SUGRIBA SWEARING FRIENDSHIP.

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The Temptation.

Copied from an old water-colour, by Babu Nandolal Bose.

Three colour blocks by U. Ray and Sons. *Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.*

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KALIYA DAMANA :

OR

QUELLING OF THE SERPENT KALIYA BY KRISHNA.

By M. Ganguly.

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HOPE.

After the Original Painting in the Tate Gallery by G. F. Watts, R.A.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XII. No. 1 JULY, 1912 WHOLE No. 67

THE BUILDING OF THE NEW CAPITALS

THE building of the New Delhi and of the Capitals of the New Indian Provinces recently constituted will be an epoch-making event of supreme importance for the artistic and industrial future of India. The decision as to whether this wonderful opportunity shall give a tremendous impulse to the revival of art and craft in India, and establish once and for all a sound basis for art and technical education, or whether it shall merely extend the long existing maladministration of the Public Works Department in architectural matters to much wider areas now lies in the lap of the gods.

It is a fact that hitherto neither the Government of India nor any of the local administrations have had any settled opinion on this architectural question, the right solution of which is the key to many others in which both the economic and intellectual interests of India are deeply concerned. The decision as to the style to be adopted in public buildings has never yet been made on the only right and relevant issue for Indian administrators to consider, namely, what style will make best use of the artistic and economic resources of the country and develop the latent creative power of Indian craftsmen to the fullest extent? It has always depended upon totally irrelevant and arbitrary side-issues such as, what style appeals most to the personal taste of the Head of the Department or Government concerned? Or, what style is most familiar and congenial to the departmental officer, expert or non-expert in architectural matters, who is called on to design the building. The recent declaration of the Viceroy that the question will be seriously considered and that personally His Excellency is inclined towards the adoption of an oriental style for the new buildings at Delhi, augurs well for a right conclusion.

If the case is decided solely on the advantages which India will derive from a great impetus to Indian art and craftsmanship, there can be but one result. The present danger seems to be that the obvious merits of the case may be over-ridden by the *ex-parte* advocacy of experts unfamiliar with Indian conditions, or by the influence of the long tradition of a vicious departmental system. That this pernicious influence is still lurking in the background of official counsels seems to be clear from the latter part of the answer given by Sir Robert Carlyle to Sir G. M. Chitnavis' question in the Imperial Legislative Council in February last, concerning the employment of Indian builders at Delhi and other places:—

"The architects to be employed will be selected solely with regard to their qualifications for that important work and for dealing with the numerous complex problems connected with the design and construction of buildings adapted to suit modern requirements. Government have every desire to encourage the revival of Indian art in the Public Works Department and elesewhere, and will take every opportunity of doing so with a due regard to economy in the expenditure of public funds."

Reading between the lines of this reply it is easy to see the promptings of the old P. W. D. tradition. Writ clearly we have

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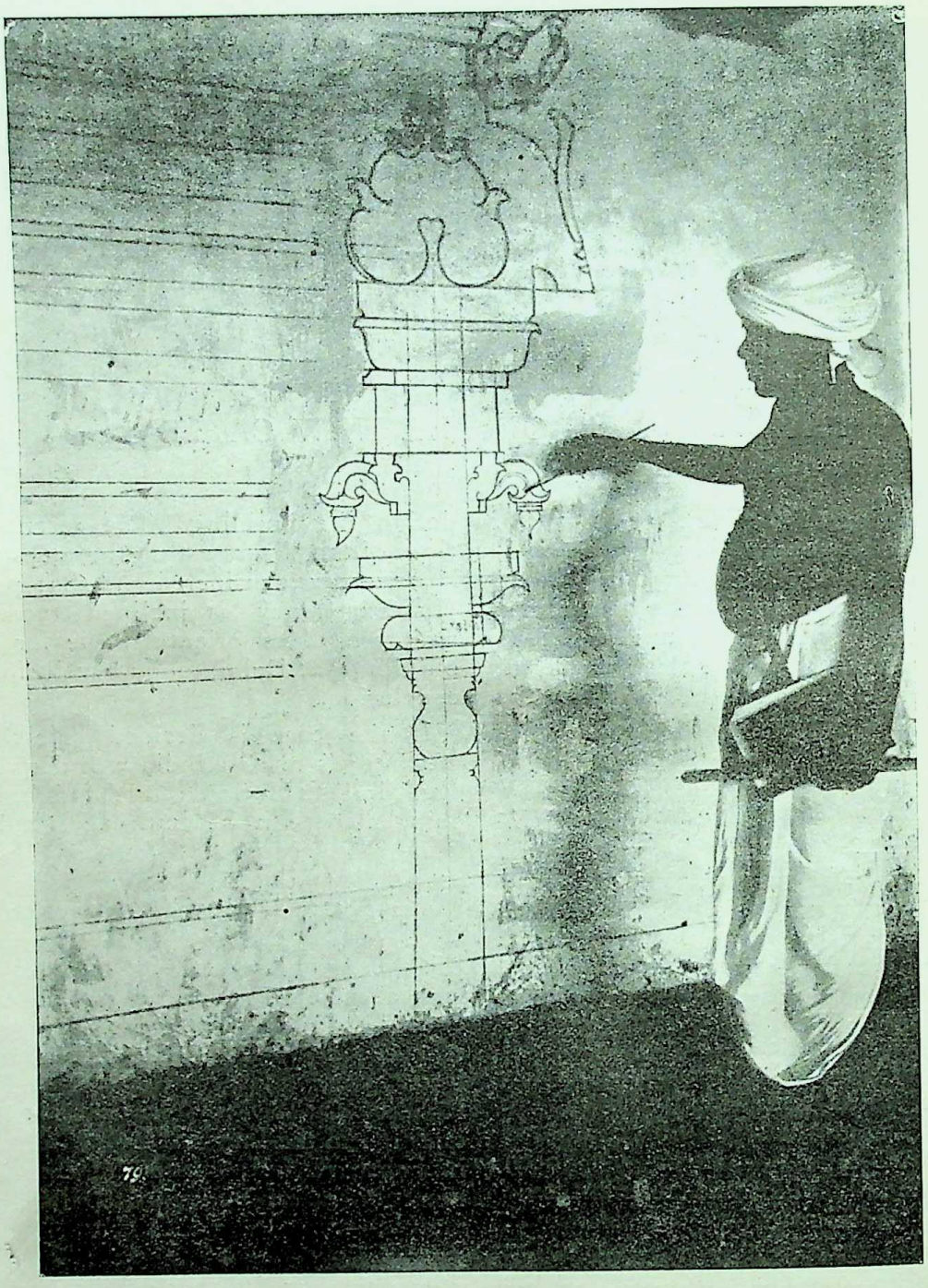


Fig. 1.—A South Indian Sthapati, or master-builder, drawing designs for a new temple in accordance wi measurements given in Silpa Sastras. He carries a brush, a foot rule, a set square and a book. H draws on the stone wall with the brush in red, and workmen cut accordingly.
[*From a photograph by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*]

the two ancient departmental fallacies:—First, that Indian styles are unsuitable for and unadaptable for modern practical requirements. Second, that an Indian style is necessarily an expensive one, and therefore the D. P. W. has been and still is, th careful guardian of the public purse.

Any architect fully acquainted with India conditions outside the area of D. P. W influence, and any layman who has take

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Fig. 2.—South Indian Masons carrying out the Sthapati's designs.
[*From a photograph by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*]

the trouble to follow what I have written previously on this subject* or is tolerably well acquainted with the departmental history and procedure, will be able to expose the essential errors of these two propositions from all points of view, architectural, artistic or economic. In view of the Viceroy's subsequent declaration in the Budget debate we may hope that such familiar departmental excuses are now only used for rhetorical purposes. Assuming that in this matter the right will at last prevail, we can very well leave departmental apologists to themselves and pass on to discuss briefly a few of the practical issues which will arise in carrying out the new policy.

I take it for granted that for many practical reasons the controlling architectural authority in such matters must, for a time at least, remain European. The first difficulty which an European architect always has to meet is the question of style—an Indian architect has no such difficulty, for his traditional practice settles it for him. With a European the case is different; when he is asked to design a building in an Indian style, he must ask himself—what Indian style? Shall it be an old one, like the buildings of Akbar's famous city at Fatehpur-Sikri, or a modern one such as he will find practised by the living Indian masterbuilders of the present day? He will of course find out at once that neither the one nor the other is exactly suitable for European requirements in India. What then must he do? Akbar had just the same difficulty to meet—none of the Hindu building styles existing in his time were exactly suitable for the Mogul habits or the

* See *Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education*: G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

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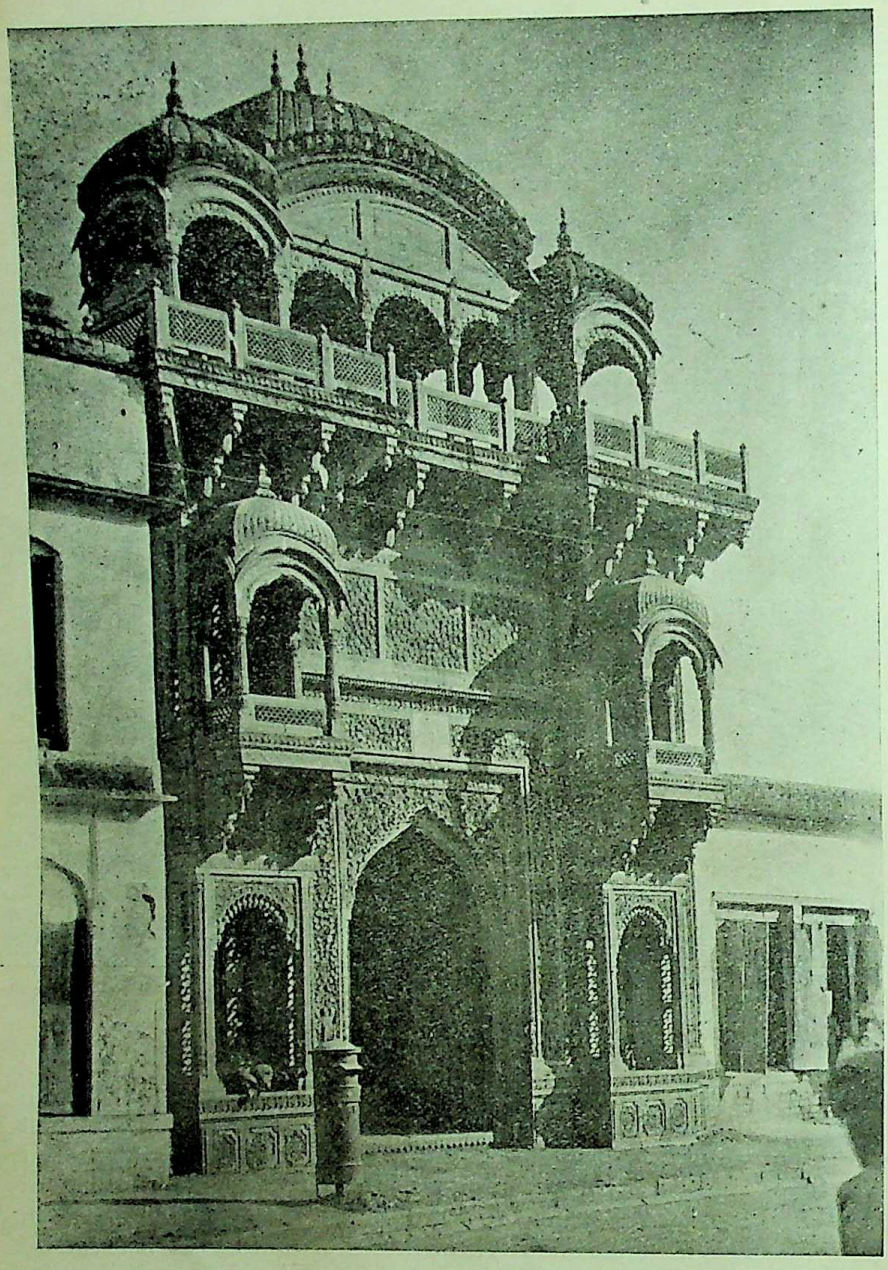


Fig. 3.—A Modern Indian Building at Benares.
[*From a photograph by Mr. O. C. Gangoly.*]

requirements of the Mogul Court. Akbar, being a wise and practical ruler, made the best use of the artistic resources at his disposal: he made all his architects, Hindu, Arabian, and Persian, put their heads together and create a new style which suited Mogul life in India. This is the style which we call Mogul, though it was not Mogul, but created for the Moguls by the architects they employed, the great majority of whom were Indians and Hindus.

The European architects who are employed in superintending the building of the new capitals, if they will utilise Indian resources to the best advantage, will, like Akbar's Court architects, join together with the best Indian master-builders of the present day in creating a new Indian style suitable for Anglo-Indian departmental needs. Of course, it should not be a stereotyped "official" style for all India, but varied in different localities to suit local conditions, local materials and local styles of Indian craftsmanship.

The difficulty of getting into touch with the best Indian builders should be greatly lessened by the fact that last year at the instance of the India Society of London, the officers of the Archæological Survey were instructed to take photographs of interesting modern buildings, designed and built by living Indian builders, and to collect information with regard to these builders. By this time there should be a mass of material of this kind which will be of the highest practical value for those who control the designs of the new buildings now required by Government.

There are three classes of Indian builders of the present day:—1st, the *Sthapatis* or architects attached to Hindu temples, who build and restore temples, bathing tanks and rest-houses for pilgrims, etc. They are generally most admirable craftsmen. 2nd, the ordinary *mistris* who are builders and designers of houses in Indian styles, both

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Hindu and Muhammadan, as well as Muhammadan mosques. 3rd, a very miscellaneous rabble employed by P. W. D. Contractors in Government buildings, with no traditions except those of the D. P. W. and of whom the description given by the Consulting Architect to the Government of India, Mr. Begg, "that they are masters of one art only—that of scamping—" may sometimes be justly applied. The first two classes are of a totally different order. I have often found among them men of a much higher artistic intelligence and more practical skill than is usual in craftsmen of a similar class with whom the architect has to work in Europe. Mr. Begg appears to have been unusually unfortunate, for other architects with longer Indian experience like W. R. F. Chisholm, formerly Consulting Architect to the Government of Madras, have testified that the labour procurable in India is "of a highly intelligent order." Any architect in Europe would rejoice to have such men as the best Indian master-builders for collaborators: modern European architecture would be much better than it is if such a large class of the finest craftsmen existed now in Europe. If the Public Works Department is to succeed in promoting the revival of Indian art, Government architects must employ craftsmen not only in mechanically copying their own paper designs, but as artistic collaborators who can take as much delight in real creative work as any artists in the world. For ten years, in the Madras School of Arts, and afterwards in Calcutta, I was working side by side with men of this class, and I always look back to that time as the best time of my artistic life. Fergusson said truly that one can learn more from these men of real practical art than from any books ever written. It is among such men as these that the Consulting Architect would find the competent trained assistants, first-rate designers and builders, so urgently needed by his department. No architects in the world could desire better assistants: the only danger of employing them would be that occasionally the assistant-builders might prove to be the better architects, but that is a risk which the public service might reasonably take.

In Fig. 1. I give an illustration of a Hindu *Sthapati*, or architect of the present day, at work drawing designs on a wall for a temple pillar. Fig. 2. shows the masons working out other details from the *Sthapati's* designs. The photographs were taken last year in Southern India by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, to whom I am indebted for the use of them. Fig. 3. is a very good example of modern Indian domestic architecture in Northern India. It is from a new building in Benares and is reproduced from the excellent article by Mr. Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly which appeared in the March number of this Review. These will suffice to show that the Indian master-builder is not—as another official expert, Mr. Chatterton, the Director of Industries in Madras, has declared,—only a figment of my imagination.

E. B. HAVELL.

THE HOUSE-FLY IN RELATION TO PUBLIC HEALTH

THE study of insects is becoming more interesting and more fully recognised, as science brings forth the facts of interrelationships, both advantageous and destructive. Mosquitoes and flies have for centuries past been looked upon as a source of extreme annoyance to the human family, but that these insects might be transmitters of disease was hardly even suspected until the latter part of the last century. It has been found by investigations that the insects of particular species are the sole transmitters of specific diseases as malaria, yellow fever, sleeping-sickness, filariasis, etc. This needs the study of medicine, mainly the etiology and pathology of such diseases, of bacteriology, inasmuch as the causative germs must be studied, and of entomology, inasmuch as the mouthparts and other structures of the insect must be

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known as well as its systematic relationships.

It is not strange to say that malaria, typhoid fever, yellow fever, bubonic plague, sleeping-sickness, cholera, are all preventible diseases, carried wholly or in part by insects. Our effort must be directed toward the root of all evil—to the cause, "eliminate the cause and you eliminate the disease."

Methods of disease transmission.—Broadly speaking there are two ways of disease transmission in which insects are concerned, *viz.*, a direct and indirect method, based on the structure of mouthparts. The direct method depends upon the piercing mouth-structures (Fig. 1) capable of penetrating the animal skin and introducing into the

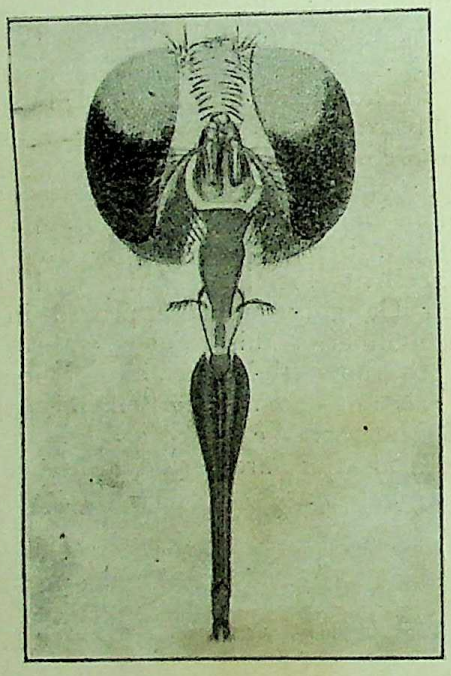


Fig. 1.—Head of the stable fly, *stomoxys calcitrans*, illustrating the type of piercing mouthparts which relate to the direct transmission of pathogenic organisms. The sheath or *labium* encloses slender piercing bristles.

circulation a pathogenic organism. The indirect method is based on the accidental accumulation of pathogenic organisms upon feet (Fig. 2) or mouthparts (Fig. 3) and introducing these on the food of the human being, relating mainly, therefore, to intestinal diseases, such as typhoid fever, Asiatic (India) cholera, dysentery, etc. Other than this, insects may act as parasites, both external (lice, etc.) and internal (bot-flies, etc.) causing irritations and diseases or they may produce wounds by the introduction of a specific poison through the bite, as does the bed bug (Indian relapsing fever) and the like.

As for illustration of the two principal methods, take the stable-fly on the one hand—for the direct method, and the house-fly on the other—for the indirect method.

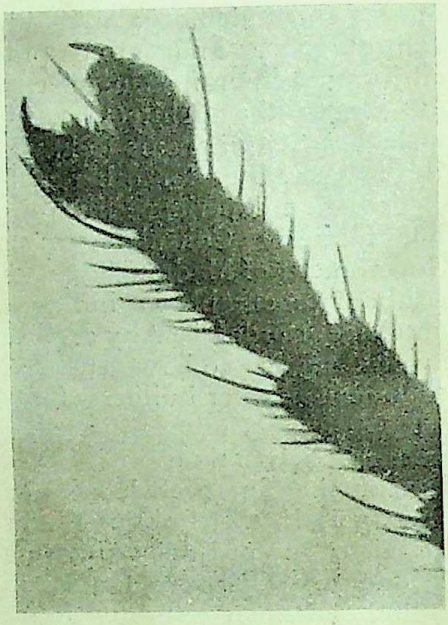


Fig. 2.—Foot of the house fly greatly enlarged. Note the many fine hairs with which the foot pads are provided.

The former penetrates the skin and introduces into the blood pathogenic organisms which attack the red corpuscles or other liquid portions of the body, such as the cerebro-spinal fluid. The stable-fly is known to transmit a trypanosome disease (surra) of the Philippine Islands, and a closely related genus, the glossina or tsetse-fly, transmits other diseases such as the sleeping-sickness of Africa. The latter (indirect) is represented by the house-fly, an important transmitter of intestinal diseases, because it is readily attached to the excrementous matter, vomit and sputum, etc., collecting the germs upon its mouth-parts and feet as shown in figs. indicated, and then carrying them to the food of human beings, thus causing infection.

It is necessary for one interested in the subject to know the distinction between the

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vegetable pathogenic (disease producing) organisms, such as the bacteria, and the animal pathogenic organisms, such as the protozoans, since the two classes vary considerably in their longevity and virulence when outside the human body, and behave differently within the bodies of different insects, *e.g.*, typhoid fever is a bacterial disease, the causative germs of which outside the body are present in the excrement and urine; malaria on the other hand, is a protozoan disease which cannot live outside the human body, except in the mosquito of the genus Anopheles.

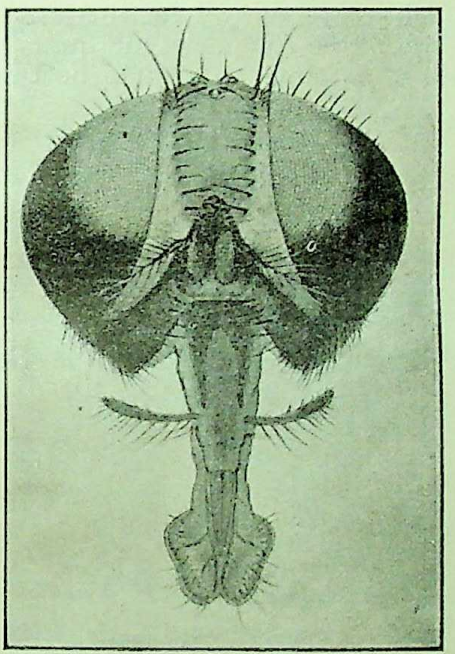


Fig. 3.—Head of the house fly, *Musca domestica*, illustrating the type of suctorial mouthparts *not* adapted to piercing the human skin; but because of the presence of numerous bristles and hairs a good collector of filth and germs relating to the indirect transmission of disease.

What is a house-fly?—Properly speaking only one species of fly (musca domestica Linn.) is rightly called the house-fly, although there are several species which are seen occasionally in the house as those of the flesh-fly or green-fly (lucillia caesar), blow-fly or blue bottle-fly (calliphora vomitoria), the stable-fly (stomoxys-calcitrans) and several other species belonging to the following genera: pollenia, morellia and muscina belong to the same family as the house-fly, namely, Muscidæ; while others such as homalomyia and anthomyia belong to another family, namely, Anthomyidæ.

Life history or development.—By life history is meant the development of the organism from the egg to the adult. It has a complex metamorphosis and passes through several stages, *viz.*, the egg, the larva (maggot), the pupa (resting stage) and the imago or full grown winged insect as shown in fig. 4. (After Herms).

From 75 to 125 eggs are deposited singly in one mass. Excrementous material, especially of the horse and cow, is the favorite place upon which the eggs are deposited. Other suitable situations are kitchen refuse and decaying vegetable matters. The eggs hatch in from 12 to 24 hours and the newly hatched larvæ begin feeding at once.

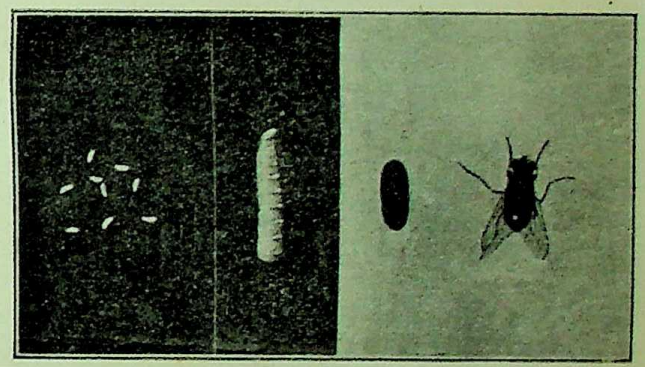


Fig. 4.—Illustrating the life history of the house fly: egg stage; larval stage or maggot, full grown; resting stage or pupa; the imago or adult.

To gain an estimate of the number of larvæ developing in an average horse manure pile, samples were taken from such a pile after an exposure of four days with the following results: First sample (4 lbs.) contained 6,873 larvæ; second sample (4 lbs.) 1,142; third sample (4 lbs.) 1,585; fourth sample (3 lbs), 682; total 10,282 larvæ in 15 pounds. This gives an average of 685 larvæ per pound. The weight of the entire pile was estimated at not less than 1,000 pounds, of which two-thirds was infested. A little arithmetic gives the astonishing estimate of 455,525 larvæ (685 × 665) or in round numbers, 450,000. (Herms, 1910). In last February 1912, one of our graduate stndents, Mr. S. N. Guha, found in his experimental work 30,000 larvæ in 3½ lbs of horse manure.

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The larval stage is the growing period of the adult and the size of the adult depends entirely on the size that the larva attains. An underfed larva will result in an undersized adult, which fact is well illustrated in Fig. 5 (after Herms.) The growing stage requires from 4 to 6 days after which the



Fig. 5.—Illustrating the effect that underfeeding the larva has on the size of the adult fly (Lucilia Cæsar). Overfeeding, if it does not result fatally, does not increase the size of the fly over the Optimum, as may be seen by the uppermost individual, which is the same size as the next lower individual or optimum. Each of the next lower individuals is the result of decreasing the time of feeding by six hours. These results are based on a large number of individuals in each case.

maggots often crawl away from their breeding place. The average time required for development is differently estimated by various observers inasmuch as temperature greatly influences the time required. When the fly emerges from the pupa case with fully developed wings, it is as large as it ever will be. This explains why

young house-flies are seen (young in the sense of being small). The little flies upon the windows are not "baby" flies, but belong to another species, also adult. The house-flies are all of one size owing to the fact that the maggots find ample food for optimum development. In the adult state they live from 3 to 4 weeks.

Relation to disease transmission.—We should be familiar with the actual method of disease transmission by the house-fly. Some insects act as intermediate host for pathogenic organisms, which cannot be transmitted without the insect, *e.g.*, the malarial fever parasite (plasmodium malaria) which passes part of its life history in the body of the Anopheles mosquito. The house-fly is not an intermediate host but by

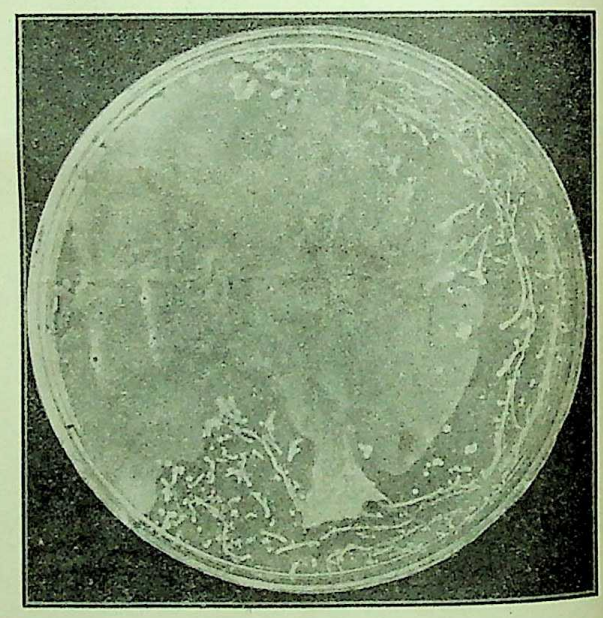


Fig. 6.—Cultures of *Micrococcus aurens* transferred by a house fly to a sterile agar-agar plate upon which it was allowed to crawl for three minutes. Incubation period 24 hours.

habit and structure transmits diseases by spreading the pathogenic organisms. In habit the house-fly feeds on excrement of all kinds and is on the other hand, attracted to the daintiest foods of man, and thus pass back and forth between the two extremes. The house-fly proboscis is provided with fine hairs (Fig. 3) which serve as collectors of germs. Each of the six feet is provided with bristly structures and pads which secrete sticky material adding thus to the power which completes the require-

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ments in transmitting infectious diseases. Although the house-fly is an innocent scavenger, yet circumstantial evidence against this insect as a transmitter of such diseases as typhoid fever, tuberculosis, dysentery, diarrhœa and cholera, etc., is already convincing. After knowing this we ought to get rid of this wolf in sheep's skin.

To illustrate that the house-fly does carry bacteria one of the simple experiments may be cited.

In order to show this a partly sterilized fly (Musca domestica) was placed in a test tube containing a culture of a known kind

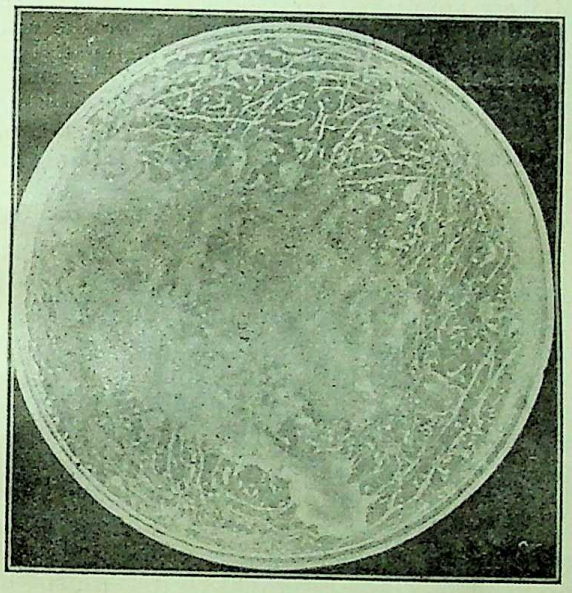


Fig. 7.—Cultures of *Bacillus prodigeosus* transferred by a house fly to a sterile agar-agar plate upon which it was allowed to crawl for only a few moments. Incubation period 24 hours.

of bacteria (Micrococcus Aurens). After walking about in the tube and becoming contaminated with the Micrococci, the fly was transferred to a sterile agar-agar plate upon which it was allowed to crawl about three minutes. The plate was then incubated for twenty-four hours, after which it was examined and photographed as is shown in Fig. 6. The photograph shows the trail of the fly as it had walked about and every place that the foot touched is plainly marked by a vigorous bacterial growth.

The same experiment was performed with another kind of bacteria (Bacillus prodigeosus) with results as is shown in Fig. 7.

The diseases transmitted and the symptoms and methods are briefly described in the following :—

(1) Typhoid fever.—The causative organism (Bacillus Typhonis) is found outside the human body "only in those situations where it could be more or less directly traced to an origin in the discharge of a typhoid patient or convalescent." Besides this the majority of typhoid fever epidemics are traceable to water infection. Within the human body the typhoid bacilli are found in the intestine, urinary bladder and blood stream (Jordan). The bacilli are discharged from the body with the fæces and the urine and are often present in such discharges for 10 weeks and in chronic cases for at least two years after recovery. These facts show the part played by this fly in typhoid transmission. The fly being contaminated with the bacilli at once go to the dining room or to the grocery stores and deposit the deadly poison on the foods. Thus during the Spanish American War (Veeder) flies were seen to crawl over the foods with lime covered feet. The whitened feet were the result of lime and filth collected from the camp latrines. The depredations of typhoid fever at that time mark the beginning of a wide-spread campaign against the house-fly in America.

The pollution of the waters of New York harbor has been reported by Jackson ('09), in which he showed that the sewage is not carried away by the tides and that in many points sewer out-falls have not been carried below the low water mark, in consequence of which the solid matters from the sewers were exposed on the shores. These deposits were found covered with flies, thus affording ample opportunity for the transmission of typhoid.

(2) Dysentery.—There are two kinds of dysentery, one of which is caused by an organism bacillus dysenteriæ) prevalent in temperate climates and the other caused by a protozoan organism (entomeba histolytica) prevalent in the tropics. The causative organisms of both are found largely in the stool of patients and are transmitted by flies in the same way as that of typhoid.

(3) Summer diarrhœa in infants.—Thousands of infants die every summer of this

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disease. The causative organism (a type of bacilli dysenteriæ) is found in the stool of patients. The flies are often attracted to the excrement and are equipped with the bacilli. They are always found to sit on the mouth or other part of the body of the infants (particularly on the mouth, being attracted by the milk-vomit). Keep the flies away from the babies by the use of screens and nettings and thus avoid the danger. It is better not to allow the fly to crawl around the child's face and hands.

(4) Tuberculosis.—Tuberculosis is caused by a specific organism which is found in the lungs, intestines, liver and urogenital organs. The causative organisms (bacillus tuberculosis) find their way outside the body of the patient through the sputum, the fæces and the urine. Sputum has been found to contain living tubercle bacilli even after being allowed to putrefy for several weeks. (Muir and Ritchie, '07).

"Von Behring maintains that the vast majority of all cases of lung tuberculosis are of intestinal origin, and that there is no doubt that pulmonary tuberculosis can originate from swallowing tubercle bacilli". (Jordan, '08).

It has been proved by Spillman and Hanshalter (1887) and lately by Nuttall and Howard that the house-fly can carry with it in its intestinal tract the bacillus tuberculosis.

(5) Asiatic cholera.—This type of cholera is both endemic and epidemic in India and has spread in other parts of Asia and over a larger part of Africa and Europe. It is needless to mention the number of deaths every year in our country from this dreaded disease, which sweeps away villages after villages without any interruption. The disease relates to the intestinal tract and is of bacterial origin (spirillum choleræ). This organism leaves the body with the stools and infection is traceable to this source. "Upon the surface of vegetables and fruits kept in a cool moist place, experiments have shown that the spirillum may retain its vitality from 4 to 7 days. (Jordan '08). The eminent authority Nuttall ('99) has stated, "the body of evidence here presented as to the role of flies in the diffusion of cholera is, I believe, absolutely convincing." In such deadly cases separation of patients is necessary by all means. The clothes used are either to be burnt at once or to be boiled in a separate tank for a length of time.

(6) Other diseases transmitted.—The pus forming or suppurative bacteria (staphylocoeci) cause a specific eye disease of Egypt which is also transmitted by the common house-fly (Nuttull, '99).

Under certain conditions it is very probable that the house-fly may transmit leprosy, erysipelas, anthrax, small-pox and framboeria (yaws). Dr. E. P. Felt ('09) writes--

"It is held that flies may under certain conditions convey plague, trachoma, septicemia, erysipelas, leprosy, and there are reasons for thinking that this insect (house-fly) may possibly be responsible for the more frequent new cases of small-pox occurring in the near vicinity of a hospital. Besides this it may be added that itches, boils, etc., may be transmitted by the house-fly".

Essentials of control.—The methods of control are planned along the lines set forth by the study of the life history and habits of the insect. The house-fly can be controlled without question but a joint effort of both the municipality and the individual citizens are essentially necessary. This may be added that the life history and habits of the insect are to be studied, of which the ignorance is prevalent among the educated as well as among the uneducated.

About 90 % of our house-flies develop in the manures of horses, cows, etc., and the rest in kitchen refuse, garbage and excrement of man. The open manure pile must be abolished and stables and cowsheds are to be cleaned properly. Receptacles for the disposal of kitchen refuse are urgently necessary for every private house and it must be kept tightly closed with a cover so that this can not get in and lay eggs. These containers are to be emptied twice or at least once a week and the refuse matters are to be buried in an out-of-the-way place.

It is absolutely necessary to make a good system for the disposal of human excreta and the surroundings of such places are to be kept clean too by all means. When an open privy is unavoidable, the dung should be treated with 'chloride of lime' or even an ounce of kerosene will serve well; either must be applied twice a week. Besides this 2 % solution of Formalin may be used with a good effect.

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Insecticides.—Chemicals used to destroy the larvæ may be roughly divided into two classes, *viz.* (1) Contact poisons and (2) Stomach poisons. To the first class belong such preparations as kerosene and cresol soap, also chloride of lime. To the second class belong the arsenicals represented by arsenate of lead and Paris green which is not recommended.

The larvæ can be destroyed by a compound prepared in the following manner:— Formula: Dissolve one half pound of caustic potash in one half pint of water, let stand several hours until it dissolves and gets cold; add this to one quart of raw linseed oil contained in an earthenware vessel stirring the while, and repeat the stirring process at intervals of about one hour for from four to five hours, then let stand overnight. Add one and a quarter quarts of commercial cresol or any other soap slowly and stir in the meantime. For use this compound must be diluted at the rate of one part to thirty of water. Apply this on the manure pile or any other place where larvæ are found. Poultry must not be allowed to feed on the larvæ thus treated. This liquid used at the rate of one part to one hundred parts of water, is also serviceable as a germicide applied as a spray about poultry houses. Chloride of lime and two percent Formalin solution are also effective in killing the larvæ.

As for the adult house-flies they should be prevented from laying their eggs by spraying in the above method. The use of screens in the windows and wire gauze screen-doors are of the utmost importance to keep the flies out and where it is not practicable the foods at least must be preserved in such wire cases as need be. Sticky fly-paper and certain traps still serve a good purpose in the private houses. Any preparation of arsenical poison is not recommended at all.

Various fumes created by burning one or other of the following materials will stupify the flies.—pyrethrum (Persian pyrethrum or Buhach of California), Jamestown weed leaves (Datura) mixed with crystals of saltpetre. The fly-fighting committee of American Civic Association recommends the following: Heat a shovel or some such large iron-filing and drop thereon 20 drops of carbolic acid; the vapor kills the flies.

Some simple precautions.—It is highly important that the sick-rooms should be well screened, especially in the case of transmissible diseases. Any flies found to enter in such a case must be killed to protect the outside world. Pus rags, bandages, sputum, clothes and the like should not be thrown here and there or should not be washed in a public pond. These must be either burnt or boiled in a separate tank and washed in an out-of-the-way place, so that no contamination may occur.

In conclusion, this much may be said that the Municipality and the public board of health should take adequate measures to control this pest by a systematic disposal of excrements both human and animal, and of the kitchen refuse or some such nuisance of the house by a garbage system. They may adapt any means as the need be. It is also their duty to make the people understand the gain, loss and necessity of controlling such an "innocent creature".

As for the epidemic diseases they ought to take notice of the patients whether they are carefully handled and the clothes, etc., used are properly disposed of or not. It is also their duty to inspect the daily supplies in the market and see whether the things are carefully preserved or not. The law regarding food control is an important factor in preserving the health of the public in general.

Besides this the health authorities may try a wide campaign with the help of the citizens in general and thereby exterminate the pest as much as possible. A citizen must do his duty and should do it willingly, when he understands the real extent of the injury caused by the house-fly; but if found negligent, the strong hand of the law should compell him to do it.

S. K. Mitra.

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THE DRAVIDIANS OF INDIA

LEAVING out the Mongolic tribes, who are no doubt very recent intruders into India, the races of this country are divided, though unscientifically, into the Aryans, the Dravidians and the Kolarians. Some are, however, inclined to make only two main groups of the Indian races, namely, the Aryan and the Dravidian, on the ground that the Mundās, the chief representatives of the Kolarian group, do not differ from the Dravidians in general physical type.

As to the origin of the Aryans, nothing definite is known. Mr. Keane says in his "Ethnology" that the primitive Aryan group eludes our grasp. Taking the view that the Aryans were merely a linguistic or a culture group, it has been remarked that their community has now disappeared, being dispersed amid the innumerable populations on whom this community imposed one form or another of the Aryan mother-tongue. Mr. Keane has stated in this connection that "as well might we seek in the raised dough the leaven of fermentation, as try to determine a primitive Aryan type."

Equally difficult is the problem relating to the Dravidas. The Dravidas, the Eskimos and the Finno-Lapps have proved to the ethnologists so many "stumbling blocks." Failing to classify them properly, the systematists have set them down as so many "aberrent types." Before discussing the various opinions regarding the origin of the Dravidas, I must inform the readers that I exclude the Kolarians in my consideration of them, however much they may appear to resemble the Darvidas in physical characters. Such tribes as the Orāons and the Rājmahali people, as are strongly suspected to be the modified forms of the Dravidians and the Kolarians in their intermixture, are also excluded here. I need hardly state that not only the Brāhmanas of the Madras Presidency, but also the other high caste people of Aryan descent as the Nairs are, do not come within the division of the Dravidas. The Dravidians, numbering over 50 millions in the Presidency of Madras alone, speak in the main the following languages, namely, Telugu, Tāmil (including Malayalam), Canarese and Kodagu.

I have mentioned it before that Southern India was once only the eastern half of the extensive continent that stretched from Africa to India, and that at the time of the dispersion and migration of man from the original home, the Indian Peninsula did not cease to have a continued connection by land with Madagascar to the west and with the Malay Islands to the east. The readers will also remember the fact that not only at the time of the earliest dispersion of man, but also in later palæolithic times, India was not connected with the other parts of Asia to the north-west, as the north-western frontier of India was on the coast of the flooded sea of Central Asia.

The ancient physical condition of India, as indicated by the above lines, made this country accessible not only to the earliest immigrants, but also to those who developed a Negrito type in the original home and had to seek in later palæolithic times securer habitation, when the disastrous submergence of the Indo-African continent continued in an appalling manner. It must be remarked, however, that the earliest immigrants could not proceed far to the north as Peninsular India was then not completely united with Northern India. But when in later palæolithic times fresh swarms of men came into India, a large number of previously settled people could proceed to occupy the whole of Northern India by avoiding the crowded south. Remembering these facts in mind, let us proceed to direct our investigation to the question of the origin of the Dravidians.

It is highly probable that the true Negritoes must have poured into India during the later palæolithic times; but it is now admitted by all ethnologists that no trace of the Æthiopic features is left in any race in

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India. The true Dravidians are so much different from the Æthiopic type that some eminent ethnologists are disposed to classify the Dravidians under the Caucasians of black colour.

As to Kolarians, it may be remarked, that so far as the general physical type is concerned, there is no marked distinction between the Kolarians and the average Dravidians. Again, with reference to the language of the different Kolarian tribes, it is being repeatedly asserted by some scholars that the languages of some Australian tribes as well as of some Asiatic tribes of North-eastern India are very much allied to the speech of the Mundās and the Santals. How the Mundās, who possess the Dravidian physical type, retain the Negrito element in respect of language, is a question which invites a careful investigation.

Though we cannot detect any Negrito element even in the south of India, where it was suspected to exist by some ethnologists some time ago, the presence of the Negritoes in India in very ancient times can be inferred from the Vedic literature. The description we get of the pygmies and the demons in the Vedas makes us almost sure that some Negrito tribes were referred to. It is a notorious fact that these tribes, loathed and despised by the Aryans, were for generations together mercilessly butchered by the proud Aryans. Those who were submissive to the Aryans, were no better than monkeys in their eyes. After being extirpated to a great extent, the small remainder of the Negrito people disappeared very likely in the general body of the Dravidians, with the result that where the Negrito element asserted prepotency on the borderland of the Aryans and the Dravidians (that is to say where the Dravidians were not numerous), separate Kolarian tribes originated. May be, that owing to constant mixing of blood for generations together, traces of Æthiopic features have been wholly obliterated, while in the region where the Dravidian influence has not been all-powerful, the old language of the Negrito tribes has been partly retained. That this suggestion of mine explains the difficulty of the problem, will, no doubt, be admitted by the scholars. The Orāons and the Rājmahali people seem to be the tribes further modified by the Kolarians in their contact with the Dravidians.

Whatever explanation we may offer or obtain regarding the Kolarian tribes, the problem regarding the origin of the Dravidians (even after the foregoing elimination) remains unsolved. I do not discuss here the opinion of Dr. Grierson, as his supposition or hypothesis is not based upon any substantial evidence. However weak the supposition may be, the suggestion of such an eminent ethnologist as Mr. A. H. Keane must be discussed with great respect. His suggestion is that the Dravidians came into India from the north-west with Mongolic elements in them. I resort to the authority of Mr. Keane himself to point out that the Dravidians may more conveniently be grouped under the Caucasians of black colour than under the Mongolians. The languages of the Dravidians are utterly dissimilar to the languages prevailing in the Himalayan regions. No faint trace is even observable of the Himalayan dialects in their languages. No doubt we must all admit now that many "ethnical puzzles" have been solved by the recognition of the fact that "Mongolic and Caucasic elements interpenetrated each other at various points of their respective territories from the earliest times." But when we proceed to examine those physical characteristics, which are considered to be permanent elements in race differentia, we find the Dravidians wholly dissimilar to the Mongolic tribes Their colour of skin is black and not yellow, they are long headed and are never brachy-cephalic, their noses are only slightly broad, but they have not got the flat faces of the Mongolians, and in no case can the narrowness of eye orbits be even faintly detected among the Dravidians. Mr. Keane himself has very ably shown that the Dravidians of India possess the physical characteristics of the Caucasic people to a great extent. Utterly dissimilar as the Dravidians are to all the tribes of the Northern countries, there is no justification to say that they do not belong wholly to the south, where they are and where they have been for countless generations.

I have stated it before that very extensive evidence of palæolithic and neolithic culture has been obtained in Peninsular India. There is nothing to rebut the natural

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presumption that the Dravidians are the descendants of those earliest swarms of men, who, after coming into India, developed the civilization now recorded in the beds of the Indian Peninsula.

Moreover, I adduce here one evidence which will go a great way towards establshing my proposition. We learn it from an illustrated report of Mr. Rea that at Pallavaram as well as at other places in the Madras Presidency many terra-cotta coffins of neolithic age have been discovered. It is of greatest importance to note that the oblong terra-cotta coffins, used in neolithic age for the interment of females are still in use for the very purpose at Pallavaram. This continuity of custom since remote past argues strongly in favour of the proposition that the same people have been living in the Southern Presidency from neolithic age at the latest.

If we accept it provisionally (perhaps there is no escape from the conclusion) that the Dravidians have been autochthonous in Southern India, this question naturally arises that when in later palæolithic times fresh hordes of new people came into the Indian Peninsula, what did the previously settled Dravidians do. We know, by that time the gulf between the Northern and Southern India was bridged over, and a very extensive continent, as it were, invited the people of the South to move onwards. If this fresh field, richer in fertility, had not been accessible to the Dravidians, they would have merely extirpated the newcomers in their struggle for existence. We cannot imagine that what was most natural, was not done by the people of the South. We know it to be a fact that Northern India once afforded some centres for palæolithic and neolithic culture of man. In all probability they did not or could not come from elsewhere. How after their migration to the Northern country a section of the Dravidians became differently modified within the new changed environment, may be left out of consideration for the present. The only thing which I want to impress upon the readers is, that in those olden days every migration resulted in separation from the original stock and in the development of new civilization, because the primitive hordes of men did not till then evolve that higher form of society which never loses its unifying power even in separation.

The difference that we observe between the Dravidians of the South and the Hindus of the North, in respect of physical type, is not such as cannot be explained by the fact of later independent evolution at different centres. The ethnologists, who a decade or two ago pointed to the black skin and slightly broad nose of the Southern people, did not notice the points of agreement that exist between the people of the North and the South. In my opinion, if the Hindus of the Northern country and the Dravidians of the South be painted with one colour, any very marked difference between the two races will not be easily observable. Having travelled much in the Southern Presidency, I can unhesitatingly remark that the genuine Dravidians, not even possessing very high social status, develop almost ideal beauty, though their skin be black. I do not ignore the value of the suggestion of some ethnologists that the black substratum of the Dravidians is a contribution by the true Negritoes; but this suggestion may now be pushed aside, since it is being established by the physiologists that the colour of the skin is due only to climatic influence. The physical type by which the so-called Caucasic races are determined, is not wanting in the high class Dravidians. I speak of the high class Dravidians, since poor and ill-fed people living in forests and hills do degenerate in physical appearance in a short time.

Another fact of importance is that it is admitted by the ethnologists that there was once a "widespread diffusion of the Caucasic race throughout Asia in remote prehistoric times." I must remind the readers that this diffusion of the Caucasic people has nothing to do with the theory of Aryan migration. By this diffusion of men of the Caucasic race, the appearance of the Todas in the Nilgiri Hills is explained. Whatever that be, it is pretty certain that men, who in their physical characteristics were perfectly similar to the Caucasic people, were in India previous to the time when the so-called Aryans are supposed to have branched out in quest of fresh fields and pastures new. That the due recognition of this fact has had the effect of making the theory of Aryan migration useless, will be

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shown later on. I adduce some facts from the history of the known times to show that the Dravidians were not much inferior to the Aryans in the remote past, either in physical appearance or in mental powers.

We know that the genuine Canarese people, after coming slightly in touch with the advanced people of the Northern region, showed capacity to develop a high civilization. Canarese literature is older in date than the provincial vernacular literature of Northern India. Historical research in Burma has established it clearly that previous to the Aryan settlement in Farther India, the Dravidians of the Trikalinga and of the Coromandal coast extended their conquests in Farther India. These Dravidian activities are of a time when the Great Buddha was not born,—when the Aryans not only took no notice of the Dravidians, but were altogether ignorant of the countries they possessed. It is well known in history that the Andhras were once recognised as the lords of India. All these facts lead us to suppose that the authors of the neolithic culture in the Deccan, south of the Vindhyas, were the forefathers of the Dravidian people. It cannot be imagined, without there being distinct and definite proof, that those who developed a civilization in the southern country in prehistoric times, were wholly replaced by some new-comers in the historic period.

If we take into consideration the area, within which the old Egyptians or the ancient Babylonians developed their civilization, the whole of Southern India would be considered a vast continent that could afford scope for many tribes to grow into eminence. The kingdoms of the Andhras, the Pāndyas and the Cholas were regarded mighty by the proud people of the north. In spite of their dark colour, the Chiefs of these territories were not despised by the Hindus, even when they were free from any admixture of the Hindu blood. The Rajas of Kalinga formed marriage alliances with the proud Kshatriyas of old, and we find it recorded by Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa that the dark non-Aryan Pāndya Chief was considered eligible to seek the hand of Princess Indumati.

I speak merely of the Dravidians of the Madras Presidency. In the Central Provinces, the Dravidian element still predominates. Amongst the Gonds, who are not poor and ill-fed, we meet with many, who, in intelligence and physical appearance, are not much inferior to the average Hindu. The Gond Rajas and Zamindars cannot be easily distinguished from the Kshatriya Rajas of their neighbourhood. This is the result, I believe, of high living only.

The whole of Lower Bengal was once within the range of Dravidian influence. Many Hindu castes of Bengal are of pure Dravidian descent. We know that in the time of the Great Buddha, the country bearing the name Bengal was not known to the Aryans. ("Buddhistic India", p. 29). But even previous to the time of the Buddha, the Dravidians of Bengal conquered the country of Annam, and gave the name "Bong-long" to their new colony in the East. The descendants of "Lak-lum" of Bengal reigned in Annam for a long time from the seventh century B. C. to 258 B. C. (Col. Gerini's "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography").

India does not belong wholly to the descendants of the Aryans of old; the Dravidas have got an equal, if not a greater, share.

It is true, that the oldest records available to us, disclose nothing but an unfriendly relation between the Aryans and the Dravidians from the very remote past. There are instances in history, that in the early stage of social evolution friendly communication does not exist even between societies of similar development. Even though men may belong to the same stock, if they evolve at different centres civilizations of different types and speak different languages, they can never come together to form an unity, if they do not get beyond that stage of civilization which is described as primary by the sociologists. Far from seeking any unity with the independent neighbouring organizations, the Aryans of old never set themselves to the task of developing the life possibilities of masses of their own people.

As people belonging to the same stock do develop different languages and religious systems, when evolving independent civilizations at different centres, it cannot be asserted that the descendants of those who developed neolithic culture near about the Vindhya Hills, were not originally a branch

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of those people who had a northern centre of evolution in the neolithic times. That the Dravidians do not differ from the descendants of the proud Aryans in essential physical features, can be proved very easily by comparing the general physical types of the Aryans and the Dravidians. I have stated it before that the Dravidians have been classified as black Caucasian people by many learned anthropologists. The cumulative effect of the whole evidence is in support of the proposition that the autochthonous Dravidians did not and do not differ ethnically from the Aryans who are supposed by some to be new-comers in India in the historic times.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

IN GERMAN PRISONS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY K. K. ATHAVALE.

From my cell in a case.

ALL the while the possibility of making good my escape remained the object of my constant preoccupation and it was with this particular idea that I sounded, in the most adroit manner possible, the characters and habits of all those I came in contact with in my new duties. It was in this way that I came to know that one Zachmann—a thickset, solid, jolly fellow and shrewd by all accounts—one who was on the best terms with the foreman of the brush factory and of the stationery department. One of the latter—the foreman Yks—even furnished him with tobacco for snuff and for chewing. Zachmann, who was condemned to a few months' imprisonment for stealing his brother's purse, was shortly to be released, which gave a fillip to his habitual exuberance. His having obtained twice or thrice a bank-note of twenty marks by means of the letters which the foreman entrusted to him for speeding on their respective destinations, I had no difficulty in inspiring him with an implicit confidence and devotion. When I thought he was sufficiently primed I said to him one day pointblank :—

"Zachmann! I will give ten thousand marks to any one who will help me to escape from this place!"

"Oh! Bigre! That will fit me like a glove, but the first thing is to find an idea."

"I have one already. Here it is. Every day a truck from the town brings work for the prisoners, and takes away their finished work. The foreman with the help of the prisoners unloads and reloads the truck which during all the time remains at the entrance to the corridor where I live. Facing my cell is the cell of Konnecke, the famous glutton. Well! it is before his door that they place the bales and packing cases. It will be sufficient if we prepare beforehand a case large enough to hold me. At the most favourable moment the foreman will open my cell and at a bound I will be inside the case which he and the calfactor will transfer to the cart. Of course the connivance of the driver must be assured. For the rest, as the contents of the cart are never checked at the great door, I will certainly arrive without mishap to the lodging of the foreman, where I will change into more presentable clothes and then, Good-bye!"

"Hurrah!" exclaimed Zachmann breathlessly, "we are going on! I will speak to the foreman about it."

The pourparlers with Yks and the driver lasted a fortnight and were on the point of falling through completely, for, at the outest, they both insisted on being paid in advance, which I flatly refused. In the end they agreed to accept the following terms :—The foreman who ran the greatest risk would touch six thousand marks, payable on arrival on Austrian ground (the money was to be addressed to me at the frontier), and Zachmann and the driver were each to get two thousand marks. It was also agreed that Yks who was of my size and stature, was to place at my disposal his Sunday clothes and was to accompany me

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to the Austrian Frontier to get his money and that of his accomplices.

All that remained now was to study the project in detail. The most difficult part would be to get the warder Schultz occupied at the moment when I would pass from my cell into the packing case. Zachmann took on himself the performance of this part of the programme.

The great day arrived. It was the 1st of September 1897, the anniversary of my first attempt at flight. The case was placed since the early morning by the side of the cell of Konnecke, the glutton. It was brought in the previous evening by the cart and placed in the store pending its removal. The time of arrival of the cart unhappily, did not depend on the driver, but on the officials of the Stationery Department. Supposing I were to be at the office of the Secretary when it arrived about ten o'clock the affair will fail. That's all. It is true, the cart could very well remain an hour at the door of the wing I inhabited without awakening particular curiosity, but if I were to be kept busy at the secretariat all the morning?

Since eight o'clock in the morning, I walked feverishly in my cell incapable of doing anything whatever and hoping every instant to see the foreman enter. Warders and employees came to see me on some detail or other of the service, and every time the key grated in the hole my heart went pit-a-pat violently. I was playing a big game and I dared not even contemplate the possibility of failure. Its consequence would be my death, nothing more or less, and, undoubtedly, that of my old mother, by rebound; then I felt my great responsibility towards the foreman, the driver who had wife and children, and the good-hearted Zachmann. How to explain that under these circumstances I should have felt myself pursued, obsessed even by this silly refrain of bellowing doggerel,

Il n'a pas de parapluie,
Ca va bien quand il fait beau.
(It is no umbrella which goes well when it is fine).

But our mental mechanism offers such unfathomable mysteries!

At last, at eleven o'clock the door was gently opened and Yks appeared. "Quick, hurry up," said he. With a bound I am inside the case. But hardly had the lid been closed on me when I hear the voice of the old office warder Scherf calling out at the corridor entrance:

"The Secretary has sent for the prisoner Chorenne; Schultz send him to me. I am waiting for him here."

It appeared to me that my heart would cease to beat, so violent was the commotion, and the instinct of self-preservation alone saved me from fainting right away. Imperceptibly I raised the lid of the case—just time to have a peep at the back of old Scherf who was waiting in the embrasure of the grilled door. I was saved by the presence of mind of the driver.

"The prisoner Chorenne," he glibly told the warder, "has just gone to the kitchen with the warder Schultz."

"Ah", said Scherf, "I'd go there, then," and he left.

During all this time Schultz had been engaged by Zachmann who had invited him into his cell to see the damaged things. The time, now, was very short for transferring the case to the cart and running away. They would at once discover my disappearance and give the alarm to the prison, the guard and the Police. The cart would be inevitably searched at the exit. Quickly I left the case, Yks opened the door of my cell and there I was again between its four walls, a prey to an unspeakable access of rage and despair.

In a minute or two Scherf returned furious from the kitchen crying out: "Where is that lying driver?" But the latter had instantly galloped away with his cart, and the foreman Yks had equally disappeared. The corridor was empty. Scherf himself came to look for me in my cell in order to take me to the Secretary.

Misfortunes never come singly. The Secretary had sent for me to tell me that the new governor at his request had deprived me of office work and that from that day I would be employed in the Stationery Department as a gluer of cornets.

A GLUER OF CORNETS.

Here I am installed anew in a narrow cell on the second floor. I have had only the staircase to mount. Zachmann rendered me a last service. He carried for me to my cell the three pieces of my prison

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mattress. As he had a very woe-begone air for our common failure, I whispered into his ear:—"Go and find the foreman Yks tomorrow, on your release from prison. He has orders to give you the fifty marks which I have promised you." His features brightened up at these words, and he found means to press my hand vigorously. I never saw him again. The day after the next day, Yks told me that he had given him the money at noon on the previous day, and that the same evening he had met him completely drunk at the Railway Station, where he had helped to hoist him up into a fourth class compartment of the train which would take him to his village. Later on I learnt from the warder Schloff, a cousin of Zachmann's, that he was robbed of all his money in the train, so that he had to finish the journey on foot, begging his way en-route, at the risk of arrest and reincarceration.

I have said that my cell was narrow. It was only half the size of its two predecessors and cubed barely eight metres. A dog's hole—nothing more nor less. The greater portion of its space was taken up by a big table which left me no room to budge even. Its solitary window open on the door, whence a constant, icy draught came in, for the month was September and it was already cold.

I had no coffee in the evening, now; no fine crusts of bread, no double portion of fish, no papers, no pencils and no visits from warders and employees; on the contrary, a churlish keeper—the warder Klump, a real brute, who, I suspected, was addicted to drink, such was his manner of challenging comprehension or intelligence. He would at first speak to you very calmly, very gently, with eyes cast down, then, abruptly, without any translation, he would commence to yell like a fallow deer, so that you had every time the impression that he had suddenly gone off his head in a fit of madness.

The only compensation for these reverses was that I would work under the orders of the foreman Yks. I at once made the following arrangement with him:—He would get my task done by other prisoners, would provide my port wine, delicacies and books, and take care of my correspondence with Paris, and he would receive for it one hundred and fifty marks per month. It was therefore not the less necessary for me to learn my new trade. I was, therefore, given under instructions a packet of sheets of printed, illustrated, and coloured paper bearing the firm names of traders of all kinds, a pot of glue, and a brush. The foreman spread out a portion of the sheets artistically on the big table in my cell by means of a burnisher and showed me the process of making cornets. It was a child's work, a woman's, and sufficiently interesting withal, the most envied work in the prison, and on which they only employed, generally speaking, the infirm and the sick. For form's sake it was necessary for me to be occupied; I amused myself for two hours by gluing the cornets, but the rest of the day I passed in reading books which were sent to Yks direct from Paris. It was done in this way: Governor Rogatz had permitted me the use of three of my own books: a work in English, another in French, and a third in Spanish. Each book had its proper cover, known to the warder; and it is these same covers which served, as the master-cover, to envelope in turn all my books from Paris. Thus the green and gold covers of the *Pickwick Papers* harboured in turn *Port Tarascon* and *Cyrano de Bergerac*. The warder, when he checked, always saw the same bindings and that was enough for him.

The new Governor was not a bad-hearted man; quite the contrary. He therefore became very soon the idol of the prisoners. Ex-Chief of the prison of Cottbus, and well noticed in high places, he was specially chosen by the Geheimrat Crone to set right the abuses of the baleful regime from which the Central House suffered under his predecessor; and the appointment was fully justified by the results. He subverted the prison from top to bottom. Not one of the absurd and vexatious prescriptions of Rogatz survived in this process. Both prisoners and employees felt as if they had left behind a frightful nightmare. The general tone of the house changed completely. The new chief did not like cries and shouts. The warders at once stopped crying and shouting. The new chief did not like reports. The warders ceased reporting the prisoners for mere trifles and bagatelles

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One no longer read in the monthly list of punishments submitted to the Government such things as the following:—Prisoner so and so—three days on bread and water for gaping at the rooks; another—three days' solitary confinement for winking at his neighbour; a third—eight days' solitary for impropriety. One no longer read in the monthly punishment statement that sixty prisoners had been deprived of their meat on Christmas Day, or during Easter, on the day of the Holy Trinity, or even on the Emperor's birth-day for offences more or less grave. Under Rogatz there had been a monthly average of six hundred and fifty punishments, although all the prison population scarcely reached this figure, that is to say, on an average all the prisoners were punished once a month. Under Langeb, the new Governor, the number of monthly punishments dropped down to a hundred and twenty, and afterwards to eighty and still lower. They had this singular experience that the less the men were punished the better they behaved, the better was the discipline. The food became infinitely more tasteful. Afterwards there was a pause or stopping of work from noon to one o'clock and from four o'clock to four and a quarter, while formerly, the prisoner had no rest or recreation after dinner.

A little personal experience in support of the mildness of the new Governor will not be out of place here. One day when I got myself shaved by the prison barber, a prisoner named Alliger, the warder Bayer, who assisted at the operation as required by the regulations, noticed an irregularity in my dress. The fact was that having caught cold the night before I wore my woolen knitted vest next to the skin, and over it my shirt turned round so that there was no opening on the chest.

"I have never seen anything like it in my life," exclaimed Bayer, "it must be reported."

The next morning I was placed before the Governor, who simply laughed and shrugged his shoulders:

"Can they report a prisoner for a trifle like that?" then turning to me he said:—

"All the same you would do well, Chorenne, to wear your shirt and vest in the manner prescribed by the regulations; that will do, you may retire."

Langeb knew, however, when it was necessary for him to use his authority with rigour. For example, at the same sitting he awarded fifteen days' solitary confinement to the prisoner Rugamer who worked as sacristan. Rugamer had installed in the holy altar a depot for the sale of chewing tobacco, which he procured by hunting for it in the sweepings of the different offices, and he had announced the opening of his business by means of a most ridiculous circular. Being denounced for it, he received fifteen days' solitary confinement in the dark cells. Confinement in the dark cells simply means imprisonment in a dungeon which is very narrow, and dark like the interior of an oven, for its window is hermetically closed from outside by an iron shutter. The prisoner so punished is deprived of his bed and sleeps on a mere wooden plank or board called the pallet. There is no question of any coverings or sheets, of course, not even in winter. The only nourishment is a kilogramme of brown bread with a pinch of salt and water. The dungeon is aired only once, in the morning at day-break, and yet, in spite of everything, there are prisoners who have such a horror of work, such a rooted aversion to exertion of any kind, that they actually prefer to be in these dark cells and continue to put in twenty out of thirty days in them. They pass their time lying on their backs, sleeping or dreaming.

There is in the left wing a group whose names are frequently seen in the report—six men placed apart, strong young men carrying themselves well, who are placed before the Governor for not doing their daily work regularly, in the last month: they are in arrears of a certain number of exercises: that is, their daily tasks. It is the group of sluggards, "der faulen", as they are nicknamed in the establishment. They serve together as targets for the puns and rough jokes of the warders and the employees, but chiefly of the prisoners themselves, their comrades. Every one treats them with supreme contempt; and the Governor is without mercy in their case. He has put them on bread and water till they regularly accomplish the full measure of their daily task. To tell the truth this last is never

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excessive. It is not beyond the capacity of an ordinary healthy man. There are even prisoners who perform double, treble, and quadruple tasks in a day, and earn in this fashion not an insignificant amount, for although it is true that the normal daily task is paid for at two pfennigs a day to the habituals and four pfennigs to non-habituals, whatever the prisoner makes over and above his daily task is paid for at four times the normal rate of pay. In this way I have seen prisoners leave the institution with a snug little pile of five hundred and even one thousand marks, after a captivity of ten to fifteen years.

At first I used to compare discipline in prisons to the Prussian military discipline. Nevertheless I must own that the first is much more superior to the second in equity. At all events here, at Halle, the warders are held responsible for their acts quite as much as the prisoners are for theirs. Since the advent of Langeb, particularly, there are no vexations, no persecutions of prisoners by their keepers; and insults are severely repressed, which is far from being the case in a regiment where the private soldier is readily insulted and even beaten by mere sergeants. Here is the case of the young warder Unger who appeared before the Governor for insulting an impudent prisoner! the latter a professional bully and who was actually condemned as one. But the latter does not like that others should fling his opprobrium in his face, and accordingly he made a complaint with the chief warder. The latter reported the matter and Unger was reduced as being unfit to discharge the functions with which he was invested. Again there is the case of a foreman tailor who appeared before the chief for boxing the ears of an insolent prisoner. He was fined three marks. As to other cases there is that of the warders Schloff and Siffart, who had against their will allowed a prisoner to escape from the Hospital the preceding night. The latter had made a hole in the wall with a leg of his iron bedstead which he had managed to unscrew. He had in this manner gained the top of the enclosure wall from the height of the second floor on which his cell was placed, and from there had fallen on the other side, clad only in his drawers and shirt, in the street skirting the foot of the wall. He broke his leg in the fall and could only drag himself to a barn in the neighbourhood. They found him the next morning among some trusses of hay. The two warders were fined twenty marks each, a large amount if we take into consideration the fact that the miserable wretches barely earn a hundred and twenty marks per month and have usually to provide for a numerous family.

I was already for more than a month in the dog-hole assigned to me for my lodging by the works' inspector, when one evening, the warder Schloff entered my cell and told me to collect my clothes and to remove immediately to the fourth floor of the wing C. I was not at all put out by this news, for it was impossible for me to sink to a worst position than the present one both as regards myself and my keeper; these changes had already become familiar to me and with a turn of my hand I had my bundle ready. My new domicile was a bit larger than the one I quitted, but alas! it too had only one window while all the adjoining cells had two, and they all cubed double the area of mine. Always my ill-luck! Besides, my new warder, Schmidt, was a man of the real bull-dog species, coarser than even Klump, and passing most of his time in barking at the heels of the prisoners entrusted to his care. For the rest, my life had not changed. I continued to glue cornets—as few as possible—and read during the greater part of the day. The foreman Yks brought me every day delicacies from outside, and wine and books and the time passed as well or ill as before.

One distraction or recreation for me was repeating the melodies of both the Protestant and Catholic Choirs. My cell happened to be very close to the school hall, where these exercises took place, so that twice a week I enjoyed a concert which had its peculiar charm for me. The Protestant choir particularly was a marvel. When from the open window I heard them sing:—"If it is true that love weeps, if it be true that hope is scared away, a day of grace will surely come to you; always after the night, there's morning", etc., I felt very much moved and even consoled. Yes! yes! everything will end well—everything will finish happily! for after the night the morning!

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी
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I had entreated the Governor for the indulgence of being allowed to take part in the Catholic choir; but the Committee presided over by the Governor to which my application was referred for disposal, decided against the entertainment of my request, for fear that I might succeed in persuading one of the outside singers to smuggle a letter for me to Paris. Funny, is not it?

I had been in prison for nearly two years now and during all that time I had not seen either my mother or my sister. I had always refused to receive them in order to spare them the pain of a meeting in such mournful conditions; but towards the close of the month of October, we were in the year 1897, my sister wrote to me from Paris peremptorily informing me that she was parting for Leipzig immediately in order to see there my advocate Maitre Zehme, and in consultation with him to take the necessary steps to release me from the claws of the Prussian Eagle. From Leipzig she intended to come to Halle for seeing the Governor of the prison, and, if possible, to have an interview with me. That would have been very easy, certainly, had I not from the first been firmly resolved not to receive her at the prison. God knows, all the same, how painfully sweet it would have been for me to press her to my heart! I had then the idea of a plan. As soon as I had learnt of her arrival at Halle, I sent the foreman Yks to her hotel, to request her to station herself for an instant at a given moment at a particular spot in the street visible from my cell. It was agreed beforehand that I was to wave a strip of cloth as a sign of recognition.

It was eleven o'clock in the morning when I opened my window with great care to peep outside. Yes, there she was standing on the footpath at the place indicated and looking towards me. I waved my handkerchief—she saw it and immediately responded by doing the same. It appeared to me that even at the distance separating us I was able to discern her agitation and emotion and to hear her heart-beats. How inexpressibly sad!

In the afternoon my sister came to the prison accompanied by Maitre Zehme, who specially came from Leipzig. It is hardly necessary for me to say that these instances supported by the Governor, who, in this case, appeared to be a perfectly gallant man with the addition of a man of good heart, caused my formal and stoical resolution to waver and to give way under its combined weight. I, therefore, finished by entering the Governor's cabinet where was waiting for me the tender and agitated heart of the dear creature, and our hearts united in a long embrace under the humid regards of the two witnesses of the scene.

However my sister's application on my behalf had no practical result. On the contrary my release before the expiry of the full term of imprisonment appeared to me more and more improbable. In fact it turned out that the present Governor, before his appointment at Halle, had administered Cottbus prison, where were interned my friends and supposed accomplices, Peffer and Paul B. He was thus able to inform Maitre Zehme of all the applications made by the young wife of Peffer to obtain her husband's pardon—vain applications, alas! in spite of the highest recommendations. They did not grant a moment's commutation to my unhappy friends, neither to Peffer nor to Paul B. What ground had I to expect a different result in the case of my application? It was therefore resolved not to make any petitions in my favour before the expiration of at least half the sentence.

After the departure of my sister, the prison, my cell, the convict guard, in fact everything appeared to me more sombre and more sinister than ever before.

I must not forget to mention the humoristic note in this episode. My sister's visit had produced a profound impression in the entire prison. My cell neighbours, who had given themselves unheard of trouble to see a tip of her veil, spoke to me in enthusiastic terms: one of them even went the length of asking me her hand in marriage. The Governor on his side affirmed to me the next day that he had believed the visit to be from a lover, our long ardent hug having appeared to him equivocal. But perhaps there was simply in this remark of the good man a bit of transposed gallantry conscious or not on his part.

Christmas came to mark a new stage in my captive life. Perhaps step by step I am nearing the end of the route but how

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long it was still to run? The year 1898 touched its end when orders arrived for us to evacuate a wing of the prison and re-instal ourselves in a newly restored building which had nice spacious cells cubing nearly 23 metres—a real promised land we were told, super-healthy, resplendent with light, and provided with a crowd of unknown marvels.

To reach this land of Canaan it was necessary to tumble down the five stone storeys of our building, plunge into the vaulted basements of the prison, explore into the subterranean bowels of the central administrative building, wander, with the three pieces of the mattress on your head all the while, through a labyrinth of passages and lobbies where eternal darkness had sway, and clamber up with a supreme effort the iron staircase, and at last to get stranded foundered and exhausted in the gaping opening of a cell which was closed again without pity on the victim it had swallowed up.

When I had moved in my household gods I began to inspect my new domicile. Good heavens! They talked of the reduction of Augean stables! the floor was covered by a layer of milt accruing from the plaster of the walls and ceiling; the doors, the heater piping, the windows and the iron bedstead were all covered by a thick layer of plaster dust. In front of the newly painted doors the wooden floor was made conspicuous by puddles of oil paint. The shelves were covered by limedust of the thickness of two fingers. In short, the place was full of repulsive dirtiness. I dropped on my stool in sheer disgust, but the sight of my mattress lying on the clots of whitewash, gave me strength to work again. It was most urgent that I should myself put my hand to the task. I commenced by putting the bedstead in order, in order to have room for loading the hypostatical mattress. After the bed it was the turn of the shelves and then of the rest of the furniture. But, altogether, it took me the whole of the week to render my Canaanean cell habitable.

I have quite forgotten to mention that my new cell was situated exactly above the forge, the latter having been installed in the sub-stratum, so that my promised land became to me hotter than the fires of hell!

For the rest, my life has not changed in any way. The days succeed each other with the same despairing monotony. My new warder is phlegmatic and taciturn, but at least he leaves me in peace, and that is something.

My best moments are those I pass in bed during nights when outside it is raining and blowing a storm. It is a concert of superb savagery which the elements often give as it were for my particular delectation, a concert in tune with the character of the house. I know its phases and all its modulations. With a singular voluptuousness the wan light from the lantern in the yard enters through the rain-splashed window-glasses, and casts on the white wall of my cell fantastic shadows; and occasionally the fury of the wind is such that my window bursts open, and the strange maestro gives me frightful cold kisses through precarious bed covering.

My new cell was large and it was lighted by two windows looking upon quite a a different part of the yard to that I had been familiar with up to that time. By leaning out slightly I espied the little gate which was so fatal to the prisoners hungering for liberty, and a sentry box, a sentinel, and three vast uncultivated fields.

Every day at the same hour a chariot drawn by a slow and grave looking bull animated the landscape.

It carried a cask placed upright in the middle and was escorted by a pair of big top boots into which apparently was placed a rustic of very diminutive proportions armed with a whip. When the little fellow cracked his whip he nearly always contrived to lose his balance and without the counter weight of his enormous boots the effort would indubitably have thrown him down. Presently the equipage disappeared beneath the prison porch and stopped in front of a similar cask placed at the angle of the kitchen building. Arrived there, the rustic took a small tub in his hand and with it transferred the contents of the standing cask into the one which he brought in his vehicle; then the equipage started again and went as it came with the same deliberation and slowness of pace. I was very much intrigued by this episode and I had no rest until I got the information that the mysterious rustic came to

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take away the detritus of the kitchen, which he used for fattening his pigs.

This part of the court-yard was, however, extremely frequented and under my windows it was a continuous stream of comers and goers. At a quarter to noon the bell sounded and then one espied the prisoners detailed for this service running from all parts and charging the boxes of bread and the great sheet iron tubs filled with rations on the platform of a little hand-cart which they subsequently pushed from wing to wing where the calfactors of the different corridors hurried up to receive their daily stew which filled the entire court with its smell.

To glue or gum cornets is a very mechanical operation which leaves the operator's mind entirely free. I hardly glued for more than two or three hours a day and during that time I sat on my stool before my working table, my back resting against the heating pipe and sang for my own distraction. Not to have always to sing the same songs over again, I composed new ones and I was delighted like a child when I discovered a new air. In this way I have set to music a number of Musset's strophes. In this way one day as I happened to discover a catching melody "Choeur des moines" (the chorus of the monks) when a hollow voice emerged from the pipe of the heater at my back and called out "Chorenne! Chorenne!" Unluckily it gave me such a sudden start that my pot of glue was upset and it fell and smashed with a clatter. The pipe burst into a laughter, then said :—

"It is only me, Garlipp, your neighbour of the cell above, but don't sing so loudly; you are heard here on the first floor very well and there is the warder prowling about. You will get yourself caught one of these days."

"Thank you, Garlipp," I replied, having now recognised the voice, "but you can now boast of having frightened me."

"You did not know then that one could very easily communicate from floor to floor by means of the heater pipe."

"Faith! but I did not."

"Silence! There is the warder!"

Garlipp was formerly calfactor of the C wing. He had lost his job at the time of our recent removal and now knitted stockings on a machine in the cell above mine. The big iron pipe of the steam heater mounted up from the basements through all the floors to the top thus establishing a mysterious communication between all the cells directly superposed as between myself and that of Garlipp. It was enough if a prisoner were to lie down flat on the floor and to speak in the point of insertion of the pipe for his comrade down below to understand every word he uttered; and on the other hand if he applied his ear to the point of contact he would hear everything said in the cell beneath. On my side if I wished to talk to Garlipp I had only to get up on my stool and call through the point in question. When I had a visit from the Governor or the priest or any other person Garlipp never missed the opportunity to stretch himself on the floor and apply his ear to the pipe to intercept all the conversation, which afterwards he took an insane pleasure in repeating to me word for word.

"Do you know the word indiscretion?" I asked him one day.

"No. It is the first time I have heard it spoken."

"When any one listens at the door or peeps through a key-hole, people say that he is committing an indiscretion—"eine Indiskretion". Do you understand, Garlipp?"

"Ah! very well", replied the gunner who was perplexed. "Then you think that to listen at the pipe....."

"No, no, Garlipp, not at the pipe. That is quite another thing. It is not found included in the dictionary of conversation."

The fatidic pipe at last explained the mysterious nature of the rapidity with which news spread in the prison. From the basement the news travelled from one storey to the next up to the fourth floor by the pipe; and while the latter transmitted news in a vertical direction the calfactors of each floor colported it horizontally, so that in the twinkling of an eye the entire prison knew what had taken place in the most obscure corner of the basement. I was pleased with this revelation, for it became a pastime to me. Garlipp happened to come to me for conversation twice or thrice a day.

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THE NATIVE INDIAN STATES AND JUSTICE

By S. V. Ketkar, m.a., Ph. d.

We find that a large number of Native States are to-day theatres of misrule. Even the greatest enthusiast regarding them will not be able to deny this fact. Evidences of misrule are plentiful, the subjects of many Native States have appealed to the British for justice and thus sought intervention. Many servants of Native States go outside the confines of the States when they retire. Many of them during the period of their service acquire property outside the State because they think that it is not secure enough in the State itself. Persons of rapacious tendencies seek service in the Native States, because they think or in fact rather they know that their chances for making money by unfair means are greater in the Native States.

Honour, property and even life (though rarely) are insecure in many States. I know of some princes who have gone to the extent of dishonouring the wives of their officers and subjects. The Indian princes have learnt the theory of absolute monarchy and many have become irresponsible rulers. The only check that is exercised on them to-day is by the political agents.

The present type of government which prevails all over India in the various States is that of absolute monarchy. The princes are not responsible to their subjects nor are their officers. The only person to whom the princes feel responsible is the British Indian Government. The Indian Government has often advised the princes, expressed its disapproval of their actions, and occasionally even removed them or compelled them to abdicate. In some cases the princes who have been removed have been men with a certain amount of independence of character and have shown a great deal of dignity while dealing with the British official class. On account of this complexity of the situation the interference of the Indian Government has in some cases been difficult to interpret.

When an Indian nationalist sees misgovernment in a Native State which causes interference from the British Indian Government, his mind becomes a receptacle of a mixture of feelings. On the one hand he does not like to see the British interfere in the Native States, because this interference means to him a firmer grip of a foreign race on the rulers of his own race and nationality. It means to him a decrease of the prestige of his own race. He says to himself—"Should even the Rājās, Mahārājās and Nawābs be bossed by an Englishman? Should that little independence which is left to our people in the Native States also depart from us?" On the other hand he does not like to see his own countrymen oppressed even by rulers of his own race. National and racial humiliation is the hardest thing to bear.

England had merciless massacres of Protestants under the "bloody Queen Mary," and of Catholics under the "good Queen Bess." Still every Englishman would recoil in imagination from the thought that if in the past his country had been taken possession of by some foreign race, they might have treated all Christian sects alike and might have given perfect religious toleration. From a similar sentimental consideration, even though the subjects of a Native State are oppressed, British intervention for the sake of justice to its subjects, does not find much favour with the Indian people.

The Indian nationalist looks with a great deal of uneasiness at British intervention in Native States, but it does not mean that he is apathetic with regard to the welfare of his countrymen. Besides the

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humanitarian tendencies which he may have, another reason makes him keenly interested to see the Indian Princes govern well. When he criticises the British Government, the fact of the misrule of the Indian Princes is flung at him, and he is thereby silenced. The facts are too clear for him to deny. If one compares justice in the British territory with justice in the Indian States it would be found that the British Government has the advantage of the comparison.

Have the Indian Princes always been irresponsible and bad rulers? A historian would be compelled to answer the question in the negative. The Greeks and the Arab travellers prior to the conquest of India by Mohamedans, have given enough testimony in their favour. Some of the actions which the ancient Hindu princes did out of different notions regarding right and wrong which once prevailed, may seem odious to us, but at the same time there were some very valuable checks upon the arbitrary power of rulers.

Every Hindu prince was expected to follow *Dharma*. He could not make or unmake *Dharma*. It was his duty to know it and to follow it. The interpreter of *Dharma* was not the king himself but a Brahmin. The Brahmins were thus a check on the arbitrary powers of the king. The service which they have done in this matter, however, has been greatly ignored by the antagonists of the Brahmins. The person of Brahmins was sacred and it was therefore possible for them to advise and even censure the king, which no other class of people could have done. The history of the judicial and legal institutions of ancient India has to a great extent been obscure, and complete details on this matter are not yet known. Still it may be said that this Brahmanical attitude lasted for a considerable period.

The old order has passed away to return no more. The Brahmin judges with the ancient spirit of *Dharma* philosophy are gone. The judges today in the various Native States, including even those which are ruled by Hindu Princes, are recruited from men of various castes. I do not mean to say that they are incompetent men as regards their knowledge of law; for, most of them are well-educated in law and jurisprudence, and some of them are men of great learning. They all have learnt the technique of law from the English lawyers and books but not acquired the spirit of the British judges or retained that of the ancient Brahmins. Good judges bent on doing justice make life in an autocratic State much more bearable. We know cases of Brahmin judges who have told some rulers that they have for their conduct deserved no less a punishment than death, and have left their office and the States because the rulers would not subject themselves to that punishment.

With the change brought about by Western culture the theory of absolute monarchy has been thoroughly grasped by the Indian princes. They regard themselves possessed of absolute power within the State and many of them regard judges merely as creatures to carry out their will. To the modern judges the will of the sovereign-ruler is superior to everything. The result is a tyranny of the worst type when the ruler is self-willed and extortionate. The judges have not remained maintainers of justice but have become creatures who would carry out the will of the ruler with technical perfection. If a ruler gives an unjust order, the judges will carry it out to the letter. If the ruler encroaches upon the household of a private citizen, then the citizen cannot find any redress. The only course that is left open for a citizen is to appeal to the British authority, which he often does. The Government does not undertake to censure the ruler, unless the offences are many, frequent and serious.

I have said that the Indian lawyers and judges have imbibed the British legal theory without the legal spirit. It is necessary to explain the statement further. If we examine the British political theory it will be evident that the king has many powers, and that he can do absolutely anything without the fear of law. The doctrine that the king can do no wrong is generally accepted in British civic life. Still by many judicial interpretations and fictions the scope for a king to do wrong is considerably restricted. The above-mentioned maxim as interpreted by the Courts means :—

First, that by no proceeding known to the law can the king be made personally responsible for any act done by him.

Secondly, that no one can plead the

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orders of the crown or indeed of any superior officer in defence of any act not otherwise justifiable by law, because there is no power in the crown to dispense with the obligation to obey law.

Thirdly, some person is legally responsible for every act done by the crown.

Another method adopted by the Courts to make the will of the crown less pernicious is that they have drawn distinction between the "personal will of Charles Stuart" and "the legal will of the king of England."

The "margin of judicial interpretation" or the lattitude which the judges take in interpreting a statute differs according to the personality of the judges and also according to the custom of the country. Sometimes the original law is completely overthrown by the judicial interpretation. The federal judges in America take great liberty in this matter. The judges there "judicially know" the meaning of English words and refuse to see or consider the meaning given in the dictionary. Many judges refuse to be bound by the interpretation of the Statute intended by the original framer even when that framer's meaning is apparent from his speech in the legislature. One American senator who had introduced a bill in the American legislature, was asked the meaning of a particular clause in the bill by a friend. The senator cynically replied that he did not know it. The meaning of his clause was according to him to be determined by the judiciary. Even in England the law passed by the Parliament is sometimes entirely changed by judicial interpretation. If the law conflicts with the doctrines of private or international morality, the judges presume that Parliament did not mean to violate the moral doctrines and therefore the meaning of the statute must be different.

The tendency of the British and American judge has been to presume that the legislatures did not mean to order anything that is unjust, and therefore the meaning of the order must be different.

The Anglo-American judges seem to take a very independent stand when we compare them with the native Indian judges. The reasons for such a contrast are many, but the following seem to me to be the most important.

The Indian judges pay more attention to the technical legality of a case than to its justice. If we compare the courses of study of an Indian lawyer with those of a British Barrister, we find that the latter gets a more thorough grounding in the legal principles than in the actual rules and regulations. In India the system seems to be turned entirely the other way.

Secondly, the law is written in English which for an Englishman is his own language, while to an Indian lawyer or judge it is a foreign language. The Indian judge therefore does not dare to reform the language of the law or put new and original interpretations on the wording of the law. If he does, it would be regarded as ignorance of the English language on his part. The interpretation of an Indian judge of the language of the law becomes, therefore, sometimes more academic than conformable to the principles of justice.

Thirdly, the position of an Indian judge is much less secure in India than it is in England. In British India the security of the position may not be as we may wish but in the Native States it is worse. Many judges have been either removed or compelled to take leave or pensioned off without much scruple. Interference with judicial proceedings is considerably greater in the Native States. The most favourite method that seems to prevail in some Native States is that when the ruler is afraid that a particular prosecution which he may have started may not succeed, he brings a judge from outside to try the special case.

What is the remedy for this peculiar situation? I think popular agitation should first be directed towards making the position of the judges more secure than it is at present. The agitation in India which is carried on by the political leaders from time to time, seems to me to be misdirected. One of the first things which the Indian people should try to do is to make their judges sacred and fearless. In fact this is one of the very things which the people of England did in their struggle for rights and liberties. The judges in India hold the same position in society which the Brahmins once held. For this reason the position of the judge should be rendered more secure and sacred.

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FOWL-KEEPING IN BENGAL

Introduction.

FOWL-keeping is not yet a popular industry in the province of Bengal, although it has been in existence here for a long time. The industry is exclusively confined to Mahomedans, Domes and Methars and Gipsies. But if we take into consideration the daily increasing demand for fowls that are now consumed in different parts of the province by Europeans, Eurasians, Mahomedans, Native Christians and others, we are bound to admit that the industry may be taken up to the greatest advantage by men who devote their time and energy to those professions that have already been highly congested. With these introductory remarks, let us now go into the details of the industry in question.

Varieties of Fowls.

There are a good many varieties of fowls both Indian and foreign. But in fowl-keeping it is advisable to keep only one variety that is native of India, as foreign varieties do not thrive here at all.

Features of a good Fowl.

In purchasing fowls for breeding, only those should be chosen that are young, sportive, of good size, short-legged and of full breast.

Housing.

In keeping 30 fowls (a fair number to begin with) let a house of 30 square feet be erected, one square feet being quite sufficient for each bird. It should be proof against heat, cold and damp and at the same time well-ventilated. Let it be divided into 5 compartments—each compartment to hold 5 hens and one cock. Each compartment should have one perch 18 inches high for the birds to roost on. The entire house should have a shed in front and a yard beyond, in order that the birds may have free runs as much as possible. The shed and the yard should be thoroughly closed in by wire-netting to keep the birds safe from the attack of jackals, weasels, polar cats, kites, cats, dogs and snakes. The house should have one entrance door at one end and smaller ones leading to each compartment. In one part of each compartment, a heap of sand should be kept for the dust-bath of the fowls, which is their natural habit.

Breeding.

Birds that are six months old begin laying eggs. For the laying of eggs 5 shallow earthen vessels (one for each hen) should be placed at the corners of each compartment. Each vessel should have at its bottom a thin layer of ashes, over which should be placed a layer of fresh cut grass and then on the top a thin layer of straw. Each hen can hatch 10 eggs at a time. The total number of eggs lain by a fair average layer is 150. Chickens come out after incubation for three weeks. The new chickens and their mother should be confined to a coop for a fortnight or so in order that the chickens may be reared by their mother and that they may learn shortly to pick up food for themselves. Hourly feeding of new chickens for the first seven days is essential. The wholesome food for new chickens is a boiled egg mashed with finely sliced stale bread. This food may also be given with barley to the hen. After a month or so the chickens may be given broken rice and boiled rice. As soon as they are one month old the chickens should have a separate compartment.

Feeding.

The breeding fowls should have three feeds a day :—(1) The morning feed should consist of kitchen refuse and rice-dust, (2) the midday feed should consist of cooked rice and cooked pulse seasoned with a small quantity of salt and pepper powder, (3) the evening feed should consist of dry grains such as paddy, buck-wheat, oats &c. Brooding fowls are found unmindful of taking any food. Care should be taken that

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such fowls are particularly encouraged to go to their food at least once a day. Let it be borne in mind that both under-feeding and over-feeding are injurious. One more essential thing is that good drinking water is constantly supplied to the birds. For this purpose each compartment should have one wooden or metallic trough to hold water. It should be daily cleaned properly before water is poured into it.

CLEANLINESS.

In the rearing of fowls one thing most essential is cleanliness. The entire house with the shed should be thoroughly kept clean every morning and the shed and the yard should be sprinkled with ashes every fourth day.

DISPOSAL OF FOWLS.

As soon as chickens are four months old they should be disposed of, with the exception of the best ones that should replace the old breeding stock.

COST OF KEEPING.

(a) Initial cost—

	Rs.	As.	P.
Purchasing breeding stock consisting of 25 hens and 5 cocks ...	30	0	0
Erecting house, shed and fencing shed and yard and sundries ...	50	0	0
TOTAL (*a*)	80	0	0
(b) Annual cost—			
Cost of feeding breeding fowls ...	142	8	0
Four-monthly cost of feeding 1800 chickens	900	0	0
Annual wages of a boy servant (for feeding the birds and cleaning the house)	36	0	0
TOTAL (*b*)	1,078	8	0

OUTTURN.

Total number of eggs lain in a year is 150×25=3,750 from which deduct 150 as broken or rotten. The net number comes to 3,600, out of which will come out say 1,800 chickens which at 10 annas each, would fetch Rs. 1,125, when they are 4 months old. The remaining 1,800 eggs would yield Rs. 56, as. 4. So the total comes to Rs. 1,181-4 as. Deducting the annual cost we arrive at Rs. 102-12 as. the net profit per year.

ANNADA PROSAD GHOSH.

A FRENCH TRAVELLER IN INDIA IN THE LAST CENTURY

VICTOR Jacquemont, a native of France born at Paris on the 8th August 1801, was deputed by the French Government to visit India in order to investigate the natural history of this country in all its branches and collect materials wherewith to enrich the Museum of Natural History at Paris. The head of the Museum was the distinguished Baron Cuvier, on whose recommendation, Jacquemont was selected by the French Government to fulfil the important scientific mission to India. As India was then ruled by England, and as foreigners were very vigilantly excluded from freely travelling in this country, it was necessary for Jacquemont to secure a passport from the Directors of the East India Company to explore this country. He had, therefore, to come to London in 1828, bringing with him a letter of introduction from Baron Cuvier to the Right Hon'ble Sir Alexander Johnston, who at that time was connected with most of the learned societies of London. It was through his exertion, that Jacquemont was enabled to obtain the necessary pass-port from the Directors of the East India Company to visit the territories under their administration in India. Sir Alexander, moreover, personally recommended him to the attention and kindness of Lord William Bentinck, who was at that time the Governor-General of India, Mr. Lushington, Governor of Madras, Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay and Sir Edward Owen, Commanding the British naval force in India.

Armed with the pass-port and letters of introduction, Jacquemont left Europe in a French vessel towards the end of August

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1828, and after a voyage of over six months, he landed at Pondicherry in the middle of April 1829. From Pondicherry he proceeded to Calcutta, where he was very hospitably entertained by Lord and Lady Bentinck, the Chief Justice of Bengal, Mr. Justice Sir Edward Ryan, and Mr. Pearson, who at that time held the office of Crown-prosecutor at Calcutta. He prolonged his stay in Calcutta for six months till the winter had set in, and he used the time he spent there to good account, by studying Hindoostanee and Persian with a Moonshee, and also worked in the magnificent Botanical Garden there, where he became acquainted with the vegetable products of India, collected together there, the knowledge of which stood him in good stead in his subsequent scientific explorations. He left Calcutta on 20th November 1829 for the Upper Provinces and reached Benares on the 31st December 1829. The physical aspect and natural productions of the country between Calcutta and Benares do not seem to have made any profound impression on him, for in his letters to his father and friends in France, he does not seem to admire the beauties of nature of the provinces of Bengal and Behar.

After a few day's stay at Benares, he left for Dehli (marching through Bundelkhand), which he reached in March 1830. The titular king of Dehli, the lineal descendant of Timur, was still paid homage to by the actual rulers of British India, and coins had not yet ceased to be struck in his name. Every traveller of consequence to Dehli was required to pay his respects to His Imperial Majesty and as Jacquemont was a personage deputed by the French Government to scientifically explore India, he was presented to the great Moghul by the political Resident, who bestowed on him a *khelat* or dress of honor, and with his Imperial hands fastened a couple of jewelled ornaments to his hat. This Shade of Baber and Akbar had never seen a Frenchman before and so inquired of Jacquemont if there was a king of France, and if English was spoken there. According to Jacquemont, this titular king had 'a fine face, a fine white beard, and the expression of a man who has been long unhappy'.

After leaving Dehli, he travelled through the Sikh States, which were at that time under the protection of the English, to the hill States in the Himalaya, going as far as the borders of Chinese Tartary. Spending the summer of 1830 in the hills, botanising, geologising, and zoologising, he returned again to the plains with the onset of winter. During this summer, he was for some time at Simla, which had not then become the Summer Capital of the Government of India, as it did, a few years afterwards. In a letter to his father dated June 21st, 1830, he has mentioned the manner in which Simla came into existence and prominence.

Wrote Jacquemont,

"This place, like Mont d'or or Bagnéres, is the resort of the rich, the idle, and the invalid. The officer charged with the military, political, judicial, and financial service of this extremity of the British Empire, which was acquired only fifteen years ago, bethought himself, nine years ago, of leaving his place in the plains during the heats of a terrible summer, and coming and encamping under the shade of the cedars. He was alone in the desert; some friends came to visit him there. The situation and climate appeared admirable to them. Some hundreds of mountaineers were summoned, who felled the trees around, squared them rudely, and, assisted by workmen from the plains, in one month constructed a spacious house. Each of the guests wished also to have one; and now there are upwards of sixty scattered over the peaks of the mountains or on their declivities. Thus a considerable village has risen, as it were, by enchantment. In the centre of the space which they occupy, splendid roads have been cut through the rock; and at a distance of seven hundred leagues from Calcutta, and seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, the luxury of the Indian capital has established itself, and fashion maintains its tyrannical sway."

He congratulated himself on his journey to the border of the Chinese Kingdom, which had he been an Englishman, he would not have been permitted to undertake. In one of his letters he wrote :—

"My being a Frenchman, is far from disadvantageous to me: An Englishman could not have undertaken the journey which the *French lord* has just terminated so fortunately. The Government forbids English subjects to approach the Chinese frontiers, in order to avoid the trouble of the complaints which violations of territory might excite. Being free from this restraint, and persuaded that my little caravan would march in these deserts like a conquering army, I fearlessly ran my chance."

After returning from his travels in the Himalayan hills and Tibet he seriously thought of visiting Kashmir, which formed part of Runjeet's dominions. At this time, the British Empire in India was limited by the river Sutlej, the frontier station being

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Ludhiana. On the other side of the Sutlej was the Punjab, then ruled over by Maharaja Runjeet Singh. No one was allowed to cross the Sutlej and enter Runjeet's kingdom without his permission, which Jacquemont now tried to obtain. In the service of Runjeet Singh were some European and American adventurers, at the head of whom was a Frenchman named M. Allard. On hearing of Jacquemont's excursions in the Himalayan hills, he wrote to him a letter from Lahore in which he offered all that his situation at Runjeet Singh's Court might enable him to be useful to Jacquemont. In reply to this, Jacquemont wrote that a visit to the plains of the Panjab would be of no great service to him; "but if M. Allard could overcome the repugnance of the Rajah, to suffer Europeans to penetrate into Cashmere, and succeed in obtaining this permission for me, guaranteeing me perfect safety, I should feel under very great obligation to him. As a motive to induce the Rajah to suffer me to see the mountainous parts of his Empire (Cashmere), M. Allard may inform him that my researches will enable me, more than any other, to discover mineral masses which it might be advantageous to work."

He was very anxious to visit Kashmir, for since the days of Bernier, no European had travelled in that country in a manner which might have profited the cause of science. It is true that two Englishmen, Forster and Moorcroft, visited Kashmir after Bernier, but as they travelled *incognito* they were unable to make any collections of the objects of natural history of that country. All these considerations prompted Jacquemont to try his best to obtain Runjeet's permission to visit Kashmir.

Runjeet Singh, on the other hand, was not willing to allow Europeans to freely wander in his dominions. He looked upon them with great suspicion and it cannot be denied that he had good grounds for so doing. Moorcroft, whose name has already been mentioned above, as one of the European travellers in Kashmir, abused the privilege of his position, by plotting against Runjeet. Moorcroft thought that he could play the *role* of Clive in those regions and conspire with a chief of an independent principality and bring about the downfall of the Sikh ruler of the Punjab. What Mr. Moorcroft did in these regions may be described in Jacquemont's own words:—

"This gentleman (Moorcroft) was an English physician in the Company's service. He was superintendent of the stud in India: a very lucrative employment. The Government allowed him several times leave of absence, of which he took advantage to travel to the North of the Himalaya. * * But the jug goes to the well so often that it gets broken at last. Mr. Moorcroft died there of a putrid fever, or a dose of poison, or even a gun-shot wound: it has never been properly explained which. He went to Ludak, thence to Cashmere.* * He thought by jesuitically giving himself a political character, * * he should smooth many difficulties in the object of his journey; and he wrote a very ambiguous letter to Ahmed Shah, which did not fail to fall into Runjeet Singh's hands, who, in his turn, did not fail to forward it to the British Government without complaint or comment. But a duplicate having reached Ahmed Shah, he thought the English at his gates;* *"

In another letter, Jacquemont wrote:—

"There can be no doubt that Mr. Moorcroft made overtures directly to him (Amed Shah), and now he (Ahmed Shah) persists in taking me for an Englishman, and believing that like Mr. Moorcroft, I have other objects of curiosity besides the minerals and animals of his country. Mr. Moorcroft's conduct was highly reprehensible: he brought a slur upon British honour among the Asiatics."

We cannot therefore blame Runjeet Singh, if, disgusted with the treacherous and perfidious character of some of the European visitors to his kingdom, he was unwilling to allow others to travel in his dominions. Pressure was however brought to bear on the Lion of the Punjab to permit Jacquemont to visit Kashmir. The Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck, had taken Jacquemont by the hand, and it is to him that the French traveller turned and requested his diplomatic good offices with Runjeet Singh to open the gates of his dominions to him. In this letter Jacquemont writes, "I have begged Lord William to entitle me Lord Physician Victor Jacquemont, and to support the title of *hakim*." Bentinck commanded the Political Resident to officially introduce Jacquemont to the minister of Runjeet Singh accredited to him at Dehli. This was done and Runjeet Singh was also advised by the French Commander M. Allard in his employ to permit this countryman of his to visit the Sikh Empire. Regarding this prospect of his visit to Kashmir, Jacquemont wrote to his father:

"I should have regretted all my life not having availed myself of this admirable opportunity of visiting a celebrated country, inaccessible to European

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travellers since Bernier, in 1663; for Forster only saw by means of a disguise which compelled him to look at nothing. After the despotic prince who by terror at present maintains order there, the anarchy which for a century desolated it will certainly revive, and render impracticable every undertaking similar to that which I am about to attempt with so many probabilities of success. It is to the happy chance which brought about the friendly relations I have formed and keep up with the Governor-General of India, that I am indebted for the flattering prospect now smiling upon me. No Asiatic friendship could recommend me, better than that, to the king of Lahore."

Runjeet, after all, allowed Jacquemont to visit his territories. So Jacquemont left Dehli towards the end of January 1831 and reached Ludhiana, which, as said before, constituted then the frontier station of the East India Company in India, in the middle of February. Here he halted a few days till the arrival of the men of Runjeet Singh, who were sent by that monarch to escort him to Lahore. M. Allard also wrote to him:—

Maharajah has just ordered the son of the fakir Ezis-el-Din (Aziz-ud-Din), to start with thirty horsemen to meet you. We hope, therefore, to embrace you soon. The young fakir, Shah-el-Din, sets out at the same time as these few words; but the horseman who will be the bearer of them will be two days before him on the road, in order that you may be in readiness to cross the Sutlej when this young nobleman arrives at Falour."

On the 2nd of March 1831, Jacquemont crossed the Sutlej and entered the dominion of Runjeet. The liberality and munificence of that ruler was proverbial throughout the East. It is also not improbable that M. Allard might have told him of the straitened pecuniary circumstances of this countryman of his whom the French Government had sent to India on a scientific mission. Imagine therefore the feelings of Jacquemont when, on entering the territory of the Sikh Monarch, he used to receive a present of 101 rupees every day. In a letter to his father, which he wrote on the third day of his entrance into the Sikh dominions, he said:—

"The young fakir, * * used the most suppliant forms to put into my hands a heavy bag of money, while a number of his attendants marched past my tent, depositing at the door a large basket of fruit, and a vase of cream or preserves. This was a present from the rajah. *I begged Shah-el-Din to write to him to express my thanks, giving him to understand, however, that I expected no less from his hospitality.*"

I have italicised the last sentence in order to show the avaricious and mean nature of this scientific traveller. But he had not to express so very freely his avarice for Runjeet's money. That prince with his oriental generosity treated Jacquemont in a manner which he could never have dreamt of when he bade farewell to the British territory in India. His covetous nature he did not conceal from his father, to whom he wrote:—

"Till now I had always detested the slowness of travelling in India, but Runjeet Sing has arguments which would reconcile me to the speed of a tortoise. Here am I become as covetous as if I were rich; * * *"

It has already been mentioned before, that the natural scenery of the provinces of Bengal and Behar did not make any profound impression upon his mind. For my own part, I am, however, inclined to believe that this want of appreciation of the beauties of nature by Jacquemont was due to the fact of his pecuniary difficulties. Day after day, he had to spend a great deal out of his slender resources and he did not know how to meet the heavy expenses which the journey was costing him. How often he refers in his letters to the niggardly manner in which the French Government had treated him in pecuniary matters. He was sent out to India on a yearly salary of 6,000 francs or a little over two thousand rupees. This was hardly enough for one who had to travel and camp out every day and for which purpose had to maintain a large establishment. Had he not been hospitably treated by the English officers in India, it is not improbable that he would have been compelled to leave India within the first six months of his arrival in this country.

He was, however, delighted with the natural scenery of the Punjab. Regarding this, he wrote to his father, in the letter from which portions have already been quoted above:

"I know not whether it is through an optical illusion, but the Punjab and its inhabitants please me much. *Perhaps, you will say, that it is because I see them through a shower of gold;* but the unsophisticated Sikhs of this country have a simplicity and open honesty of manner, which a European relishes the more, after two years' residence or travelling in India. Their fanaticism is extinguished, and such is their tolerance, that Runjeet's grand vizier is a Mussulman, and his two brothers are Mussulmans, and all are equally in the good graces of the Sikh monarch."

The words in italics in the above passage are mine, for I believe that Jacquemont was able to see things in their true colors in the Punjab, because his mind was at ease at that time as regards money matters.

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On the 11th march, he reached Lahore, where he was met by M. Allard and other European military adventurers in the service of the Sikh monarch. It seems from his descriptions that at Lahore he was put up at Shalimar Garden, which, those who have visited the capital of the Punjab know, is situated three miles from Lahore on the road leading to Amritsar. The day of his arrival at Lahore he spent in wandering through the walks of the garden, but at night he "remained alone in the enchantment of his new residence, which is quite like the fairy palaces of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments." In the evening of that day, Runjeet sent him grapes and pomegranates and other delicious fruits, together with, what was most valuable, in the eyes of this needy traveller, a purse of five hundred rupees. For my own part, I fail to understand why Runjeet Singh showered so many bags of money on this Frenchman, who was never grateful for all these to Runjeet, but, on the contrary, as will be shown later on, painted him in the blackest color possible. This native of France possessed curious ideas of gratitude. But we who have travelled in the West and have been brought up in the Western school of thought, cannot sufficiently appreciate and admire the spirit of hospitality and generosity of the warm-hearted oriental monarch. How different from the cold, calculating and Mammon-worshiping ideals of the West! The people of one of the Western countries were dissatisfied and disappointed with the Great Chinese statesman Li Hung Chang when that celestial passed through that country without enriching its merchants by giving orders for the manufacture of ships and other materials of warfare!

On the next day after his arrival at Lahore he was presented to Runjeet Singh. After a stay of a few days at Lahore, he was permitted by Runjeet to proceed to Kashmir. On the day of his taking leave of the Sikh King, the latter loaded him with presents, which made Jacquemont quite rich. He wrote to his father:

"He (Runjeet Singh) gave me the khelat or dress of honor, and that too of the most distinguished kind: it costs five thousand rupees, or twelve thousand francs. It consists of a pair of magnificent Cashmere shawls*; two other less beautiful Cashmere Shawls, seven pieces of silk stuff or muslin, the latter of extraordinary beauty: eleven articles in all, which number is the most honorable. Add to this, an ornament according to the fashion of the country, of badly-cut precious stones.

"And, in addition to the value of this present, a purse of eleven hundred rupees; which, together with the sums before received, make two thousand four hundred, which is more than a year's salary from the Jardin (*i.e.*, the French Government)."

We could wish that for all these acts of kindness and generosity shown towards him, Jacquemont could have been grateful to his patron, but gratitude did not enter into the nature of this needy and greedy traveller, for he did not scruple to call Runjeet "a shameless scoundrel" and say other things of him which will be quoted later on.

Runjeet Singh did all he could and what lay in his power to enable Jacquemont to perform his journey to Kashmir in comfort. So Jacquemont left Lahore on the 23rd March and reached Kashmir without any adventures worth noting on the road. It was his wish to take the road from Peshawar to Kashmir, but he could not do so, for at that time, the Wahabee leader Syed Ahmed was stirring up the fanatic Pathans of the Peshawar valley to wage holy war against Runjeet.

In Kashmir he had every facility at his command to collect objects of natural history and he seems to have used the golden opportunity he was in possession of, to the most profitable extent. He spent the summer of 1831, to quote his own words, "botanising, geologising and zoologising." As said before he was the first European to scientifically explore the rich valley of Kashmir and he gathered a harvest which exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The number of species of plants and animals which he was the first to bring to light, that is, to the knowledge of the scientific men of the West, was a very large one and he was the precursor of those naturalists who have made the scientific world thoroughly acquainted with the Flora and Fauna of the Earthly Paradise, as Kashmir is most familiarly called.

The men of science should feel obliged to the patronage of Runjeet Singh for enabling them to know the nature of the mineral, vegetable and animal products of Kashmir and we do not know if the French Government, or any scientific society of Europe ever thanked that Sikh

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sovereign for his princely munificence to Jacquemont, without which he could not possibly have ever succeeded in prolonging his stay in Kashmir. We do not know also if any natural order, genus or species of animal or plant has been named by Jacquemont or those who arranged and labelled his collections after Runjeet Singh to mark and appreciate his generosity in the cause of science.*

With the onset of winter, Jacquemont left Kashmir, and passing through the Punjab, Rajputana, Central India, and the Nizam's territory, he arrived at Poona in the Deccan in the summer of 1832. He spent the rainy season in the capital of the Deccan, which he left in October 1832 for the island of Salsette near Bombay. It was here while in pursuit of natural history that he caught that illness which ended fatally. He suffered from inflammation of the liver which resulted in abscess of that organ. He was removed to Bombay where notwithstanding the best medical aid that was available, he breathed his last on the 7th December 1832, at the early age of 31. He was buried at Sonapur, near Bombay, but his remains were exhumed on February 26, 1881, and sent to France in a French war vessel. "When the French authorities," writes Mr. Douglas in his "Bombay and Western India", "endeavoured to gather up the bones of Jacquemont at Sonapur, they had to use a sieve, and all they got from the riddled sand would not have filled your hat. The French Academy had judged wisely, for they forwarded a child's coffin."

Thus were passed the last years in India of a naturalist, who, had his life been prolonged by a few years more, would have enlarged the boundaries of the then known natural sciences and would not have been an unworthy successor of Cuvier.

This brief sketch of the wanderings of Jacquemont, will not be complete, without giving his opinions of the men and events of his time in India. It is, however, necessary to state that much reliance should not be placed on his opinions on Indian political and social questions. He was a trustworthy observer of the facts of natural history, which led to his selection to the important office in which he arrived in India. But unfortunately, the same cannot be said of his observations of the delicate questions of Indian politics and sociology. To acquire a proficiency in any department of human knowledge requires preparatory training of some years. To understand the social institutions of a people, a broad sympathy with them, an unprejudiced bent of mind and above all a thorough knowledge of the language of the country are needed. Jacquemont was not possessed of any of these qualities. In religion, he belonged to that school which had been reigning supreme in France ever since the days of the French Revolution, that is to say, he was a sceptic, if not a pronounced atheist. Such being the case, a high and lofty code of morals, a sense of honor and regard for truth were not to be expected of him. He did not scruple to libel the people among whom he sojourned and sometimes whose hospitality even he was compelled to accept.

But before we pass on to his opinions on the men and events of his time, it is necessary to advert to the mode of life he adopted while travelling in this country. For a long time he lived like a native of this country on such a bill of fare as his not too overflowing purse allowed. From his letters it appears that he lived on fruits and vegetables, drinking no spirituous liquors but plain water and generally dressing himself in the habiliments of an Indian. He was all the better for work in the plains of India for his abstemious habits. But a few months before his death while in the Deccan, he took to drinking alcoholic liquors for no better reason than that of his not catching cholera, which it appears was then prevalent in the Deccan. In his letter dated Poona, June 6th, 1832, to his father, he wrote :

"The cholera commits frightful ravages at Mow, Indore, and in the territory of Meewar, through which I have lately passed. It raged with violence at Ahmednugghur when I was there a few days ago, but it scarcely attacked any but Indians. They say that water drinkers are more liable to catch it than others; I shall therefore mix a little wine with my water."

Unfortunately this false notion made him a drunkard. At one time, he was unable

* In a letter to his father, Jacquemont wrote :—"I am writing to the *Jardin*, to promise M. Cuvier the fishes of the lakes of Cashmere, and a very respectable number of the animals of this country. It is to Runjeet Sing that they will be under obligation, for if I had only had their wings to enable me to fly, I should not have taken so much trouble."

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o afford the luxury of drinking wines, for his purse was not a long one, but now he was a rich man for Runjeet had made him so, and he rather freely indulged in drinking. This brought on that illness which terminated fatally.

Now, we pass on to notice some of his opinions.

I. His opinion of Hindus.

Jacquemont lived among Anglo-Indians and their hospitality he had rather very freely partaken of. So it was not unnatural for him to imbibe the prejudices of Anglo-Indians against Hindus and feel contempt for everything Indian. No, he imitated even the proverbial Anglo-Indian bad temper and did not hesitate to adopt their provoking manner in treating the inoffensive natives of this country. He tried to play the Anglo-Indian Nabob and used to give himself grand airs when interviewing the princes and aristocracy of the land. He was very spiteful and in his letters he mentions with delight how he avenged on those from whom he fancied he had received slight or rather not having received proper homage as due to his Lordship. He knew nothing of the literature, religious or social institutions of the Hindoos, and yet he had the audacity to write to his father, "As to the Hindoos, one does not know how to take them; the scoundrels have no more religion than dogs." Of course, it is true that he himself had no religion.

That his notions regarding the Hindoos were borrowed secondhand and not grounded on actual observations, he himself admitted in one of his letters, in which he wrote :—

"My present host, Mr. Pearson, * * is certainly, from the nature of his duties, better informed than any one else, concerning the character of the natives; and from the facts which he relates to me, and the opinions he expresses, as well as from the decisions of Sir Charles Grey, the Chief Justice, I have become acquainted with a thousand interesting matters relating to the people of this singular country, *with which my own observation alone could not have supplied me.*"

The words which I have put in italics show that he saw India through the spectacles of the prejudiced Anglo-Indians. After making the above confession, he proceeds :—

"In India, the creature man is a very singular being. He, who having decided on death, throws himself before the sacred car to be crushed by its wheels, jumps up at the moment of being touched by them, and runs away, because a European passing on horse back gallops towards him whip in hand! Here are to be seen united in the same individual, the greatest contempt for death, the greatest indifference, the greatest insensibility to physical pain and the most excessive cowardice. Instances are frequent of the most atrocious cruelty, combined with habits of charity; nothing is so contradictory, so whimsical, so mad, as this people."

How he had imbibed the Anglo-Indian spirit of ill-treating the natives of the country, he himself confesses in one of his letters to his father :—

"I have formed an escort, as I could wish, of people accustomed to wait on officers, and to be harshly treated by them; and I am already so much modified by the contagion of example, that I will suffer no relaxation of discipline. A man is degraded and brutalised, by living among such debased beings. I now understand and excuse Frederick's harshness, I was going to say violence, and his great readiness in planting a kick on the hinder part of one of Gods' images. I already feel a similar inclination."

How degraded and brutalised he himself had become, he himself admits in one of his letters to his brother :—

"Do not blame too much my violence with the people of my escort. Between the hammer and the anvil, between contempt and servile respect, there is no neutral situation possible. You do not thrash people for not calling you "your lordship, your highness, your majesty:" now it is the rule in India for the natives never to address the smallest English gentleman but by these titles, the same which they give to their rajahs, their nawaubs, and the Emperor of Delhi. An ill-tempered fellow on the road having called me *you* this morning instead of *your highness*, I was forced to give him a very severe lesson in politeness. * * * I ought to be the more jealous about etiquette, as the simplicity of my equipment, the hard life I lead, the privations and fatigues I endure along with my people, my dress of common stuff proper for this kind of life, and everything in me and around me tempts them to depart from it. 'My lord,' therefore is not sufficient for me; I must have 'your majesty' or, at least, 'your highness.'"

II. His opinion of Anglo-Indians.

Jacquemont has not said much about Anglo-Indians. His reticence about, and his not making any adverse criticism of them appear to me to be due to the hospitality that he had received at their hands, and he was discreet in not divulging his real views, for he was afraid that if his letters were tampered with and their contents known, he would get into trouble. However from his letters we can easily gather that he did not hold very high opinion of them. From one of the extracts given above it will be seen that he considered

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them to be "degraded and brutalised" by their coming in contact with the "debased" natives of this country. He has, in one of his letters, referred to the drinking propensities of the Anglo-Indians, how "the most abstemious took an ample portion of Sherry, Burgundy, Claret, Port, and Champagne;—and that daily."

Of the unpopularity of the English in India, he wrote:—

"With the Asiatics, the English are so awkward and so unsociable, that I am not surprised at it. They have only *yes and no* to say for themselves. * *"

Regarding the spendthrift manner in which the Anglo-Indians of those days lived and their consequently getting into debt, he wrote:—

"Nothing is more common in India than to owe 50,000, 100,000, or even more than double that sum of rupees: and the debtors are frequently captains at 600 rupees a month, or surgeons at 1,000 or 1200; all proceeding from the mania of expending more than their income. The public idea is, that the bankers of Calcutta are a pack of thieves and that it is delightful to over-reach them. The English, so proud, so tenacious of their honour, suffer themselves to be dragged before the King's Bench at Calcutta, for debts truly shameful, and for which there can be no excuse, except in the insanity of the debtors."

It must be admitted that a change for the better has come over the Anglo-Indians. Instead of getting into debt to the tune of 50,000 Rupees or more, it is not unfrequent now for captains on 600, or surgeons on 1000 to show a deposit with their bankers of several thousand rupees. They do not now like to spend so much money in India as their predecessors in days gone by used to do.

Jacquemont, like many noted Anglo-Indian administrators such as Malcolm, was of opinion that a large colony of Europeans would be detrimental to the maintenance of their prestige in India. In one of his letters he wrote:—

"A European of degraded morals ought immediately to be arrested and sent to Europe. Such a man does more injury to the European character and to the future prospects of the British power in India, than a formidable insurrection could do."

* * * * *

"At Calcutta, the Indians every day see European sailors led away drunk by Indian police soldiers. They likewise see Europeans stand as culprits at the bar of the criminal Court. There the powerful illusion attached to the name of European is dispelled. In the whole of the Delta of the Ganges, which for the most part is cultivated by indigo planters, either British or half-caste—an opulent class of men, but violent and gross in their habits—the spell is also broken. In no other part is the European population so numerous in proportion to the natives; nowhere are the latter so timid as here; and yet there is no province where Europeans are less respected."

His following remarks are very curious reading:—

"The dogs in this country bark after a Christian; the buffaloes and cows present their horns, and lower their heads before him; the horses on the road are frightened, turn their heels towards him, and kick at him if he approaches them. But the bipeds of our species make magnificent obeisances to him. It is through love of these obeisances that Europeans in British India persist in retaining their national dress, which gives them as a compensation, bites, kicks, gores, &c. &c."

III. Was he a patriot?

Patriotism, as it is understood in the West, may be defined to be the hatred which one entertains for countries other than his own. Not much love is lost between the English and the French. If the English are seized with Frankophobia, the latter are not free from Anglophobia. At the time, when Jacquemont left Europe for India, it was a belief entertained by the natives of France that the British dominion in India was a nuisance which ought to be abated, but its duration depended on the will of Russia, the speedy appearance of whose forces at the passes of the Indian Caucasus was 'a consummation devoutly to be wished, and speedily to be obtained.' But such were not the views of Jacquemont. He considered the British rule in India a great blessing. In one of his letters he wrote:—

"One must have travelled in the Punjab to know what an immense benefit to humanity the English dominion in India is, and what miseries it spares eighty millions of souls. In the Punjab there is an enormous portion of the population who subsist only by their guns. It is perhaps the most wretched of all; however, in all justice, they would only have a right to be hanged. I cannot witness the frightful evils of such a system without ardently desiring to see the English extend their frontiers from the Sutlej to the Indus, and the Russians occupy the other bank of the river."

Again, in another letter, he wrote:—

"How deplorable is the condition of the human species in this vast East! The British Government in India, though it calls for some reforms, merits nevertheless many eulogies. Its administration is an immense blessing to the provinces subjected to it; and I have only fully appreciated it since I have been travelling in this country, which has remained independent: that is to say, it has remained the theatre of atrocious violence, and continual robbery and murder."

He would have been even glad to see

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Chandernagore and Pondicherry handed over to the English. In one of his letters to his father, he wrote :-

"You ask me what I think of our Indian possessions. I have heard that there was a talk of purchasing from our Government, Pondicherry and our other factories in India. The price put upon them was even fixed: it was said to be a million sterling. I do not, however, know what steps may have been taken to realise this desire of the Company. Were I to be asked as to the propriety of accepting such an offer, I should say yes, a thousand times. Our microscopical establishments in India are always ridiculous, and a humiliating anomaly in the event of war. Young M.. Desbassyus wishes to attach a degree of importance to Pondicherry of which it is not susceptible. * * * * M. Desbassyus' establishments at Pondicherry must perish, because the British provinces have natural advantages which that locality does not possess for the same branch of industry: they have a more fertile soil, a more favorable climate, cheaper labour, and lastly capital, which we want."

I do not think that the French people looked upon Jacquemont as a patriot for his views regarding the sale of Pondicherry to the English.

IV. Lord William Bentinck.

Jacquemont had brought from England letters of introduction to the then Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck. The Governor-General was not popular with the Anglo-Indian community. The cause of his unpopularity was not far to seek. He had by a stroke of his pen deprived them of their much cherished allowance known as half *batta*. It is a Hindustani saying, *Pith men maro pet men mat maro*, *i.e.*, strike on the back, but don't hit the stomach. If a man is not deprived of his staff of life, he does not much care whether he is abused or ill-treated or even beaten to death. The Mammon-worshipping Anglo-Indians, with whom gold was their god, did not like to have their allowance docked for the benefit of India. Jacquemont narrates how they used to abuse and speak slightingly of Lord William Bentinck. But he himself seems to have had a very high opinion of the Governor-General. In one of his letters, he wrote :—

"The character of Lord William Bentinck inspires me with a profound respect; * *. He is an old soldier, abhorring war; a patriot without reserve, though son of an English duke; and although Grand Mogul for the time being, he is an honest man after my own heart, plain and open; in short, he won my regard!"

For my own part, after having bestowed careful attention on the consideration of a his public measures in this country, my op nion of Lord Bentinck is not such a flatte ing one as that of Jaquemont, or as that the educated Indians generally. He appea to me to have been a Russophobist and t foreign policy was not the one calculat to maintain peace on the then frontier British India. He bullied the Amirs Sind and also made Runjeet Singh disconte ed. The so-called navigation of the Ind took place in his regime.

In a letter to one of his friends, Jacqu mont wrote :—

"The Indus, * * especially in the middle part its course, between Attock and Dera Ghazi Kh would be an excellent one.

"The Russians might present themselves befor in force, almost without meeting any obstacle on th route. They would march at their ease thro Persia; whilst Afghanistan, which for the last twe years has been divided into a multitude of li independent and extremely weak principalities, wo be unable to arrest their progress for a single day. is, moreover, beyond doubt, that the Afghans wo spontaneously swell the numbers of any army mar ing to the conquest of India. To plunder India t the former trade of the Afghans, the road to wh they would joyfully resume.

"Orders have therefore come hither from honourable Court of Directors to gain by treaty w the Ameers of Sind and Runjeet Sing, the navigat of the Indus, in order to bring British troops steam from Bombay, in case of any hostile demonstr tions in Persia on the part of Russians.

"The Ameers of Sind are the Chiefs of Tat Hyderabad and other places in the vicinity of t mouth of the Indus. They have been independ ever since the dissolution of the Afghan Empire. I these twenty years past, Runjeet Sing has be coveting their country, and would long have seized had he not dreaded the displeasure of the British.

"The Ameers have just been informed that if th do not afford every facility and protection to t commercial and military navigation of the Briti on the Indus, they will be left to Runjeet Sing's tend mercy."

At Ruper on the Sutlej a grand Durb was held where Lord William Bentin came not with an escort but with an arm to meet Runjeet Singh. The object of th Durbar seems to have been to persuad Runjeet Singh with sweet and specious pr mises to accede to the request of the Com pany, or failing in that to frighten him t making hostile demonstrations within h dominions. Jacquemont wrote :—

"It is not merely a magnificent embassy that t British Government now talk of sending to Runje Sing: the Governor-General desires to have a pers nal interview with the Maharajah. My friend Wa

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is returned to Lahore, to negociate the etiquette at the meeting of the two stars of the East. They are counting steps and half steps and regulating beforehand the insignificant sentences which they are to exchange, &c. This is a very grave affair; and I do not think Wade will manage it well. The high contracting parties, as they say, have irreconcilable or incompatible pretensions, which form the subject of parley at the present time. What Lord William wants with Runjeet Sing, I am unable to guess,—to frighten him, perhaps, and show him how easy it would be to annihilate him. The Colonel of one of the two regiments of English cavalry in the Calcutta presidency writes to me from Simla that he has been appointed to command, not the escort, but the army, which is to accompany the Governor-General to his interview with Runjeet, if it take place; or the Embassy to Lahore, in the reverse case."

The proceedings of the Durbar came off very smoothly, but it appears that Bentinck did not fulfil some of the specious promises which he must have made to Runjeet Singh; for Jacquemont in one of his letters writes how disgusted Runjeet Singh had become with the English Gevernment. "There is a coolness," wrote Jacquemont, "between Runjeet Sing and us—I mean the Government. The British wish to occupy the Lower Indus, and push their trade in that direction. They will unquestionably be obliged to establish military posts on the banks, in order to protect it. Hence the ill temper of Runjeet, who cannot resist and is forced to suffer what he cannot prevent.

"That which he allowed me last year out of compliment to the Governor-General, he would no doubt refuse me now."

Those who have read Captain Cunningham's history of the Sikhs, will remember that that author has mentioned as one of the causes of the Sikhs crossing the Sutlej and invading the British territories the fact that while the British Indian Government had stood in the way of Runjeet Singh's acquisition of Sindh, they were guilty of annexing that province themselves and thus threatening the independence of the Punjab. It was Bentinck's doing then which subsequently led to the annexation of the provinces of Sindh and the Punjab. All that might be urged on his behalf is that he was merely carrying out the behests of the Court of Directors, but if he did not approve of them, he could have raised his voice of protest against them or resigned his appointment, as did Northbrook under similar circumstances.

V. Maharaja Runjeet Singh.

One would have naturally expected Jacquemont to speak highly of his patron Runjeet; but as mentioned before, that French traveller lacked gratitude. Even supposing Runjeet was guilty of all those things with which he has been credited or rather discredited, it was no part of Jacquemont, had he any sense of honor or honesty in him, to have written anything derogatory to the Sikh monarch's character, whose hospitality he had shared, and who filled his pocket with gold. It may be said that he being an impartial observer of facts must truly record his opinion of men and events as he saw them. Had he been guided by this motive, he would have said many unpleasant things of the Anglo-Indians also. But he did not do anything of the sort. Of them he wrote:—

"I have a great deal to praise in the men of this country (I mean the English). I almost always find some sympathy in them, * *"

Surely none of them showed so much practical sympathy and rendered such pecuniary assistance as Runjeet.

In one of his letters, he wrote:—

"Maharaja Runjeet Singh is an old fox, compared to whom the most skilful of our diplomatists is a simpleton."

In another letter he wrote:—

"His (Runjeet's) conversation is like a nightmare. He is almost the first *inquisitive* Indian I have seen; and his curiosity balances the apathy of the whole of his nation. He has asked a hundred thousand questions to me, about India, the British, Europe, Bonaparte &c."

Again:—

"This pattern of an Asiatic king is however, no saint; far from it. He is bound by neither law nor honour, when his interests do not enjoin him to be just or faithful; * * * He is passionately fond of horses, quite to madness; and he carries on a murderous and expensive war against a neighbouring province, in order to obtain a horse, which has been refused him either as a gift or a purchase. He has great bravery, a somewhat rare quality amongst the princes of the East; and although he has always succeeded in his military undertakings, it is by perfidious treaties and negociations alone, that from a simple country gentleman he has become absolute king of the Punjab, Cashmere, &c., and is better obeyed by his subjects than the Mogul Emperors in the zenith of their power. A Sikh by profession, a sceptic in reality, he every year pays his devotions at Amritsar, and what is very singular, these devotions are paid at the tombs of several Mahommedan saints; yet these pilgrimages offend none of the puritans of his own sect.

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"He is a shameless scoundrel, and cares not a bit more about it than Henry III. formerly among us. It is true that between the Indus and the Sutlej, it is not even a peccadillo to be a scoundrel."

While he was calling others scoundrels for their moral lapses one would have expected him to have shown a better example by his pure and chaste conduct and not violating the seventh commandment. But he himself was neither a saint nor immaculate. In a letter to his father, dated March 4th, 1831, from camp near Julliadur, he makes the following singular confession :—

"This morning I came to encamp near this ancient city, travelling on an elephant, which for a certain cause I find more convenient than a horse. The cause I do not know how to tell you. I will tell it to you, however, because I have promised to be candid. The confidence of noble souls is sometimes ill-requited. But with my certificate of *clarissimus et doctissimus vir*, I hope soon to have forgotten the dancing girls of Loodheeana."

No medical man need be told that the 'certain cause' had resulted from sexual excesses.

It is not necessary to dilate upon his abuses of Runjeet Singh. But in one of his letters he mentions how Runjeet had no very high opinion of European nations. "Runjeet * * exclaimed with an oath, 'Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, those—are all the same!'"

According to him,

"The British Government has every interest in Runjeet's preserving his sovereignty. Before the establishment of his power, parties of cavalry used constantly to pass the Sutlej and pillage the independent Sikhs on the left bank, the friends and proteges of the Company. These it was necessary to succour; and unless the fugitive aggressors were pursued on the other side of the river, no satisfaction or reparation was possible: the petty princes of the Punjab being too weak to be responsible for the robberies committed by their subjects."

He seems to think that the dominions of Runjeet could have been easily subdued by the English, but it was not at that time the policy of the East India Company to extend their possessions in India, for excepting Bengal, no other province was able to pay the working expenses of the costly machinery of the foreign Government. He wrote :—

"In order to maintain his little army (from thirty to forty thousand men) on a European footing, Runjeet Singh is obliged to grind his country with imposts, which are ruining it. Several of his provinces are calling for the English, and I do not doubt that some day or other (but not for some years) the Company will extend the limits of its empire from the Sutlej to the Indus. It is not a hundred years since the Punjab was dismembered from it, after the invasion of Nadir Shah, and it naturally forms a part of it, * * But the English will make this conquest only at the last extremity. All that they have added to their territory for the last fifty years beyond Bengal and Behar, beyond the empire which Colonel Clive had formed, has only diminished their revenues. Not one of the acquired provinces pays the expenses of its Government and military occupation. The Madras Presidency, taken in the lump, is annually deficient; Bombay is still further from covering its expenses. It is the revenue of Bengal and Behar, principally of the former, which, after making up the deficiency of the north-west provinces, recently annexed to the presidency of Calcutta, Bundelcund, Agra, Delhi, etc., sets the finances of the two Secondary States afloat."

VI. Raja Ram Mohun Roy.

It seems that Jacquemont made the acquaintance of Raja Ram Mohun Roy at Calcutta. In a letter to his father, he wrote :—

"The Calcutta papers inform me that Ram Mohun Roy is sailing for London. He is a Brahmin of Bengal, the most learned of the orientalists. He is acquainted with Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and writes admirably in English. He is not a Christian whatever they may say. He has converted several skilful clergymen of the English Episcopal Church, who had been sent to him, to Unitarianism. The honest English execrate him, because, say they, he is a *frightful deist*. The Hindoos, of the priestly order, abhor him for the same reasons. If I find him in Paris on my return, I will bring him to talk metaphysics with you. I used to see him often at Calcutta."

VII. Begum Sumroo.

He had heard of Begum Sumroo long before he met her. In one of his letters to his father, he wrote :—

"I shall see three or four people I want; and, as an object of curiosity, the old Begum Sumro, who made war more than sixty years ago on the Mahrattas with the best cavalry of the period in India. It is not very well known whence she comes; however, she is generally considered to have been a slave, brought either from Persia or Georgia. * * She was married some sixty years ago to an Italian adventurer in the service of Shah Allum, and has since passed, I know not why, for a Christian and a Catholic. Would she not be a fine match for me, if I was to inherit her sovereignty? I will think about it on my way to Hurdwar."

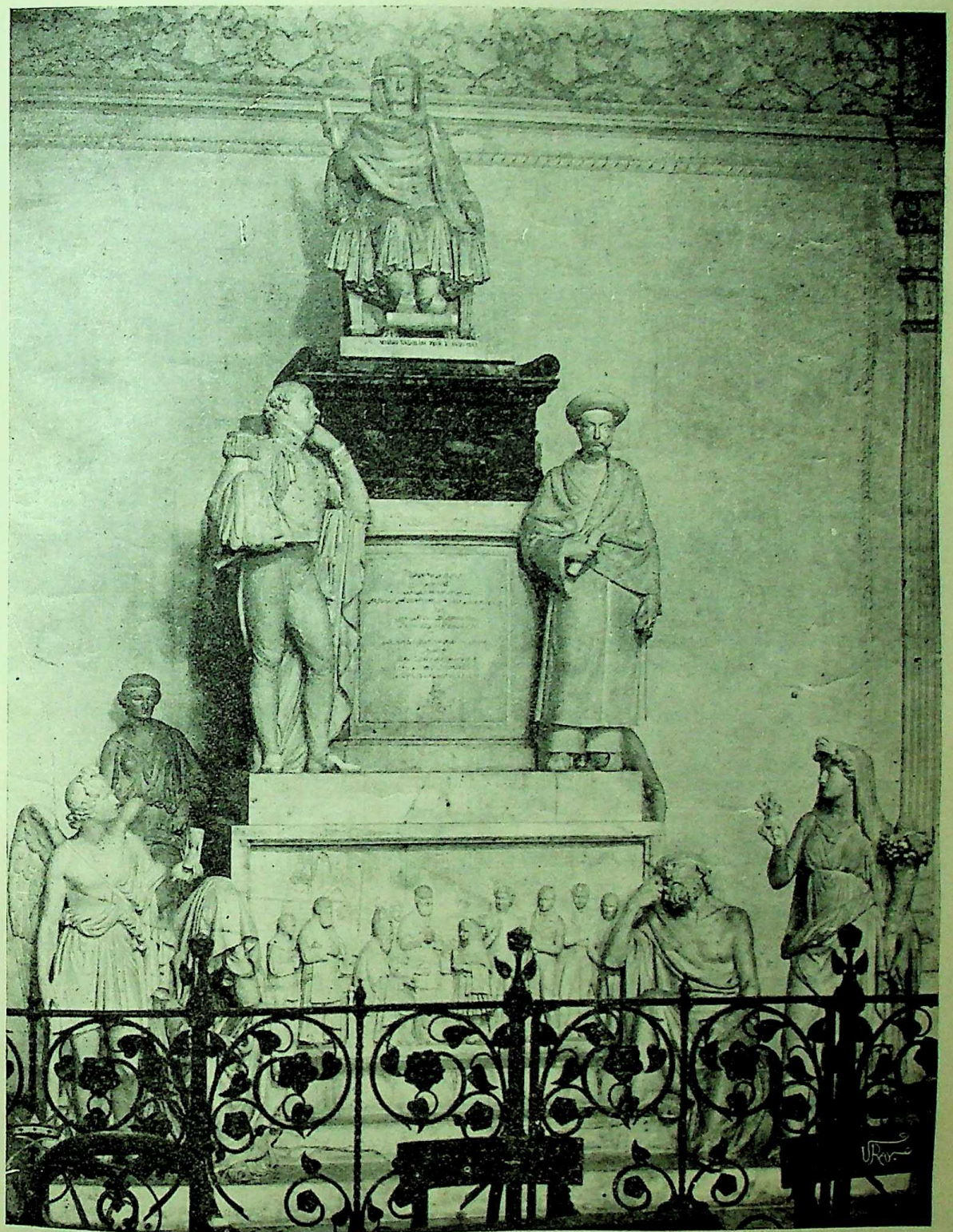
He had an interview with her. He gallantly kissed her hand, but there was no more of his falling in love with or marrying her.

VIII.—Shah Shuja.

At Loodheeana, he met the two Afghan ex-Kings Shah Zeman and Shah Shuja.

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The Marble Statue of Begum Sumroo at Sardhana.

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Regarding them, in one of his letters, he wrote :—

"There are two ex-majesties here, who preserve the title, and before whom I did not appear without taking off my shoes; these are Shah Zeman and Shah Shuja his brother, formerly Kings of Cabul, Afganistan, and Cashmere, and great sovereigns twenty years ago. The British Government sent them a magnificent embassy, sought their alliance, at the period when the presence of General Cardaune at Teheran raised some suspicion in the cabinet of Calcutta with regard to the views, generally not very pacific, of your friend, the great man, as Courier used to say.

* * * *

"His ex-majesty has the most magnificent black beard I ever saw; and I found him a very gracious personage. A pensioner on British generosity, to which in truth he has no claim, Shah Shuja lives here in freedom, but under the surveillance of the British Political Agent, my present host. By this officer I was conducted to a private audience of the Shah, with whom I spent an hour conversing about Cashmere, whither I am going, and where he formerly made war, from Cabul, his country, from his mountains, of which he spoke to me with affecting eloquence. Do you recollect that the women broke open the doors of the hotel Sinet, to see the Tunis envoy's handsome Secretary? I know not what they would do if Shah Shuja went to Paris: the national guard would not be sufficient to preserve public order, he is so handsome! The old emperor, Shah Zeman, has had his eyes put out; he spends his time in devotion, which however does not prevent his having a large seraglio. He related to me his pilgrimage to Mecca, which he undertook after his fall, and after he became blind."

Conclusion.

Mr. Hamerton was an art critic, and author of several well-known works. In one of his books he eulogised Jacquemont as "the absolutely best friendly letter-writer known to me." I have nothing to say against his power of letter-writing. His letters fascinated the reading public of France. The provinces of which he wrote were then *terra incognita* to his countrymen. The Anglo-Indians and English also were delighted with his letters because he always praised them and their administration in India. It was due to this fact that his letters from French were translated into English. But he does not seem now to be a favorite with the English public, for only one edition of his letters saw the light of day and that was as far back as 1834. Though several times these letters have been reviewed in the pages of some of the best known English periodicals, yet these letters have not been so far criticised from the Indian's point of view. It is therefore that so great trouble is taken in presenting the Indian public with the views of one whose memory is still revered in France.

It has already been said before that Jacquemont's opinions are not always trustworthy. He was a bad observer of the country, and he lacked imagination, and his recorded views do not possess the ring of prophecy about them. Consider, for instance, his opinion as to the ease with which Runjeet Singh could be annihilated. In a letter to his father, he wrote :—

"The forces maintained by the Company on the North-West frontier, at Delhi, Kurnal, Meerut, Agra, Mutra, and Loodeeana, would be sufficient to invade the whole of the Punjab without any movement of troops in the interior of India. Runjeet Singh might risk a battle behind his actual line of defence, the Sutledge, and he would afford the English a precious opportunity of annihilating him in half an hour."

Would that he had lived to see the Punjab campaigns under such well-known, veterans as Gough and Hardinge. Runjeet's successors were not annihilated in half an hour at Chillianwallah or Moodkee.

Then his letter proceeds and speaks in the same contemptuous manner of the Afghans also. "As for the Afghans, a warlike nation, says your estimable journal, 'which has so many times invaded India, and can bring thirty thousand cavalry into the field,' this is a little too much : the days of Mahmood, and Ghirni (*sic*), and Timour, are past. The Afghans are very inferior to the Sikhs, and, at most, just strong enough to do battle from time to time with Runjeet Sing."

Had he lived to see the disasters of 1840, he would not have spoken so contemptuosly of the Afghans, who still maintain their independence.

Some of his expressions remind one strongly of Don Quixote. Thus he imagined that he could conquer the whole of Central Asia with a force of 100 Gurkhas only!

He was so much saturated with the feelings of those Anglo-Indians by whom he was surrounded, that we cannot credit him with being an independent observer of the men and events of his time in India, and his opinions were not unbiassed by Anglo-Indian predelections. His letters are therefore perfectly useless to any historian for purposes of reference as contemporary records of the period during which he travelled in India.

A. B. C.

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WALTER REINHARD

THE above name is perhaps not very widely known among the many readers of Indian History. The infamous "Somru," by which name he used to be called, played a most ignominous part in the history of Bengal after the battle of Plassey, which laid the foundations of the splendid British Empire.

Born in Salzburg in Upper Austria in 1720, he set foot for the first time in India in 1754 in quest of adventure and wealth, having "worked his passage out to India as ship's carpenter on a French frigate."

He first entered the service of the French in Southern India, but being dissatisfied with the prospects under the French Flag, took service under an Indian Ruler. After that he worked under several petty princes till at last we hear of him as a common trooper in the service of Sirajuddaulla. The battle of Plassey sealed for ever the fate of his master and this "Somru" travelled from place to place as a vagabond till at last he secured a berth under the Foujdar of Purnea. He was appointed by the Foujdar to command some forces. Every reader of Indian History is aware how Mirjaffar, who found himself raised to the Gadi of Murshidabad, had made himself unpopular to the people by his indolent and voluptuous habits and had incurred the displeasure of his friend the English by neglecting to keep his pecuniary engagements. His son Miron, a worthless young man, was placed in command of the Indian army to fight the Foujdar of Purnea.

The defeat of the Foujdar of Purnea by Captain Knox induced the infamous Somru to leave the service of the Foujdar. In the meantime Mirjaffar was deposed and Mirkasim, his son-in-law, was raised to the musnud of Murshidabad. About this time the infamous Somru came to Murshidabad in quest of service. He offered his services to the newly appointed Nawab, which were accepted. Now the adventurer was on the high road to wealth and promotion. Now began the tug of war between the Engl and the Nawab.

Mirkasim was a very intelligent a sympathetic ruler. The English found him a straightforward and stern ruler, u yielding to anything but the claims of just and legitimate demands. An unforese quarrel broke out over the question of transit duties. He abolished all imp duties and established free trade throu out his territories. This was an act hostility to the English. The Engl declared war against the Nawab. T English secured victories in the battles Gherea and Oodaynala. After these Engl victories the Nawab wrote to Major Ada "Exult not upon the success which y have gained by treachery and night assau in two or three places, over a few Jamad sent by me. By the will of God you sh see in what manner this shall be reveng and retaliated."

Mirkasim had determined to massacre t prisoners at Patna. This massacre, acco ing to historians, is more horrible a atrocious than the memorable massacre the Blackhole. Somru, without any scrup played the role of a notorious butcher helping his master the Nawab.

Somru caused an invitation to be sent the European prisoners and asked for t loan of their knives and forks.

The unsuspecting Englishmen delive them to Somru's men. Thus bereft of t least weapons of resistance the party officers entered the dining hall, when t order was given for attack. The prison finding themselves taken unwares and he less fought with bottles and bricks. add to the horror of the scene a party sipoys in accordance with the order Sormu got to the roof and showered bull upon them. Captain Ellis died by t hand of Somru and the infamous butch son slaughtered them like sheep shambles. Thus a European behaved lik butcher to his fellow Europeans. After t

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Somru followed his master to Shujauddaulla, the Nawab of Oudh. Henceforward they were under the protection of the Nawab of Oudh. The memorable battle of Buxar saw the star of the British in the ascendant. In this battle, the Nawab lost immensely. This defeat saw Mirkasim in ruins. Shujauddaulla, whose help and protection he sought, paved the way for his ruin. He was stripped of all his wealth by Shujauddaulla and driven out of his camp. Henceforth a life of shame, poverty and ignominy awaited him. He died a pauper thirteen years later at Delhi. A very different fate awaited his despicable accomplice the Salzburger Somru. In the midst of all the troubles, difficulties and adversities of his master, the unscrupulous accomplice of the Nawab kept himself afloat. The English demanded the surrender of the Nawab and the Salzburger. But Shujauddaulla declined to do the same, but met the English half way by consenting to his assassination. But the English declined to accept these terms. Shujauddaulla in the meantime became extremely displeased with Somru and wanted to give him dismissal, whereupon he demanded his arrears of pay. He seized the persons of the Begum and her attendants and kept them confined till his pay was paid in full. After that he entered the service of the Jats and later on he accepted a post under the Raja of Joynagar and then returned to the Jats. About this time Somru married a lady about whose origin there is considerable obscurity. Some say she was the daughter of a Moghal nobleman : some say that she was a dancing girl of Delhi. She was unscrupulous like her husband. About this time he gave up his roving life and settled in a village 40 miles from Delhi where an extensive Jaigir, fetching an income of six lacs of rupees, was conferred upon him by his masters, the Court of Delhi. Here he lived in constant dread and apprehension of being handed over to the English. The remembrance of his former days filled his mind with poignant agonies and suspense and added to this was the mutinous conduct of the soldiers under him. The massacre of Patna took place in 1763; the Salzburger entered into possession of his wealth in 1776 and died in 1778. Thirteen years of remorse and terror, two years of voluptuous idleness, and then the end! The two years of luxuries and revelling in riches and pleasures were broken from time to time by gloomy thoughts accruing from occasional brooding over his past unscrupulous and notorious conduct towards his own countrymen. He died in Agra in the 58th year of his age and to this day his tomb may be seen in the Roman Catholic burial ground of the city, a gruesome reminder of treachery, infamy and unscrupulousness.

JATINDRA MOHAN CHOWDHURY.

THE WEALTH OF THE NATION

"From those to whom much is given, much is also expected."

ADAM Smith wrote a famous book on "the wealth of nations," in which he expounded the principles of a so-called science of political economy. But silver and gold do not form the chief wealth of nations, nor indeed corn and cattle. We shall discuss in what the true wealth of nations and humanity really consists, and how it should be employed for the destruction of evil.

The enduring wealth of the world con-

sists in the intellect and the character of its men and women. This moral and mental capital leads to all happiness. Its proper investment should be the chief care of all noble souls. Its fruitful use determines the future of the race. Its waste or misuse brings terrible penalties with it. It is the source of our food, our clothing, our medicine, our pleasures, our power over nature, our beautiful social institutions, our imposing fabric of civilisation, our glories of the past, our efforts in the present and our dreams of the future. Material wealth,

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which supplies the economic needs of society, springs from the conservation and development of this inner horn of plenty. Savage races starve in the midst of vast natural resources in Africa because they are morally and mentally dwarfed, while civilised men live in ease and comfort on the bleak moors of Scotland and in the desolate regions of Canada because they possess the secret of moral and intellectual development to some extent. In proportion as we learn to make a right use of intellect and character, we shall be free from poverty, ignorance, and disease. The subjective masters the objective: the unseen is stronger than the seen: and man's mind and conscience minister to his body even more effectively than the latter supports the former by furnishing their material basis. Man is really one entity, but we are only analysing the different aspects and constituents of his nature in order to understand him better. Hence the true wealth of a nation, which is the source and fountain of all other forms of wealth, including grain and cotton, consists in the Intellect and the Character of the citizens. We propose to discuss how India husbands and employs her riches in this age, how she uses the intellect and the moral power of her children for the general welfare, how she discharges the tremendous responsibilities that the possession of this supreme variety of wealth brings in its train.

India is no pauper in respect of this kind of wealth. Far from it. Her children cannot say that they have no mental gifts or moral enthusiasm. They cannot plead that only one talent has been given them. They cannot shield themselves from censure by declaring themselves bankrupts. Such a fraudulent practice will not be permitted by the just tribunal of history. The people of India have an abundance of mental and moral power. They are in this respect on a par with the noblest Caucasian races. I weigh my words carefully when I make this assertion. Let them not imagine that the "white" races enjoy some innate superiority in character or intellect over them. The Hindus belong to the Aryan division of the human family and inherit its earnestness, inventiveness and social genius. Modern India has produced many distinguished metaphysicians, orators, novelists, journalists, scientists, and mathematicians, and could achieve still greater triumphs in this field, if her millions were educated in the sense of the word. India's active intellect belongs at present to the middle and upper classes, while the vast energy of her people lies undeveloped. Even under these unfavourable circumstances, the analytical power and the subtle keenness of the best Hindu minds cannot be matched except in France or Germany, while India's lyric poetry, mediæval and modern, remains almost unsurpassed in beauty and tenderness. The people of India do not know what they possess, because they do not think of these questions. India, even as she is today, can boast of a large fund of mental capacity, on which she can draw for her needs.

As regards moral power, it is not much in evidence, as far as a superficial observer can judge. But a more careful survey reveals hidden springs of moral force, which have not even been tapped. India is sadly deficient in moral strength, but, as we shall see by and by, her small stock is all wasted and misused by persons wanting in judgment and foresight. The world can never have too much of character, and India has in fact too little of it. But that little should be spent for worthy objects. We are more foolish than selfish, more demented than depraved.

Now, how does India use her intellect, that rare force which builds up the social organism, wrests nature's secrets from her niggardly grasp, and lends beauty and dignity to life? India employs her intellect chiefly for three purposes:—(i) Prostitution, (ii) Philosophy, (iii) Amusement.

(i) Modern India produces a very large number of intellectual prostitutes, men who use this sacred gift for personal purposes and earn wealth by offering their talents for filthy lucre. The old pundits of India are free from this taint to some extent, as money-making is not the only pursuit for which the pupil is trained at Benares or Nuddea. But an alarmingly large class of intellectual hirelings is growing up in our midst, and it lives on the misery and ruin of the people. Thus India's intellect kills her instead of being a source of joy and strength to her. It is a sad and pitiful truth that intellect has almost always sold

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itself for money in all countries of the world. But this abuse of a precious personal gift is as reprehensible as a similar traffic by a woman in her beauty, and deserves to be described in the same terms. Intellect should be employed for the social welfare, for it is such a powerful and irresistible weapon that its use for selfish ends dissolves a society into warring atoms and undoes the work of centuries of social evolution. Let the man of intellect beware how he acts, for his life can be a great blessing or an unmitigated curse for the world. Modern India is money-mad, and even intellect has been bitten. Instead of dedicating themselves to the furtherance of truth and justice, many able men constitute themselves the militia of falsehood and deceit. Capital is a helpless monster without these paid servants. Thus India's men of intellect are busy begging crusts of bread from the rich and the proud, while the poor and the humble are being ground to the dust. "The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed." If a man turns his intellect against his fellow-creatures, the curse of Judas falls on him: "Better would it have been for him if he had never been born"

(ii) In India, wisdom is nearly allied to folly, and what portion of mental energy remains after this universal money-hunt is eaten up by barren metaphysics. Metaphysics has been the curse of India. It has blighted her history and compassed her ruin. It has converted her great men into miserable quibblers, and led them into useless channels of inquiry and effort. It has been the dangerous will-o-the wisp of Indian intellect during many centuries. It has elevated sophistry to the rank of an art, and substituted vain fancies for knowledge. It has condemned India's intellect to run in the same old groove for hundreds of years. It has blinded her seers and led them to mistake phantoms for realities. It has given us darkness for light, and queer word-puzzles for solutions of great problems. It has wasted more intellectual energy than can be computed in words. What noble lives it has ruined! What mighty minds it has held in ignoble thraldom! Like a traitor in the camp, it has appeared the closest ally of truth, while it has been her worst enemy. Wearing the mask of wisdom, it has cancealed its brutish ugliness. Arrogant, pretentious, verbose and purblind, it has taken its cackling for an oracle and its fantastic word-towers for solid piles of thought-masonry. India has paid dearly for her attachment to this treacherous siren. In vain did Buddha warn the Hindus against shallow metaphysical theories. Buddha's wise words were forgotten, and the great principles that he preached were derided. As the bird is drawn into the mouth of the snake, Hindu intellect felt an irresistible attraction towards metaphysics. It is an intellectual opiate and has wrought with deadly effect on our arts and sciences. Its upas-like shadow destroys all independent and fruitful activity all round. Let us have done with it. Metaphysics was invented in the childhood of the human race, but India has been playing with the toys of childhood in mature age. No wonder that she is in intellectual tutelage to the West.

Much intellect is employed in India for unworthy ends. But the tragic feature of the situation is that even those who wish to do good to the community misapply their energy, and give us stones when we want bread. While so much transcendental nonsense is being perpetrated, famines are desolating the land, pestilence and malaria hang like a pall on town and country, and there is not a single decent representative institution, technical institute, laboratory or library in the whole country. Science, economics and politics are anathema to the enlightened men of India. They love only the eternal verities and the deep secrets of theosophy or brahmavidya! My friends, while you are going into ecstasy over the intolerable twaddle of many of your shastras and quoting Schopenhauer and Max Muller in their praise, the world is stealing a march on you by scientific research, economic reforms and political progress. While you are explaining to your people the ineffable joys of trance or "samādhi," another trance is already upon them—the trance of starvation and the deadly pest. The Upanishads claim to expound "that, by knowing which everything is known." This mediaeval quest for "the absolute" is the basis of all the spurious metaphysics of India. The treatises are full of absurd conceits, quaint fancies and chaotic speculations. And we have not learned that they are worthless. We keep moving in the old rut: we edit and re-edit

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the old books instead of translating the classics of European social thought. What would Europe be if Frederic Harrison, Brieux, Bebel, Anatole France, Hervé, Haeckel, Giddings and Marshall should employ their time in composing treatises on Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, and discussing the merits of the laws of the Pentateuch and the poetry of Beowulf? Indian pundits and graduates seem to suffer from a kind of mania for what is effete and antiquated. Thus an institution, established by progressive men, aims at leading our youths through Sanskrit grammar to the Vedas *viâ* the Six Darshanas! What a false move in the quest for wisdom! It is as if a caravan should travel across the desert to the shores of the Dead sea in search of fresh water! Young men of India, look not for wisdom in the musty parchments of your metaphysical treatises. There is nothing but an endless round of verbal jugglery there. Read Rousseau and Voltaire, Plato and Aristotle, Hæckel and Spencer, Marx and Tolstoi, Ruskin and Comte, and other European thinkers, if you wish to understand life and its problems. You are not living in the tenth century before Christ. You don't travel in village-carts: you do not read manuscript-rolls. Then why be so backward in your studies as to move round and round the old track discovered by your sages long ago? They were wise men at that time, but we have other wise men now for our age. No generation has a monopoly of wisdom. Why should you prepare yourself for the future by looking back to a very remote past? It is inexplicable folly. Leave metaphysics to triflers and punsters, and devote your time to the study of economics and politics. Let the dead bury their dead. Let idle dreamers quarrel over theology and break their heads over "God's revelations" and the profound conundrums of philosophy. We have better work to do. Life is short, and much remains to be done. We have no time for such puerile disputes about religious ceremonies and doctrines. To us they all look alike. We need not differentiate between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Turn to the great social, political and scientific thinkers of the West, who have created modern civilisation with liberty, social equality, scientific research, toleration, rationalism and fraternity for its basic principles. Bacon said, "Histori make men wise." These words themselv are pregnant with wisdom. Sociology the source of wisdom, not metaphysics theology. And for India, economics an politics are the most important branches sociology at present.

(iii) The third channel of activity cut ou for itself by the intellect of India is imagina tive literature. Poetry and fiction, dealin with the old-fashioned themes of love social customs, have occupied some master minds of our generation in Bengal, Oudh Gujarat and other parts of the country Such literature is very noble and instructiv but India has enough of poetry and litera ture to last her for some time to come. W must have necessaries before luxuries. Th fine arts can wait till we have secured sufficient supply of science and sociology India's intellect should not be wasted i this manner at present, for we are terribl poor in every branch of useful literature Amusement comes after instruction.

How does India use her second source o national wealth, *viz.*, moral power? Sh makes about as bad a use of it as of he mental force. Contemplation in isolatio is one favourite method of spending tim adopted by India's noblest sons. They ris above petty selfish desires and ambitions but fall into the vacuous abyss of contem plation and inaction. They wish to follow out the ideal of the man of renunciation i every detail. Thus India has hundreds o really sincere and aspiring young men an women, who are free from all taint of gree and worldliness, but they are altogethe useless for any purpose that one may appre ciate. They have established monasterie in remote nooks in the mountains in orde to realise the *Brahman*. Instead of bearin the heat and burden of the day along wit their fellowmen, they aim at reaching superior stage of illumination by practisin all sorts of mysterious postures and othe funny devices of a crude mysticism. Man of these well-meaning ascetics are indiffer ent to praise and blame, hunger and thirs money and power. They have indee attained a very high degree of moral self culture on the negative side. But alas all their nobility of soul does not help the brethren in the least, for they are ignoran of sociology. All their stock and stor

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consists in the Vedanta-sutras, the Upanishads, and the sonorous monosyllable "Om." This last word seems to do duty for all history and science. This "Om" appears to be a universal symbol of the intellectual inertia produced by "spirituality" in India. Whenever a saint has nothing to think about, he takes refuge in "Om." What else can these misguided enthusiasts do? Their knowledge of facts is so scanty. Individual realisation is their object, not social regeneration. And as to politics, they are wholly foreign to their work. Politics are concerned with taxes, tariffs, class-struggles, rank and power—all worldly affairs with which the hermit does not want to contaminate himself. I know of a very learned graduate, who took a vow of renunciation and then spent three years in the Himalayas in the study of the Upanishads, as if all the wisdom of the world were contained in them! And he thought he had received full enlightenment from this course, and had become a wise man fit to guide others to *Brahman*. This instance shows us clearly how moral power is wasted in India. The ideal of renunciation is very defective on its positive side. A false goal is set before the disciple. History and science are despised as "phenomenal" things. The great "spiritual" knowledge, which consists in realisation and the repetition of "Om," is prized above all "earthly" arts and sciences. Thus India's renunciation brings her no good, but on the contrary misleads and weakens her.

"Samādhi" or trance is regarded as the acme of spiritual progress! How strange it is that a capacity for swooning away should be considered the mark of wisdom! It is very easy to lose consciousness if one has strong emotions and a feeble intellect. That is why ladies faint so often on the slightest provocation. But in India samādhi is the eighth stage of yoga, which only "paramahansas" can reach. These be thy gods, O Israel! To look upon an abnormal psychological condition produced by artificial means as the sign of enlightenment was a folly reserved for Indian philosophers. No wonder books and laboratories are despised, for no knowledge or experiment is needed to make one swoon away at intervals! What an ideal of perfection!

(*b*) Another mode of wasting precious moral power is emotional mysticism. Many sects are devoted to the worship of Krishna, Rāma and other deities. Parties of devotees would sing hymns, to the accompaniment of music, and work themselves up to a high pitch of emotional excitement. They would weep and dance in rapture, singing the name of the Lord. They would forget all worldly cares and duties. Now this exaltation of the spirit betokens some capacity of moral enthusiasm, for a man who can be lifted out of himself by any idea whatsoever has an element of idealism in his character. He is not altogether of the earth earthy. He has some fine chords in his nature, which require to be properly touched in order to produce beautiful spiritual music. But this method of exhausting oneself in songs and dances is one of the worst possible ways of evoking latent moral energy in man. For one Chaitanya, it gives us a thousand sentimental weak-minded irresolute devotees, who are good for nothing in any practical work for righteousness. The name of the Lord alone arouses them. They lose their commonsense, and their worship has no effect in making them wise citizens. As to economics and politics, the name of the Lord is nowise connected with such grossly mundane matters. What has the *bhakta* to do with taxes and representation, exports and imports? He rejoices in his beloved lord, and sees him everywhere. He is "lost in the Lord." India has had several such *bhaktas*, whose lives and deeds are narrated in a treatise which is popular in Northern India. But alas! all this *bhakti* avails not to cure any evil. It only takes away particularly sensitive persons from the work of active altruism. It gives them a factitious object of devotion instead of teaching them that every suffering child is Krishna and every sorrowful brother-man is Rāma, whom they should love and adore. It is sad that men have always sought far and wide for something to love, when they had one another to love at all times without any arduous search. They have worshipped stars and suns, trees and animals, gods and goddesses, dead heroes and heroines, while they forgot that just by their side was all that the noblest religion could give them for their whole-hearted service:—their brother-man. This extravagant *bhakti*-mania is as pernicious as the *yoga*-craze of

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the metaphysicians. Some try to think and look inwards: others try to weep and dance. And all the time ignorance, poverty and disease march triumphant through the land.

(*c*) Superstition also carries away a portion of India's moral energy. Pilgrimages and vows of abstinence reveal a wonderful amount of moral power in the people. A country that can send thousands of poor men on distant pilgrimages, from which some never return, cannot be regarded as devoid of moral stamina. Contempt of danger and death is never so strikingly shown as in the difficult and perilous pilgrimages to Badrikāshrama and Amarnāth. These soldiers of superstition display all the heroism of veterans in their eager thirst for the prize of their devotion. These pilgrimages are vast object-lessons of idealism as it shows itself among the common people. They are really the barometers of moral enthusiasm. But alas! the enthusiasm is all wasted like rain in the ocean. On account of the complete absence of social and political thought, the people can satisfy their spiritual instincts only in these foolish ways. The student of sociology knows that religion is only a safety-valve for our higher nature, and that a religious people can achieve much in any line of activity by changing the objective of their efforts. A man who can risk his life to see Badrikāshrama or bathe in the Ganges is also capable of much self-sacrifice for other noble causes, if they are presented to him. In India, religion and mysticism divert all the moral force of the people into unprofitable channels, leaving little for science and social progress.

(*d*) A large part of moral power is taken up in futile or successful attempts to check minor evils in the social system. Here the workers are sound in spirit, but wrong in their methods. Thus we find many ardent youths contenting themselves with distributing grain among the poor and nursing the sick all their lives. These men are very noble and self-denying. But they do not understand that charity cannot solve the problem of hunger and disease in India, or, for the matter of that, in any country in the world. They suffer from ignorance, not from selfishness. Their moral energy is not employed to good purpose. Again, we find persons preaching temperance, vegetarianism, caste-amalgamation, and a hundred other things. Here the evil is due to lack of knowledge. They do not realise what is best for the country at present. They do not probe into the causes of social ills, but just deal with the effects. India is not going to ruin because some people eat meat or drink wine, but because her economic situation is desperate. But very few of our reformers have ever studied a single book on economic questions In this way, stupid ideals are set up: useless movements are organised, and many young men are misled. The day of redemption is put off further and further, as new movements are organised on wrong lines by foolish or cunning men. Everything is said or done except that which should be said and done. Everyone is very earnest and busy, but without wisdom. All sorts of unimportant evils attract the attention of some "patriots," but the greatest evil of all somehow or other escapes their notice.

We have seen that contemplation, bhakti, pilgrimages, religious preaching and useless movements are responsible for the waste of moral energy in India. We are indeed thirsty though the Ganges flows by—as the popular proverb puts it. How is it that the country is in such a sad plight, while hundreds of men and women take vows of renunciation every year? In Europe, a similar state of things existed in the middle ages, when there were so many saints, but famine, pestilence and servitude afflicted the people all the time. In the thirteenth century, Europe produced such moral giants as St. Francis and St. Dominic, but we are happier in the twentieth century though the sum-total of moral energy is less now than it was in those days. The reason is that Europe has more knowlege and common-sense now. At that time, people rang church-bells, did penance for their sins by fasting whole days, and covered themselves with sack cloth and ashes when the plague appeared in their midst. But now we do just the reverse. We eat good food, wear clean clothes, disinfect the town, establish quarantine regulations and defy the plague to do its worst. Thus a little science now confers more happiness on mankind than all the uninstructed piety of the middle ages. Again, all the exhortations of the

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church to kings and rulers did not secure good government, but the simple device of establishing representative institutions has done away with all the abuses which passionate sermons could not check in the slightest degree. The saints of the middle ages had no idea of the right way of doing things. St. Francis loved the poor and would have given his life for them, but he did not understand that poverty was due to feudalism and capitalism, which should be abolished if the poor were to enjoy freedom and happiness. Thus the French Revolution, which was prepared and guided by men who were very inferior to the great men of the church in moral power and personality, actually did more good to the world than all the efforts of the friars, because the latter were not wise and did not go to the root of things. Pasteur and Koch were not saintly ascetics, but they were greater benefactors of humanity than all the nurses of the religious organisations, because they employed their intellect and zeal in the right way in the crusade against disease. Thus the history of Europe in the middle ages furnishes us with an object-lesson. There was much religion and many saints, but all was of no avail, because science, economics and politics were neglected. As soon as the philosophers of the eighteenth century saw that the ecclesiastical methods were inadequate, modern Europe turned from prayers, sermons and threats of excommunication to laboratories, parliaments, and socialism. The result showed the enormous waste of moral energy that had kept mankind in bondage to evil in the old days. Voltaire, Rousseau, Marx, Darwin, Lavoisier, Cuvier, Laplace and Caxton were not personally as noble and pure as St. Bernard, St. Francis and St. Xavier, but modern Europe has conquered disease, poverty, injustice and ignorance much more effectively than when its leaders were spiritual heroes. And the conquest is still in progress. The difference is due to right methods and ideas, not to superior moral power. A brave general, with no knowledge of strategy, will be defeated by an ordinary commander who has received special training.

Who would waste a drop of water in the desert cities of Rajputana? And yet here are thousands of noble men, who could be of great service to all if they were wise, but who are simply worse than useless on account of their unwisdom. Here is this stream of moral power perpetually flowing without fertilizing any land, without quenching the thirst of any wayfarer. It runs on for ever and ever to the salt ocean of useless effort and fruitless endeavour. Young Men of India, you should turn your back upon all this fatal tragedy. You should see that the Vedas of today are the five fundamental sciences of chemistry, physics, biology, psychology and sociology, and that the angas and upāngas are their divisions and subdivisions like astronomy, geology, history, economics, politics, etc., etc. When you feel discontented with the humdrum life of selfish worldliness, go to science and sociology: come to the West, the mother of the arts and sciences today. Do not in your methods try to follow in the footsteps of your old rishis, but set up new ideals of rishihood for the future. Teach the people that the old gods are dead, and that the places of pilgrimage for them now are found in other parts of the world. Benares and Puri have had their day. What is there at Benares but hideous temples, half-burnt corpses, fat bulls and fat priests? What is there at Puri but cholera, and waves idly breaking on the beach? The places for your pilgrimages now are Paris, Geneva, Barcelona, Milwaukee, Yasnya Polyana, Jena, Heidelberg, &c. These are the points of the globe to which all hearts fondly turn in these days.

Young Men of India, you should come into line with the world imbibing the modern spirit. Do not skulk in your corner of Bhāratavarsha munching stale bread baked by your great-grand parents, and swearing from false pride that it is delicious. Your country is groaning under frightful evils: the whole world is one vast charnel-house and hospital. Turn your attention to sociological studies, and the sciences. Try to concentrate all the energy of the country on the real problems that have to be solved. Ethics, science, economics and politics should be to you in place of all the doctrines of the Vedas. Seek knowledge: do not run after phantoms. Learn from Europe: do not rub up old Hindu documents in this age.

The wealth of the nation is being wasted

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on all sides. It is a woful sight. Our errors in the past are costing us dear. Humanity is groping in the dark, while the path can be clearly seen by all who have eyes. But none are so blind as they wh will not see.

HAR DAYAL.

THE FIRST INDIAN AVIATOR

IN this age of invention and discovery, when the forces of Nature are being brought under control, it is indeed gloomy to picture the position of India. Marconi has obtained undying fame for modern Italy and Captain Amundsen has raised Norway to a pedestal of glory. Aviation keeps the flag of France aloft. But when we look at poor India we find one deluge of lethargy, a mass of dim silence, inglorious repose, an almost tragic quietitude, verging on the borders of extinction and annihilation. Various causes have doubtless contributed to this state of affairs but none more potent than our own conscious neglect, our own inertia, our wilful negligence. Brooding passionately over our ancient achievements and discussing calmly our pristine glory, we have drifted to a peculiar plane where one step in advance or one step backwards would, for the most part, determine our very existence.

In the life-time of a nation there is a critical juncture when it wakes up with redoubled vigour, sets itself to the art of construction, to its own building, purging its defects, improving and regenerating itself, by its own efforts, with a goal distinctly before it, with an ideal to pursue, with an object to accomplish. This is a period characteristically known in history as a period of reformation, which in its worst phase is regarded as revolution. In this period the conjoint forces of the nation ought to be carefully diverted towards useful ends and every step ought to be taken by those, to whose hands are entrusted its destiny, to guide and conduct it onward and onward until at last it establishes itself in a position of safety. This is the period of revival, the first sparks of which are glimmering today in Japan and China.

Is India to stand aloof, merely sighing in regret and sorrow, engaged in intern quarrels, plunged in disgraceful social stru gles, impotent and useless? I am incline to hold that this is not to be the position

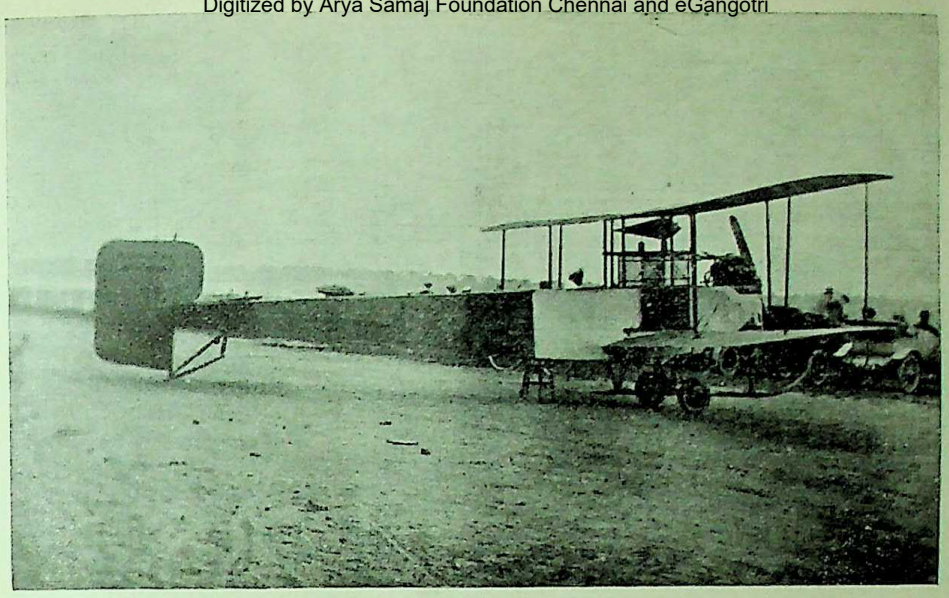


Mr. S. V. Setti, the first Indian Aviator.

India. I repeat that a brighter future awa Hindustan, if she would only wake and march with events. But to-day I not intend to pursue this high ther

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The Brooklands Aerodrome with Mr. Setti and the "Avro" Biplane.

further. It was suggested by a fact showing that Indians are trying to keep pace with the times. And that fact is that India has produced an aviator. We have in our midst an aviator, who can design, construct, and above all fly—a full-fledged and perfect aviator.

The latest and the most up-to-date achievement of Western countries is the art of aviation, and the combined activities of the scientific world are directed towards developing this science to perfection, so that after a time, in a few decades, people will scan the sky as easily as they scan the sea. After a time it will be that "Bimānas"—méntioned in our Puranas and Shastras—will parade the sky and you can picture to yourself the many struggles a human passenger will have to undergo in wrestling with the eagle that circumnavigates the sky.

It is indeed comforting to see Mr. S. V. Setti, B. A., A. M. I. E. E., (Assistant Engineer, P. W. D., Mysore) fly in an "Avro" Biplane, which he himself had designed in collaboration with his chief Mr. A. V. Roe. The drawing was entirely done by Mr. Setti. The machine was a typical one and attracted the noted Australian Aviator, Mr. J. Diagon, who instantly purchased it after complimenting Mr. Setti on its production. It is a great compliment to Indian talent that one of the best Biplanes should be drawn, and the propeller designed, by an Indian. From the following description of the machine the readers can easily realise the magnitude of the Biplane. Its span is 32 feet, chord 4 feet 6 in., angle of incidence 4 degrees. Its approximate weight is 800 lbs without pilot or passenger. The type of engine is 8 cy (30 H. P. E. N. V. Engine), while its speed is 45—50 miles an hour. Mr. Setti is at present designing a new type of Biplane and complete drawings will appear in this magazine in a few months.

Mr. Setti was an ardent student for over three years and he has now finished his course. The following certificate was awarded to him :—

A. V. Roe and Co.
Manchester.

Flying Ground,
Brooklands, 25th April, 12.

Mr. S. V. Setti has been a pupil at the "Avro" school during which time he has flown in good style around the Brooklands Aerodrome, which proves that Mr. Setti is a very capable flier as this is the most difficult Aerodrome.

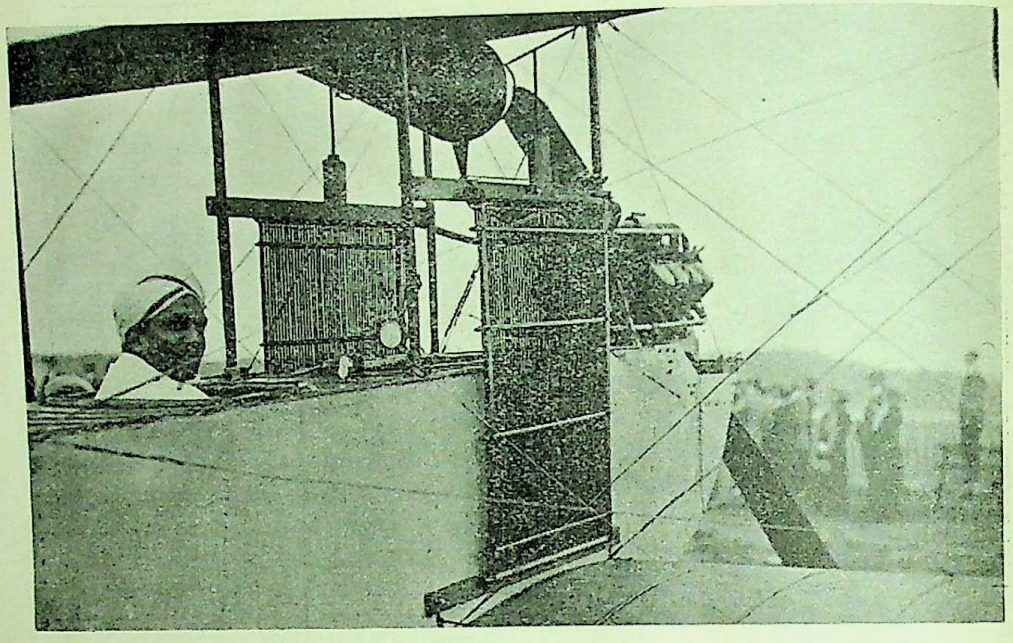
He sent in his application for the Royal Aero Club Pilot Certificate, but unfortunately had to leave before making the formal tests but we feel sure he would have had no difficulty in passing same.

A. V. Roe and Co.
(Sd). H. V. Roe.

The flying ground in the Brooklands, about 30 miles from London, is a typical place and the most trying ground, where the flier has to exert his best skill. The Aerodrome is 3 miles in circumference,

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Mr. S. V. Setti in his "Avro" Biplane starting to fly.

surrounded by a river, a railroad, and a workshop. The flier while alighting ought to carefully avoid all these natural barriers. The place is a good training ground for cross-country fliers and Mr. Setti has come out of danger numerous times.

It will not be out of place here to give a few details about the life and career of the First Indian Airman, who is in fact one of the very few Airmen of the Orient. He was a student of Roorkee Engineering College and came out of school successfully with honours. Then he joined the Mysore service and became an Assistant Engineer. Being naturally inclined to aviation he came to England and joined the line in which he was deeply interested. After careful and laborious study and practice he has equipped himself with full knowledge of aviation. When he was asked about his future career the redoubtable Indian Aviator remarked with a flash lighting up his sparkling eyes: "My future! An Aviator! That's all. I shall propagate the gospel of aviation, which our ancients knew and practised, amongst our people". He is a robust, daring, brilliant young man and is confident of constructing any up-to-date Monoplane, Biplane or even Hydroplane, if sufficient capital is provided for the construction. He is an eager and earnest enthusiast of aviation, and like all aviators pledged to the profession. Optimistic to a fault, determined, vigorou and courageous, his personality is unmistak able.

It will be well for young India—for th new India that is rising, after centuries an ages of silence—to hold up this young ma as a typical example and be inspired by h courage, and unflinching devotion to dangerous science, which demands numerou sacrifices, not of property, not of comfor not of position, but of life itself. I onl wish that our young men—the rising genera tion on whom rest the future hopes and for tunes of our country, on whose determinatio and enthusiasm depends mainly the salva tion of one-fifth of the whole human rac on whose patriotism, on whose energy, o whose courage, lie the unfolding of Indi the building of a new nation, the awakenin of a new nationality—would take to simil scientific pursuits requiring courage instea of crowding the Inns of Court for little no purpose. The field of Law is a hug speculation, a great lottery.

It is a sad irony that modern India cann contribute to the world at large either pol tical or social science. But if patriot young men should give themselves up e tirely to scientific study and laborious endeavour for the advancement of Scienc India can contribute her own share to th scientific world. A few stars shining in th scientific horizon—Indian stars—will rai

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Mr. Setti after carefully alighting stands next to his Biplane.

India in the estimation of mankind considerably and the various other innumerable drawbacks of our nationlity will be merged in this all-absorbing grandeur and glory of scientific improvement and scientific progress.

For the information of students and others interested in aviation Mr. Setti advises the perusal of the following books, which he thinks will give them a glimpse, and a thorough knowledge, of the art of aviation.

Aero Manual, 1s-6d.
Turner's Romance of Aviation, 5s.
Robert Petit's "How to build an Aeroplane," 2s-6d.
Thurston's "Elementary Aeronautics," 2s-6d.
Maxim's Artificial and Natural Flight, 5s.
Berrimans's "Principles of Flight," 1s.
Brevor's Flight Manual, 10s-6d.
Leoning Monoplanes and Biplanes, 10s-6d.
Lanchester's Aerodynamics, 21s.
Lanchester's Aerodoneties, 21s.
Lilianthal's "Bird Flight as the basis of aviation," 10s-6d.
Bryan's Stability in Aviation, 5s.

LONDON. SUNDARA RAJA.

W. T. STEAD

THE tragic end of Mr. W. T. Stead has evoked so immense a number of biographical accounts and personal tributes, and so many of these will have been reproduced in the Indian Press, that in responding to the Editor's request for an article on the work and character of this extraordinary man I am relieved from the necessity of saying more than a few words upon the external events of his life.

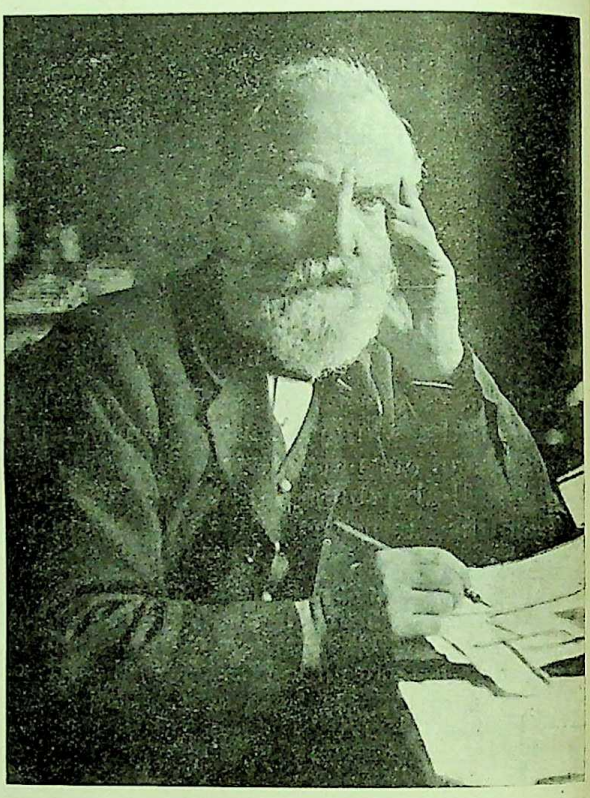
William Thomas Stead was born at Embleton, Tyneside, in 1849. His father was a minister of the Congregational Church and the family was completely identified with Nonconformist life in Northern England. Leaving school at fourteen the boy was put into a merchant's office in Newcastle. Out of his slender pocket-money he bought cheap books (the inevitable Shakespeare figures largely in the list), and while still in his teens he began to contribute to the *Northern Echo*, a Liberal daily published at Darlington. He was twenty-two when the editorship was offered to and accepted by him. This was in 1871, and for nine years Stead conducted the paper in a fashion which made him a man of mark among provincial

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journalists. In 1880, the year of the Gladstonian triumph, he was called to London as assistant to Mr. John Morley, most distinguished of Liberal editors, then in charge of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The story of that remarkable combination has been told many times, particularly by Mr. Stead himself. No two men could have been more completely opposed to one another in temper and method, and those who knew the Stead of later years found it hard to believe that he could ever have worked harmoniously with his chief. It was certainly a stormy partnership, but it worked uncommonly well. The editorship fell to the younger man in 1883 when Mr. Morley entered the House of Commons, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* became, during the six years following, the most powerful political influence in the country. Stead was a force of a new order, and he created a new kind of newspaper. Caring nothing for the old ways, for dignity or caution or reticence; endowed with inexhaustible vitality and conviction, unlimited daring and self-confidence, he chose his own line and followed it without a thought of anybody or anything that conflicted with his conception of public duty. "We were always," says Lord Milner, his assistant of those days, "in hot water with one or other large portion of the public." Stead believed in "shock tactics." An evening newspaper, he said, should provide two first-class sensations every week, and this average was well maintained until 1880, when he resigned the editorship in order to establish the *Review of Reviews*. He was then barely forty-four. There remained to him twenty-three years of incessant labour and fervent crusading, but except for the brief disastrous interval in 1904, when *The Daily Paper* came and went, the most celebrated of English journalists was never again in charge of a daily journal. There were obvious reasons for this, but it is probably true to say that in no country save England would such a deprivation be possible.

The achievements of W. T. Stead as a maker of opinion have been chronicled in unnumbered obituary notices. It was he who brought about the dispatch of Gordon to Khartoum, and later flogged the Liberal Government into the sending of the relief expedition which made inevitable the conquest of the Sudan. In 1884 his articles headed "The Truth about the Navy" started the first of the scares about the Fleet which have since been a periodic feature of our politics, forced the Liberals into an enlarged expenditure, and thereby, as Mr. Massingham puts it, ended the premiership of Gladstone. First and last he was a big-navy man, and more than ever during these



W. T. Stead.

recent years of rivalry with Germany when he has hammered incessantly on the doctrine of two-keels-to one. A neat newspaper quatrain of the year in which the mob cry was "We want eight and we won't wait" comes back to memory:

The Germans? We're outclassing them
By getting further Dreadnoughts ready;
But hark ye, Stead is massing 'em,
And Massingham is crying Steady!

The apparent contradiction was no contradiction to Stead. His booming of South Africa and glorification of Cecil Rhodes had as much to do as anything with the creation of the conditions from which the Transvaal War arose, yet that war had no more passionate opponent than he. He was a militant antagonist of militarism, a

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preacher of war against war. When the first Peace Conference at The Hague was called by the Tsar he plunged into it with terrific fervour, and much of his later life was spent in pilgrimages to the capitals of Europe on unofficial missions in the cause of international peace. For forty years he was the friend of Russia in England, and here again his position was singular. During the Revolution of 1905 he was crusading in Russia on behalf of co-operation between the Tsar's Government and the popular leaders—a policy which to everyone but himself seemed altogether impossible; and two or three years later he came out as the defender of Stolypin and the apologist of repression—a circumstance which unquestionably did much to diminish his influence among his own countrymen.

Apart from politics Stead was an unwearying crusader, the friend of struggling causes almost without beginning or end. Soon after starting the *Review of Reviews* he went in with characteristic abandon for Spiritualism and became in consequence the most valuable ally of the occultists in England and America. It seems indubitable that the thoroughness with which he identified himself with the Spiritualist movement damaged very greatly his repute as a publicist and did more than a little to prevent the *Review of Reviews* from fulfilling the high hopes with which it was founded. The generous credulity of his attitude towards occult phenomena was extended to many other matters. The readers of the *Review* never knew where next the editor's enthusiasm would break out or for what new man, movement, or medicine their suffrages would be demanded. It was natural and right that so impassioned an apostle of international amity should be an enthusiastic believer in Esperanto, but it must be confessed that most of Mr. Stead's panaceas, social or otherwise, were of far less respectability than that of the universal language. His energy was colossal, his fertility of idea seemingly inexhaustible, and, not unnaturally, he attempted many schemes which it was beyond the power of any man living to carry through.

Thus far I have said nothing of the daring and chivalrous enterprise which more than anything else made the worldwide reputation of W. T. Stead and revealed him in his essence to the men and women of his own country. Early in 1885 his attention was turned to the White Slave traffic, and more especially to the trade in very young girls who, then more than to-day, were at the mercy of the most blackguardly exploiters produced by civilisation. Stead's immediate object was to bring about an amendment in the law and after, as his way was, confiding his plan to the official heads of the Churches, he deliberately went to work in the reckless application of shock tactics. The numbers of the *Pall Mall Gazette* containing the articles on "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" created a sensation never equalled or approached in modern England. It was said by those who were then working with him that Stead listened to no remonstrances from his colleagues. He was resolved to have the horrible thing out, and he did. One wonders what would happen to-day if the editor of a leading daily paper were to dare a similar thing. The storm would be as fierce as it was in 1885, and the chances are that it would bring down the man who provoked it. But one is disposed to think that there would be this difference in the result: a great many people would cordially approve the exposure. In Victorian England Stead had very few supporters. The whole nation declared itself outraged. These things, it was said, could not be true, or if they were they ought never to have been declared—at least in the outrageous manner of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. What was the result? The office in Northumberland Street was stormed by a roaring mob clamouring for copies of the paper. Reprints of "The Maiden Tribute" were hawked about the streets and bought feverishly as a piece of pornographic literature which, by an amazing chance, was thrust before the eyes of everybody, instead of being hidden away in obscure thoroughfares never trodden by the virtuous citizen. Its author, deceived by his agents, went to jail for three months, having been convicted of abducting a little girl for alleged immoral purposes without the guilty knowledge of her parents. If Mr. Stead had been a professional procurer, engaged in entrapping child victims for the international centres of vice, the law would

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not have touched him. Parliament passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act; the sensation of "The Maiden Tribute" was forgotten, and in the years that followed, the White Slave Traffic, organised on a world-wide basis, has attained a magnitude of abomination undreamed of a quarter of a century ago. Mr. Stead was honoured as he deserved to be, especially by women; and at this moment there is a movement on foot towards the further amendment of the law for the protection of girls as a fitting memorial to the man who, in the smugness and indifference of the eighties, risked his career and reputation in the cause of those who had no voice and no power of self-defence.

It is customary to say that W. T. Stead was the founder in England of the New Journalism, and the saying of course is true. At all times it has been possible for the editor of strong personality to impress himself on his paper. The early *Pall Mall Gazette*, like the *Times* under Delane and the *Spectator* under Hutton and Meredith Townsend, had furnished an example. But until Stead came into power no one had effected any real change in the tradition of the English daily press. A newspaper was an impersonal organ of certain opinions or interests. Stead made his paper, in every part, an astonishing vivid presentation of his own mind, character, and aims. It was not only that he was sensational, that he popularised the interview, and broke new ground in headlines; nor even that he was always fearless, confident, and full of fight. It was that he magnified the journalist's office and assumed, in the high and free fashion that so became him, the right of dictatorship. For the six years of his reign at the *Pall Mall Gazette* he was occupied, as he said, in "running the British Empire from Northumberland Street." He knew everybody and could get at everybody. Never was there a journalist who enjoyed so wide and cosmopolitan a circle of acquaintances. He could speak, I believe, no language but his own; but he was ready to discuss the affairs of this world with Emperor or Sultan, and the affairs of the other world with any pope on the earth. I do not know how much he retained of his early belief in the divine mission of "God's Englishman." Certain it is that at one time the core of his creed was a conviction that the English-speaking man was appointed to be, in every continent, the instrument of the world's regeneration, as you may see by referring to the manifesto which he sent out with the first number of the *Review of Reviews* (reprinted verbatim in May of this year). One thing is quite clear. If the glory of "God's Englishman" did remain with him until the end, Mr. Stead was able to reconcile it with the most entire absence of racial prejudice or pride. No man or woman of no matter what race or colour ever felt in him the suspicion of a barrier. Until the end of his life, I imagine he counted himself an Evangelical Christian an English Nonconformist; yet no one would have dreamed of asking him to concede the unity of mankind under all forms of faith and practice. For this was to him a fundamental dogma, the spring of all his activity and all his enthusiasms.

His house and office were alike open to all. He was accessible to the whole world. In the old *Pall Mall Gazette* days the visitor was asked only to keep in mind that time was short and callers were many. At Wimbledon, at Mowbray House, and of late years at his home in Smith Square, Westminster, you would meet people from the ends of the earth, and you never knew what good fortune might be yours. There was no such thing as formality. The host himself had the high spirits of a boy. Indians were especially welcome. Every public man from India found his way to the house, and nothing was more characteristic of Mr. Stead than the way in which, amid unbroken hilarity and the most elaborate fooling, he would cross-examine a visitor in reference to his mission in England or the condition of things in the country from which he had come. You would think it, perhaps, part of the Sunday afternoon game in the cosmopolitan sitting room, carried on merely for the entertainment of the group whose members had come together from the Seven Seas—until you saw, in the next month's number of the *Review of Reviews*, either a character sketch setting forth the visitor's record and aims or else an interview into which all the stuff of the cross-examination had been compressed. His power of extracting and stating a case was probably unsurpassed in our time and it was not

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dependent upon personal contact. Correspondence would serve his purpose almost equally well. I remember once, for example, his making an interview on the state of affairs in Bengal, during the anti-partition agitation, out of the letters he had received from two English women, writing from widely separate districts and points of view, but both giving firsthand impressions of the condition of public feeling in the province.

The range of the *Review of Reviews* was greatly extended by means of the Australian and American editions and Mr. Stead was continually turning over in his mind the idea of an Eastern or Indian edition. Various scheme suggested themselves to him at different times—an Indian editor, an organisation of correspondents in the more important Indian centres, a territorial system of recruiting, and what not. None of these came to anything definite, and in the end Indian readers of the *Review* had to be content with brief summaries of articles in the Eastern magazines, editorial notes, and an occasional interview or character sketch. The famous character sketches fell off, I think, in quality as the years went by; but then, as another writer of these things said to me the other day, you can't skim the milk again and again and the world after all is not over rich in people of striking individuality. There is, we all know, no necessary man; but there are men who are altogether irreplaceable. And of such was William Thomas Stead.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN CANADA

OUTSIDE of Reciprocity with the U. S. A. no subject is so much discussed among the people of British Columbia as the Dominion Government's policy,—or lack of policy, as some describe it,—toward the immigration of Hindus. For more than a year a steady fight has been made by the educated Sikhs and their white friends in this province for the removal of the unjust immigration regulations which effectually bar out these British subjects from India, while Chinese, Japanese and the far less desirable representative of the Italian "lazzaroni" find the door to Canadian wealth and freedom comparatively easy to open. The Dominion Government has been petitioned by the Sikhs, it has been exhorted by their friends, it has been warned of consequences, though indirectly, by Imperialists. Yet, with bland indifference to all, it has persisted in the exclusion of the Hindu by subterfuge and has obfuscated the real issue by simple resort to ambiguity of utterance whenever driven to express itself.

Today, while Imperialism is the theme of authors and speakers, Canada is guilty of an anomaly which may threaten the peace of India. Of all the desirable and undesirable people, from the Canadian viewpoint, that the world supports, the Dominion excludes the Hindu, a British subject, alone. The Sikhs of British Columbia, who landed in this province but a year or two ago wearing their old scarlet regimental uniforms and filled with a patriotism of undoubted sincerity, are throwing their war medals, won in the Empire's service, into the harbors of Victoria and Vancouver. Wearied of their struggle for fair treatment they are rapidly assuming that the adoption of a self-assertive attitude is the only way to secure justice. Unless something is done, and quickly, I am afraid the 6,000 Hindus of British Columbia and their landed wealth of nearly three million dollars may try to make their existence felt in a very disagreeable manner.

These statements may seem extravagant to those who are not acquainted with the situation in British Columbia and who do not understand the provocation which the Hindu has suffered. The history of the trouble dates back to the passing of an order-in-council on May 1910 requiring immigrants to come to Canada by a continuous journey. The order was worded as follows:—"From and after the date hereof

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the landing in Canada shall be, and the same is hereby, prohibited of any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens and upon through tickets purchased in that country or prepaid in Canada."

Ostensibly this order-in-council was passed for the very proper purpose of stopping the wholesale influx of Orientals from the Hawaiian islands. In doing this it was at once effective and the people of British Columbia, always sensitive upon the question of Asiatic immigration, praised the Government for its promptitude in dealing with a really serious influx of low grade Chinese, and Japanese. The order was evidently aimed at the Hawaiian immigrants only although the wording makes it applicable to all immigrants. Later the immigration officers at British Columbia ports, apparently with the full support of the Ottawa authorities, interpreted the word "continuous" to mean "direct," that is to say, "the landing of immigrants is prohibited unless they come direct from the land of their birth of adoption," to quote one of the officers in question.

According to this interpretation a European coming from an inland country by rail and water to a seaport in Europe and there transhipping for Canada could not enter this country because his journey was not a direct one. Similarly a Hindu coming by way of Hong-Kong upon a through or prepaid ticket was debarred. This was the interpretation of the order as made by the immigration officials of Victoria and Vancouver and its immediate effect was to prevent the landing of any more Hindus. The Hindus already in British Columbia were therefore prevented from bringing their wives from India to join them in their new country and, as a consequence, a great deal of very justifiable resentment was shown by them. The steamship companies refused to issue tickets to Hindus *via* Hong-Kong, although this is the only way in which they may reach Canada, there being no direct line of steamships. Many Hindus had their wives and families awaiting embarkation in Calcutta when the order was made and the women and children are still in India living on such remittances as their men-folk may send them and anxiously awaiting the remov of the restriction which keeps them fro enjoying the company of their husban and fathers as the case may be.

It is singular to note that the interpret tion of the order made at Victoria a Vancouver was confined to the Pacific coa No other races were discri inated agains Even in British Columbia it was general felt the immigration officers in the provin were making a mistake; that the Dominic Government did not intend to exclude th Hindu who came on a through ticket fro Calcutta to British Columbia by way Hong-Kong. "If the government," it wa pointed out, "intended to debar Hind from entering the province it would make a law to that effect and not adopt such subterfuge as this theoretical admission, b practical exclusion."

Petitions and letters were sent to the d partment of immigration complaining of th action of the Victoria and Vancouver officer The replies to these were very diplomati very ambiguous, very non-commital. "Refe ring to your letter of the 5th I beg to poin out that the regulation requiring immigran to come on a continuous journey was co tained in an order-in-council dated May 9 a copy of which is sent herewith," etc., et I have perused a great mass of correspon ence passing between various individua and the department of immigration an have found the same evasion, the same im tating ambiguity in every reply from th department—With One Exception. An this exception is important inasmuch as shows that **the order-in-Council was no intended to debar Hindus from comin by the only possible route, namely, b way of Hong-Kong, and there is n official sanction of the position taken b the British Columbia officers.**

The statement upon which I base thes assertions is contained in a letter addresse to M. J. Bellasis, of Victoria, by the depart ment of immigration. Mr. Bellasis is on of many in British Columbia who ha sought to obtain redress for the Hindu in British Columbia and his letter t the department concerned the action o the Victoria immigration officer in refusin to allow a Hindu boy to join his father i British Columbia. In replying, the superin tendent of immigration says, "**there is no**

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stipulation in the immigration act that immigrants not coming 'direct' from the port of embarkation in India shall not be permitted to land in Canada."

Upon reading this letter the writer addressed a communication to the department of immigration asking for an explanation of the anomalous conditions existing in regard to the Hindus. I pointed out (1) that the steamship companies refused to issue tickets to Hindus *via* Hong-Kong, (2) that this refusal was based upon the interpretation of the order-in-council made by the B. C. immigration officers, (3) that the department's letter to Mr. Bellasis apparently contradicted the interpretation of these officers. I further mentioned that I intended to give publicity to the matter and courteously asked for information.

The department, evidently deeming silence the better part of discretion, did not reply to my letter.

If, as has been shown, the department has committed itself to an interpretation of the order-in-council which is almost exactly the opposite of that made by the officers on the Pacific coast, it may be asked why the steamship companies, who are naturally anxious enough to sell tickets to Hindus or anybody else, have contented themselves with the ruling of minor officials when that ruling is not supported by the department.

I discussed the matter with two steamship agents,—it would not be to their advantage to give their names as their statements show. The sum and substance of their attitude was as follows, "We do not believe that the department intends to exclude the Hindu. We do not believe that the order-in-council can be directed solely against the people of India. We maintain that a journey upon a through ticket from India by way of Hong-Kong would constitute a 'continuous' journey as the regulation requires and believe the immigration officers here are not justified in requiring the Hindu to come on a direct steamship, which is at present impossible. But it is the Local immigration officers who meet our steamships and with whom we have to do business, not the Ottawa Authorities. Therefore it is not to our advantage to go over the heads of these men to the department. We think it will pay us best to wait until the agitation against the present restriction of Hindus forces the Government to make a public statement of its actual policy."

At the time of writing there is pending a test case which may clear the air regarding the government's intentions. A wealthy Sikh, the priest of the Vancouver temple, by name Balwant Singh, has brought from India his wife and children. The immigration officers at Vancouver have detained the woman, greatly to the indignation of the Sikh population, and contend that while Balwant Singh may enter Canada, because he has been a resident of Vancouver and has therefore become a citizen of the Dominion, his wife and children must be deported to India because they came by way of Hong-Kong, the only route at present available, which the officers declare to be contrary to the order-in-council requiring immigrants to come on a "continuous" journey. Naturally people in British Columbia are wondering what "continuous" can possibly mean if a journey from Calcutta upon a through ticket, making the closest possible connection with the steamship of Hong-Kong, is not a continuous one. If the department of immigration supports the immigration officials in their stand upon the matter it means that the Government is employing the ambiguity of the term "continuous" as a subterfuge, that it is actually excluding the Hindu while in theory it admits him.

Dr. Sunder Singh, a Sikh leader in British Columbia who is engaged in educational work among his countrymen, has spent a great deal of time and money endeavoring to redress their wrongs. He stated to me recently that disloyalty was spreading among the Sikhs, greatly to his dismay, in consequence of the Government's treatment of them. "If the Dominion Government would come out flat-footedly and say 'We will not admit the Hindu. We think that his color outweighs the facts of his loyalty, his good character and his appreciation of all things British,'" said Dr. Singh, "my people would understand their position. But to be told that they are British subjects and entitled to freedom under the British flag; to be debarred from Canada by a policy of subterfuge; and to be kept apart from their families; constitutes a treatment which they cannot understand. It does not savor

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of justice and it is neither straightforward nor humanitarian."

In concluding this article I think it advisable to set down a few facts regarding the Hindus of British Columbia, about whom very little is known by the people of the eastern provinces. The first batch of Hindus to come to Canada were nearly all low class East Indians. They were not suited to the climate of the province or the work that offered. They became a public nuisance and incurred the enmity of labor, always a disturbing element in this province. But how soon the problem which their advent presented was solved. Nearly every one of these Hindus, finding climatic and social conditions unfavorable, went to the United States or back to India.

They were followed by the Sikhs. These men come from the Punjab, "the land of the five rivers", which has a climate resembling in many ways that of British Columbia. They are physically stronger, have a high average of mental, moral and intellectual attributes and, having been supporters of the British during the Indian Mutiny and all successive campaigns, are very loyal and quite accustomed to the ways of the Anglo-Saxon. They have adopted every particle of European dress except the substitution of the Derby hat for the turban. The latter is a distinctive badge, a headgear with religious significance, and loses nothing by comparison with our own hats and caps in so far as comfort and convenience is concerned. The Sikhs are monotheists. Their religion is singularly sweet and sane and consists of a belief in one God and the worship of Him through the serving of one's fellow-creatures. In its spiritual influence the Sikh religion is nowise inferior to Christianity and in its freedom from ritual and obfuscating ceremony it gains by comparison with the formality of Occidental churchdom.

Of the Hindus in British Columbia the Sikhs constitute 93 per cent. the remaining 7 per cent. being made up of stray immigrants from various parts of India. Having no caste laws or religious restrictions the Sikh is practically the only Hindu who can domicile himself in a strange country without losing his standing. Since their advent the Sikhs have been put to the hardest kind of work in this province. Many of them were farmers in their ow country. Yet others were electrician printers, car drivers and conductors, police men and artisans employed in the buildin trades. The labor unions of Britis Columbia and the difference of metho have prevented the latter from followin their own avocations in this country an as a consequence, the Sikh has taken u such classes of work as are evaded by th white men, the Japanese and even th Chinese. I have seen them clearing lan working stumping machines and toiling wi axes on the right-of-ways of the railroad in the settlements of Vancouver Island an in those places where the cities of Van couver and Victoria are pushing the boundaries into the virgin bush. I kno of a case where a Sikh is earning $3·50 day running a stumping machine at To Inlet but the average wage for land clearin is not so high, about $2·75 in fact. The are engaged as laborers on railroad construc tion, receiving from $2·25 to $2·50 a day as labourers in saw-mills and other indus trial plants, where they are paid less, th remuneration ranging from $1·50 to $2·2 a day. Many of them are working on truc gardens and farms and at this work sho great adaptability. A few are buildin houses for other Sikhs and a dozen or so ar engaged in the real estate business a Victoria and Vancouver.

The complaint is sometimes made tha the conditions under which the Hindus liv do not reflect great credit upon their habit and civilization. Investigation reveals th fact that, while the Hindu has been herdin in hovels of the worst description, breedin consumption and poor health among thos who are settled in the cities, the cause o this has been beyond their remedy unt recently. The prejudice against a dar skin, which is the basis of that cowardly cr for "a white Canada", has forced the Sikh t quarter where he could and the only place where he could find accommodation hav been in the slum districts of the cities, ofte in the "tenderloin" quarters Again th fact that the Sikhs have been unable t bring to them their wives and children ha prevented them from organizing a home lif which would meet with the approval o their critics. Thanks, however, to th thrift of these people and to the influenc

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of Dr. Sunder Singh and their other leaders, the evil conditions under which they spent their first couple of years in the country are rapidly disappearing.

Today the Sikhs of British Columbia own nearly three million dollars worth of real estate and over 40 houses are owned or being built by them on their own property in Victoria and Vancouver for their accommodation. It must, of course, be remembered that only a small percentage of the Sikhs live in the cities. The majority are working in the open and under conditions that allow them to practise their natural habits of cleanliness.

Taking everything into consideration the Sikh in this province has made good under adverse conditions. He has been moral and peaceful, as the police records show; he has worked hard and saved money; he has endured many grievances with little resentment. But the Dominion Government must now choose be ween two courses. Either it must, without equivocation, debar the further influx of Hindus and prevent the women and children in Calcutta from joining their men—and await whatever consequences such a course may entail. Or it must remove the unimperial, undignified, and unjust exclusion policy at present in operation and allow the Hindu the same privileges that are extended to the lawless, disloyal and undesirable transients who come from southern Europe to gain a competence in Canada and return to their home lands to spend it. The regulations which provide that an immigrant must have $200 in his pockets on arrival and must pass a medical examination will prevent any wholesale immigration of Hindus or any other class. The Hindus are as anxious as the Government to exclude the poorer people of their own country who are liable to become public charges.

But it seems certain that the government cannot much longer continue to admit the Chinese, the Japanese, the scum of Europe and the negro while excluding a people who are an integral part of the British Empire and a factor in the preservation of its peace.

The cry of "a white Canada" does not commend itself to the clear thinker. It is not "a clean Canada" or "a Canada of good wages and good living conditions," but "a white Canada". The British Empire has not been reared upon the policy of "a man is known by the color of his skin."

A Canadian.

CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION TO EXCLUDE THE SHORT RANGE WEAPONS FROM THE ARMS ACT

THE Indian National Congress has many times appealed in vain to the Government to repeal the Arms Act entirely. Let us now suggest a more moderate proposition to the Government. Let the Government have a monopoly of all long range rifles which are now used by the British and Native troops, the volunteers, the European Civilians, the Eurasians, and the Police, who are all intended to assist the Government in putting down any rebellion or lawlessness that may arise in this country. Let the Government also have a wholesale monopoly of pistols in their hands. The long range rifles referred to, such as the carbine, the lee-enfield, the lee-metford, and the Magazine rifle, can all hit a target at a distance of over 1800 yards, with a muzzle velocity of 2000 ft. per second. When the military, the Police, and the trusted volunteers, the European and the Eurasian inhabitants are thus able to handle these long range rifles to meet all emergencies, it is high time for the Government to strike off from the schedule of the Arms Act such crude, old-fashioned and short range weapons as the "*match locks*" "*percussion cap using muzzle loaders*," "*bows and arrows*," "*the Indian swords and spears*," and above all such breach loading modern rifles of European make which have a shorter range than similar weapons used by the Police.

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In these days of "smoke-less powders and long range rifles," if the Government is afraid of the bows and arrows of the Puranic period, or the match locks or similar muzzle loading guns of the fifteenth century, or the old swords and spears of the 8th century B. C., it is simply astonishing! The Government can as well include in the Schedule of the Arms Act the wood-cutters' axe, the grass-cutters' sickle, and the garden coolies' spade and hoe, as these also can take life out of a man.

To show the difference between the new long range rifle and the old match-lock, I will shortly describe the method of loading a modern rifle and an old-fashioned match-lock or percussion gun. When you want to fire a modern rifle such as a "Martini Henry," you simply open the breach, place your bullet there and pull the trigger. All this can be accomplished within 5 seconds. Whereas, if you want to load and fire an old-fashioned gun such as a match-lock or percussion cap using gun, it will take about 5 minutes, because you must first pour the powder into the barrel of the gun through the muzzle, then sink the rod into the barrel and find out if the quantity of powder put in, is large or small; if it is large the gun is sure to give you a violent recoil, or if the quantity of the powder is less the ball will not reach the desired destination. After putting the powder into the barrel the next operation is to wrap the crude lead ball in a piece of cloth and drive it to the bottom of the barrel by the rod; then you apply the percussion cap to the ear and then pull the trigger. After taking so great a trouble if the powder first put into the barrel has not sufficiently entered the "ear" of the gun, the fire caused by the explosion of the percussion cap cannot reach the powder in the barrel and your gun will not fire at all!

In the meanwhile the modern rifle can discharge 60 cartridges to a distance of 1800 yards or even more. The distance an old-fashioned match-lock or percussion gun can effectively fire is only about 400 yards, against 1800 yards and more of the modern service rifle, and the number of discharges in 5 minutes is 1 against 60.

With such an ocean of difference between the new rifle and the old match-lock and percussion gun the Government can safely remove the following six weapons entirely from the Arms Act. *Viz*:

1. The Match-lock,
2. The percussion cap using gun,
3. The bows and arrows,
4. The Indian swords,
5. The spears and the spear-heads,
6. and also such modern breach-loading rifles of European make which have decidedly a shorter range than the weapons used either by the Military, the Police, or by the volunteers, that is to say, modern weapons which cannot fire beyond 500 yards at most.

To those who say that any one of these machines is quite sufficient to take the life of a man and therefore must be on the Schedule of the Arms Act I have to point out that a stone thrown by means of a sling to frighten birds in the millet fields is equally dangerous from this point of view.

Another question that will be put generally is:—Won't the removal of these weapons from the Schedule of the Arms Act, create so many unhappy disturbances among the people themselves? Won't there be many armed raids and dacoities?

To these questions I only refer my friends to H. H. the Nizam's Dominions where there is no Arms Act at all. How many are the varieties of fire arms freely possessed by the people? And with all that how peaceful the people of His Highness's Dominions are, in spite of the heterogeneous character of the population, which consists of the warlike Arabs, Marathas, the Pathans and the Afghans, not to speak of the many hardy hill tribes, and how greatly the ravages of wild animals have diminished.

Indian history has already recorded the names of Viscount Hardinge and Lord Crewe as bold statesmen and it is now left for the people, the Madrasees, the Bengalees, the Marathas, and the Punjabees alike to approach the Government with our prayer and explain to them how the Government by keeping the exclusive right of long range fire arms for itself and by throwing open the use of the old-fashioned weapons and the modern weapons of shorter range to the people, can help

(1) To diminish the ravages of wild animals which are increasing with alarming rapidity and thus deliver their crops and persons from harm.

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(2) How by the use of these old-fashioned weapons the time-honored instincts for "SHIKAR" or game can be protected from decaying in this country.

(3) How in the interest of the Government itself the people will be accustomed to use at least the short range weapons in times of emergency that may arise from the temptations of Russia and China to invade this country, and thus be able to take part in the defence of one's own country.

(4) How the Government by making the people accustomed to use at least the short range fire arms will be able to form volunteer crops and thus reduce the strength of some of the regular regiments thus solving the problem of military expenditure.

(5) How thousands of black-smiths whose chief industry was to manufacture short range rifles, swords and spears, will be restored to one of India's most ancient and important industries.

(6) How the Government will be respecting the religious feelings of the people, as old weapons form one of the most sacred objects of worship in this country.

(7) How the Government can meet the burning desire in the people to form "boys' brigades" and similar organizations to take part in the defence of their own country, because as long as these are armed with weapons inferior to those used by the police and the military, there is no doubt about putting down easily any lawlessness that may arise from these organizations, and even should any unhappy incident occur it would be only like a war of sheep against tigers.

The recent pronouncements of His Majesty's Government have clearly pointed out that their future policy in India is going to be the formation of "*A federation of self-governing quasi-independent states with the Gavernor-General in Council interfering only in case of mis-government*" and His Majesty has also on more than one occasion declared that the people of India are very loyal. When His Majesty and his Government are of such opinion where is the necessity to still keep the "*old-fashioned and crude weapons*" in the Schedule of the Arms Act and also to prohibit the people to use at least the short range Eurapean made modern rifles.

The "Hindu" of Madras, published on January 10th, 1912, a long article from its Masulipatam correspondent giving a horrible incident of an elephant running amok, killing about 12 helpless poor persons (Indians of course!) and causing a great loss of both life and property in the presence of thousands of villagers, who stood aghast. The beast was roaming about the villages for nearly three days unkilled though there were thousands of people. What is all this due to? Who is responsible for this great loss of human life and property? It is only the Arms Act and the Arms Act alone that is responsible for this horrible affair. If the people of those villages were at least armed with "*match-locks and percussion guns*," or with any of the short range modern weapons they would not have allowed the animal to "rule" over the villages for three days. Such a thing has happened in the well-governed British territory, but such a horrible affair can never be dreamt of in the so-called "backward" native state of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Well, here is a proposition for the Government to reserve for itself the force of the superior arms, and allow the people to be efficient in the handling of "*at least the inferior weapons.*" This demand is very reasonable. Both the Government and the people can certainly meet half way in this proposition. Nay, the people are allowing the Government to have the upper hand in the affair and they will be content to have the inferior weapons for themselves. This is certainly not crying for the moon. Here is ample room for the Government to show that they have confidence in the people and that they are ready to meet their "*reasonable demands.*" If foreign powers for any reason infer lack of confidence of the Government in the people, there may be a good deal of temptation on the part of powers like Russia to try the chance of utilizing the misunderstanding between the people and the Government.

A strictly constitutional agitation is necessary to repeal the objectionable clauses in the Arms Act. This is a proposition which concerns the people of all provinces, of all castes and of all creeds. The voice of the whole country is necessary on this vital question. The Madrasee, the Punjabee and the Marathee, had no interest in the partition of Bengal but all of them are affected by the Arms Act. Even the mother will not

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give milk to the child unless he cries for it. All the provincial and district conferences must take up the question, the Congress must again pass resolutions requesting the Government to meet this reasonable demand, and public meetings must be held throughout the length and breadth of the country. The people should advise their Representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council to introduce a Bill to repeal the necessary clauses in the Arms Act, and in short should do every constitutional thing in their power in order to become at least "*partly armed and half-efficient*" instead of being "*entirely disarmed*" and "*totally inefficient*" in the handling of fire arms to protect their persons and property and also enable them to take part in the defence of their own country, which is in other words called "*patriotism*".

P. VENKAYYA.

THE OLD BRAHMINICAL LEARNING

BY THE LATE SISTER NIVEDITA.

IN following up the history of any one of the Indian vernacular literatures, one is likely to be struck with the fact that they take their subjects, for the most part, from somewhere else, from something outside themselves. They are organs of response, not altogether seats of creativeness ;—they give expression to something that they have first received. There is of course a layer of vernacular literature—socially the most rustic and plebeian—which is the repository of the taste of the People. Here the common motives of popular romance—love, hate, desertion, fortune, reunion, the favours of supernatural beings, the temporary triumph of the wicked, the unmerited sufferings of the good, and the "all happy ever after,"—have free play, as in all countries and all ages. Even this stratum, however, in its main undulations, betrays the tastes that are characteristic of the higher walks of vernacular literature, during the passing period. Persecuted beauty is made to go through the fiery ordeal, by more or less far-fetched doubts cast upon its virtue, when Sita happens to be the popular ideal, and manly strength is put to tests that bring it into line with the fashionable heroes of the hour. Waves of influence seem to pass across the ocean of democratic poetry, in each succeeding period, moulding its surface with less and less distinctness as the level of formal education sinks, but assuredly determining its main heights and descents.

What is the character of these influences? What is their central source of stimulus? What is that brain to which the literatures of the various provinces act as limbs and organs? Is there any main spring from which all alike draw simultaneous inspiration? And if so, what is it, and where are we to look for it?

Such a fountain of energy and direction does certainly exist, guiding and colouring the whole intellectual life of the Indian people, from generation to generation. It is found in the ancient Sanskrit learning of the Brahmin caste. Here is that floating university and national academy of letters of which the various vernacular languages form, as it were, so many separate colleges. Here we can watch a single unresting course of evolution, and see it reflected, at a certain interval of time, with a certain variety and tremulousness of outline, in the poetry and letters of each of the provincial peoples.

The great national epics, the Mahabharata and Ramayana, are in Sanskrit, and stand to this day as the type and standard of imaginative culture, amongst all save the English-educated classes. The story is learnt, and the personalities become familiar, through village-plays and grandmothers' tales, and the constant reference of everyone about one from babyhood upwards. But *quotation* can only be made from the Sanskrit, and, with the beautiful

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precision of mediæval learning, must be accompanied by a careful word-by-word translation into the vulgar tongue! This is the rule, whatever the caste of the speaker, though naturally enough we hear such reference oftener from the lips of a Brahmin than from any other.

The translation of either of the epics into one of the minor languages usually marks a literary epoch. It is never a close or exact rendering. The translator allows himself almost as much liberty as Shakespeare in dealing with English history; and a very interesting comparative study of the ideals of different provinces might be made, on the basis of the six or seven great names that could be chosen from amongst the authors of these variants. Tulsidas, the writer of the Hindi Ramayana of the fifteenth century, is one of the springs and fountains of life to the people of the North-West Provinces, as indeed to all the Vaishnavas of Northern India. He regarded himself doubtless as only a reciter or interpreter of the great work of Valmiki, but he has carried out his task in such a fashion as himself to hold the rank of a great original poet.

Yet the Mahabharata and Ramayana with the long succeeding train of Sanskrit poetry, do not themselves form the subject of that severe Brahmanical training which was the backbone of the old Indian culture. The supreme wisdom of the system is seen nowhere better than in the fact that poetry and the fruits of the imagination are allowed to go free. Metre and the rules of Prosody are studied in connection with Grammar and Vedic enunciation, but the national sages are regarded as more or less popular and easy, and left to the private reading of the student, or to the more serious labours of professional minstrels, bards and wandering tale-tellers. What an interesting enquiry might be carried out in India, as to the relative numbers of works of literary genius which emanate from the ranks of professional and amateur writers respectively! At any rate, it was not the epics themselves, but that world of thought and philosophy out of which they were born, that environment which presses upon and utters itself, even now, through both teller and hearers, it was this whose fires were kept so vigorously alight by the Brahmanical organisation of scholarship.

We do not sufficiently realise the fact that mediæval Hindu India was organised round universities, instead of round political centres. Vikrampore, Nuddea, and Mithila were the master-names of Bengali life and thought ever since the downfall of Gour and Rungpur as capital-cities. Dacca and Murshidabad were centres of administration and finance. But for the sources of their intellectual and spiritual energies men looked to the seats of Sanskritic learning, not to the thrones of Nawabs. Even Mohammedanism in its turn had to create its own centres of scholarship, and with its instinct for seizing on the elaborated achievements of Buddhism, it took Jaunpore, which remains today as the fount of episcopal authority for Islamic India. Vikrampore, with its long Buddhistic history, had enjoyed an intervening period of importance as the capital of the Sens, or there might have been a like ambition to claim its prestige also, for the foreign scheme of culture. We must not too hastily assume that this would have been a loss. The world has seen few types of courtly accomplishment and bearing so fine as that of the school in whom a knowledge of Persian was added to the ordinary Hindu training in Sanskrit. It was essentially a system of cultivation destined to turn out a man-of-the-world, and thereby how different from the severe depth and austerity of the Brahmanic ideal! But it was very beautiful and delightful in its own way. The Persian education of the old *moulvies* of Jaunpore gave a most finished appreciation of great literature. The Islamic scholar and Sanskrit pundit had this in common, that they were both mediævalists, both devoted students of high poetry, both thankful to be poor if only thereby they might be wise, and both accustomed to spend a dozen years over a single book. It was the bone and marrow of the poem on which their hearts were set, and they often bred up a race of students in whom taste was unerring. Never have I seen the sense of literature so developed, as in a certain Hindu monk, who in his childhood learnt Persian from an old scholar in Jaunpore. Mankind will be tangibly poorer when a few grey-headed men who live about

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Benares, Patna, and Lucknow, shall have passed away, and their sons, stepping into their vacant places, prove to be of a newer breed.

The Hindu universities of the past were distinguished each to some extent by its own specialism. Thus the South was great for the recitation of the Vedas. Even now, in the great temple of Conjeeveram one may imagine oneself in ancient Egypt, as one listens, in the early morning hours, to the fresh young voices of the choir-school in the distance reciting the ancient texts, and the whole of Southern society assists in the concentration, necessary to this task, for it is required that even laymen, listening to the RIKS, shall, at the first sound of a letter or a syllable misplaced, manifest violent disgust and distress. This may not seem like good manners, but it is most eloquent of the accuracy demanded in repetition. Similarly, Nuddea in Bengal was noted for her Logic. Here again, as in literature, the highest fruit grows in freedom. Few stay long enough at their lessons to take a formal course in Inference, yet 'Prove that there is a God!' remains for the whole world the grandest proof of assurance. Nasik and Pundherpore in Maharashtra had each its own strong point. And for all—grammar, philosophy, and texts,—the crown was Benares. Nor can the pre-eminence of the divine city be said even yet to have departed. There still are the great libraries, with the scholars that pore over their treasures, and compare texts, day after day. There are the laborious schools of the pundits, with their pupils committing verses to heart in sing-song through the hottest hours. There are the grave and reverend professors of the highest ideas of the ancient wisdom, only too glad to lay open their treasures to any who will forsake all to follow truth. Still the poor scholars tramp their way here from all over India. Still on winter mornings one may come upon the student up before dawn, reading aloud to himself in the bleak shelter of some corner. He will go on doing this for twelve years at least, before he will be declared to have a knowledge of his book, and be fit to use his knowledge in the world outside. But by that time he will have the root of the matter in him, and the temptations of luxury and idleness will have ceased to speak to him.

But it is for the most part in the sm country *tolls* in remote places, like Vikra pore with its hundred villages, that Brahmanic learning is built up. Here great problem of the education and initi tion of the comparatively young and learned into the path of higher enquiry solved. When a student arrives at a he is already of a certain age, which m be anything from fifteen to twenty-fi The only children there are the sons a daughters, the nieces and nephews of guru, or master. From old men who w babes of the family in the Sanskrit colleg we may still glean what we desire to kn about the life there. For a commerc age has shattered the old learning, a with it the system of institutions by wh it was imparted. Men have not now t large sweet leisure, or that freedom fr anxiety, that characterised the old tim Everything has now had its money val measured and assigned, and there is scarc enough to fill the hungry mouths. family cannot dispense with the servi of one member who might be an ear Learning did not necessarily in the times make a man poor, for he might through it to great distinction and emo ment. But it provided him with so ma claims that it left him poor in the e whatever it may have made him in beginning. The students who arrived the *toll*, paid nothing for the instruc which they received. It was sufficient t they were content to give their lives a labours. Their master was the treasu of wisdom as well as her exponent. found the means. There would sometimes as many as a hundred scholars and more single *toll*, and so great was the fam Bengal for Logic that men would c from the most remote parts of the cou to enjoy the training of a certain teac Intercourse could always be carried o a *toll* in Sanskrit! In one of these r colleges in distant Vikrampore, I h heard of two Mahratta students. Cust were made a little elastic to give necessary margin to the two strangers, they lived with their Bengali guru brethren for many a long year, and depar at last to carry their name and fame and wide.

A month or [illegible] his arrival, begging the

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to take him as a disciple, was supposed to be already interested in some special line of study. He was then set to learn a given book. This had to be committed to memory and also thoroughly digested and understood. The hearing of the recitation each morning included also a searching examination into matter and criticism. If the result were not satisfactory, the hint was given by the suggestion that it should be re-read, and then for special exposition and assistance, a visit would be paid by the master privately, during the reading, as soon as the other recitations had been heard.

The next stage in the day's work consisted of the lecture, when a new portion of the treatise that was being studied was taken in hand and expounded by the pundit. Such were the pursuits that occupied the hours of the morning and early afternoon. The glory and delight of college-life came towards evening, when the shadows began to grow, and formal work was over for the day. Then teacher and students together would set out for the afternoon walk.

Across the fields they would proceed, in twos and threes, earnestly discussing the questions which had arisen in the course of their study. Perhaps they would end by paying a friendly visit to another *toll* in some neighbouring village. Or perhaps they would return home to find a bevy of visitors come to discuss with them. In deep disputation the evening would pass, food unthought of. And it was no unheard of thing that the guests should lie down at some late hour and stay the night, in order to rise up next morning and renew the fray.

It was in these discussions that the originality and powers of the students were really developed. They also show how essential it was that one *toll* should be situated in a district where there were others. Sometimes the argument would assume the excitement and almost the dimensions of a pitched battle. We feel this when we read the wonderful story of Chaitanya, that avatar who was at first a scholar of Nuddea. There came to him, in his days of Sanskrit scholarship, a pundit from Benares, determined to worst him, famous as he was, in argument. The battle was felt to be the cause of Nuddea against Benares, and sympathy was naturally quick for the home of the listeners. On the other hand the age and distinction of the strange scholar were such that for the young Nuddea man to enter the lists with him at all was felt to be a piece of temerity. Thus parties were about equally divided, the old for Benares, the young for Nuddea, fairly ready to be swayed this way or that, as the contest might carry them. To us who read the tale, it is a foregone conclusion that Chaitanya was the abler disputant of the two. But we cannot forget that he was also the younger. Over and above this, he was at home. Under these circumstances, we might have expected that some impulse of pity would tempt him to save the feelings of the older scholar. Nothing of the sort. The logical tournament has a chivalry of its own, but it is for truth, not for persons. Nothing must interfere with the effort to display the actual fact, and the assurance of this is closely bound up with the victory of one person or the other. So the debate proceeds remorselessly, without fear or favour, to its inevitable end in the triumph of youth and Nuddea. And we may be assured that nothing would have been so bitterly resented by the pundit from Benares as any idea that his age or his fame or his well-known achievements entitled him to be handled tenderly, as if with the gloves on!

But a system of high learning must have some points of contact with lay society. Especially is this the case when it is one of a nature that impoverishes its participants. There must be some means of gathering the sinews of war, in however scanty an amount. This need was met in the India of the past, by the fact that learning was looked upon as the brightest ornament of social life. No extraordinary marriage-function in a great house would in those days be regarded as complete, without its battle of the pundits. Invitations were sent out to members of rival schools, to come and join their forces under the presidency and direction of such and such a Brahmin. The contest would take place in the presence of the whole polite world, who though they could not have waged it themselves, had quite sufficient knowledge of the language and matter under dispute to be keen and interested critics of skill. Put thus upon their mettle, the combatants would wrestle, and at the end of days or hours as the case

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might be, the victor was declared. Sometimes the whole of the money-grant about to be made by the father of the bride, would be assigned to him by the chief of the pundits. This would be for a signal and crushing victory. More often it would be a proportion of three-quarters, five-eighths, or even fifteen-sixteenths. Sometimes a man would indignantly refuse the award so graduated, feeling that it did not sufficiently recognise the fact that his rival had no ground left to stand upon. In this case a scholar of self-respect was willing to wait till he had driven the whole world to accept him on his own terms, of all or nothing. As in the tournaments of European chivalry the appearance of the unknown knight might at any moment occur, so here also, one never knew whether some stranger of genius might not upset the best-calculated chances. The Savant must be prepared to defend his own pre-eminence against all comers, and against every conceivable method, new or old.

But if this was the height of passion reached in such contests as took place in the presence of the comparatively unlearned, we can imagine what happened when scholars or sadhus themselves organised their own conferences amongst themselves. These were announced and financed by princes or by towns, and from far and wide, from remote unheard of *tolls*, and from the libraries of palaces, as well as from all the great and famous centres, arrived the scholars who were to take part. Like vultures gathering together for the feast, so were the pundits, when the call to battle had gone forth. And when the struggle actually began, ah! we have heard of the defeated taking a vow to starve himself to death, in his rage and mortification. We have heard of closely-fought sessions of many days at a stretch. And finally when victory was declared, the conqueror, beside himself with the intoxication of success, would tear up the matting on the floor, in order to sprinkle dust in token of his contempt upon the heads of grave and reverend adversaries.

In such occasions, we have a glimpse of what may be called the post-graduate system of university life. At places like Hrishikesh, we still have the remains of what have been great scholarly centres, for the meeting of Monks and Brahmins. In the *Kumbha Mela*, which takes place Hardwar, Allahabad, and Nasik by ro tion, we have one of the most ancient a most learned assemblies of learning. T men who play their part here are n neophytes: they are already ripe schola meeting for mutual edification. Nor c we deny that there may be history in t tradition which says that at Hrishike Vyasa collected and divided the four Ved Great works of scholarship might well carried out by councils convened in so such way.

Thus we have a suggestion of the tw fold development of Sanskritic Educati one that of the school or college, the oth that of the university proper. This l was more or less peripatetic but none t less definite and real, for that. And t Brahminic Schools on the other hand, we numerous and exact in their constitution.

The student who arrived at twenty wou sometimes stay at the *toll* till he was thir five, putting off the whole business marriage and citizenship till his prem thirst for knowledge should first be slak And yet were there 'very few who arriv at Inference'! In truth Inference, l Poetry, was best left free. It was t crown and blossom of all a man h learnt. He had to study how to direct h argument with its 'five limbs,' which modern world calls the major and min premisses of the syllogism. He knew wh fallacies to guard against, and how ma modes of proof were possible. It w better for him, that, being trained in this, he should be left to steer his ow course, alike in argument and belief, wh it came to the application of his knowledg It was better for men at large that opinio themselves should not be imparted, directed, though, if they rested on obvio fallacies, it would be well to expose the What was expected of a pundit was passion for truth, and a contempt for t goods of this world. Let him pursue wisdo and with all his getting let him get unde standing. Knowledge and Wealth in tr were rival sisters, at the best. They appea ed to be good friends, but there was betwe them a deep unspoken jealousy. Whoev paid honest court to the one would f to win the unstinted largess of the oth On the other hand, each was compelle

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by the laws of courtesy, to make a sufficient provision for her sister's worshippers. Thus the extremely rich man would not be an imbecile, nor the extremely learned left altogether to starve. There would be enough, but nothing over. Therefore let a man be clear from the first as to what he really wanted. Above all, let him never pursue after knowledge, as a means to wealth. Gifts in the old days were largely made in kind. Hence there came into the *toll* enough rice to feed the students from year to year, and yet the whole treasure of the guru's wife would be a few silver ornaments, and a supply of brass cooking vessels. Truly the highest labour for humanity is never paid. Indeed unless the enthusiasm of his women-folk was as great as his own, it is difficult to see how the guru could ever have kept a *toll* at all. For the wife had to see to the cooking, and cleaning, and the nursing of the sick. Every disciple looked upon her as his mother, and the bond of reverence and affection was as real as that which bound him to his master himself. In case of her being widowed, the disciples were responsible for her maintenance and protection. They must beg for her if need be. The relation was really one of a mother and her sons.

Of this parental tie that bound the pupil to his master and his master's household, we catch numerous glimpses in the poems and history of the Indian people. One of the finest episodes in the Mahabharata is the story of Devajani, whose love gathered round the strange youth, Kacha, the student-brother, who had come to her father to learn his mystic lore. He has come in truth from the land of the gods, to master the learning of men, and very solemnly and beautifully is that wisdom consecrated, as he gathers it, by being first put to the test for the aid and deliverance of his master himself. When five years are over, and Kacha must return to his own land, Devajani cannot believe that they are to be parted, and begs to be taken with him as his wife. But the disciple of her father regards her as his sister, and the idea is impossible to him. It is then that the beautiful Devajani curses him, in her despair, with the future sterility of the knowledge he has acquired. He accepts the curse, in so far as it concerns himself, yet adds, with a note of triumph: "But in him it shall bear fruit, to whom I shall impart it!"

The great Akbar, in something of the same spirit, it is said, at a later date, made many attempts to win from the Brahmins of Benares a knowledge of the Vedic scales and cadences, but always, without success. At last he determined on a fraud, and one morning, shortly after, as one of the chief Brahmins went to bathe, he found on the ghat, a Brahmin youth, fainting with hunger, who said he had come far to learn from him the Vedas. The compassionate pundit took the lad home, and kept him as a disciple and son, and in course of time he fell in love with the daughter of his master, and asked for her hand in marriage. The scholar loved the youth, who was of a most noble and promising disposition, and at the end of his training, his request was to be granted. But the young man could not bring himself to carry his deception so far, and on the eve of his wedding-day, he revealed the fact that he was a Mohammedan. The Brahmin did not withdraw his promise or his blessing. But he saw that the sacred trust of his art was broken, the purity of his line was to be lost for ever. And he insisted, it is said, upon dying by fire, as a penance for the twofold betrayal that he had unwittingly committed.

In the culture that characterised India, then, before the dawn of English education, we have seen that the severer forms of learning were an occasion of criticism and delight to non-Brahmanical society, even as high musical skill is appreciated in Europe by all classes. But the finer flowers of literary culture were left to be absorbed and augmented spontaneously. Philosophy, Logic, and even the chanting of ancient texts, might be corrected and regulated, but creativeness was accepted as the grace of God, the only safeguard put upon it being that, as the man trained in reasoning could not be misled by a false argument, so the man trained in any fine and arduous form of mental activity, could not admire what was wanting in nobility and beauty.

So elaborate an organisation argues authority of some kind at its birth. We see here a university system which must have been nursed and protected by powerful

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influences for many centuries. In this connection we cannot but remember that the glory of the great Gupta throne of Pataliputra, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was inextricably bound up, as that house deeply realised, with the fate of Sanskrit learning and literature. Those were days in which the decline of the Buddhist orders had not yet commenced. For the moment, the great university of Nalanda was at the zenith of its power. It carried on its researches in a dozen branches of knowledge in Sanskrit. It was the state observatory, and constituted the official meridian, for there and there alone, we are told by Hiouen-Tsang, was kept the state water-clock, which regulated time for the whole of Magadha. Its fame attracted students, not only from all parts of India, but from the empire of China itself. It is told of Nalanda, in the family histories of Vikrampore, that it had five hundred professors, and that on one occasion at least the head of them all was a man from the village of Vajra-Yogini in Vikrampore,—so far back stretch the memories of the glory of scholars in an Indian pedigree.

Our last clear glimpse of Nalanda is in the middle of the seventh century, at the visit of Hiouen-Tsang. At the beginning of the ninth century again, the curtain rises on the life and career of Sankaracharya. The stories told of the arguments and discussions by which he ousted Buddhist monks, grown ignorant and illiterate, from the charge of sacred places, and handed them over to his own men, shows that the system of Sanskritic culture was already more or less complete. We cannot help believing that the organisation of Brahmanical learning must have been a reflection of a still earlier organisation of Buddhistic learning, that the life lived till the other day in a Bengali *toll* must be an exact replica of the life lived in an earlier period, in such places as the caves of Ajanta or Ellora. But in this system of scholarly contests, to the verdict of which the Buddhists themselves submitted, so far as in defeat to render up the care of their sacred places, to their conquerors, we seem to catch a glimpse of something older still, something dating from the primeval world itself.

The assemblies of the *sadhus*, then, and their public discussions of debateable points, constituted an organisation already perfect perhaps in the Gupta period, and in the very prime of its influence and activity, in the Era of Sankaracharya. In Bengal, the Empire of Gour was to last undisturbed another four centuries, and to succumb in its entirety only to the genius of Shere Shah and the later Moguls. This empire deliberately linked with itself the ecclesiastical *sabhas* of the Kanauji Brahmins, who remained beside the throne, as a kind of pontifical court, nursing institutions and deciding interpretations, as long as the dynasty lasted. We cannot refuse to see in this strong and prolonged national independence, the real reason for the high degree of elaboration attained by Sanskritic culture in Bengal. A geographical *cul-de-sac* is always the place to look for the integrity of customs and institutions elsewhere disintegrated by foreign conquest. According to this law we might expect, in India, to find, in the southern apex of the Deccan, and in Eastern Bengal, traces of the past still vigorous, when in other parts they had disappeared. In the lingering memory of the life of the *tolls*, and the learned combats of the wedding-party, we have such a remnant of the mediaeval world, and it speaks with no uncertain sound. Mithila, Nuddea and Vikrampur were sparks from the fire that had been Nalanda. Benares and Hrishikesh still remain, to testify to us of a time when the life of mind and spirit ranked above temporal good, in the minds of the forefathers. They were parts of an immence conflagration of learning, which it should be the business of India's sons once more to set alight.

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COMPULSORY ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

II.

The Bill and the Debate.

MR. Gokhale has again and again pointed out in the Council that the Government should enable us to feel that though largely foreign in personnel, it is national in spirit and sentiment, and this it can only do by undertaking towards the people of India all those responsibilities which national Governments in other countries undertake towards their people. If the teeming masses of India are to live a life at all worth living, illiteracy should be banished from the land. The experience of all other civilised countries has established beyond dispute that the wide diffusion of elementary education can only be secured by a resort to compulsion in some form or other. This is the genesis of Mr. Gokhale's Bill.

The Bill only suggests the first steps of the journey towards the goal of free and compulsory education. Since the Government is foreign and unwilling to court unpopularity by introducing compulsion, the Bill throws the responsibility of initiating compulsory education on the people themselves, through their District Boards and Municipalities. The Bill is of a purely permissive character, and its provisions are to apply only to areas notified with the previous sanction of the Government. The cost of the scheme is to be shared by local bodies and local Governments in the proportion of one-third and two-thirds. As it is the general opinion that for compulsion to be successfully applied there should be among the people a fair spread of elementary education, it is proposed that no local body should introduce compulsion unless at least 33 per cent. of the school-going population within its area are already at school. (This would exclude all District Boards for several years to come, and bring within the range of the Bill only about a hundred of the more advanced municipalities in the larger towns in the different parts of the country.) Compulsion is intended to apply at first only in the case of boys; later on, when the time is ripe, it may be extended to girls. Provision is made for School Attendance Committees which will take whatever steps may be necessary to ensure the attendance of children at school, including the putting into operation of the penal clauses, which are necessarily light, against defaulting parents. Provision is also made for absence from school for reasonable excuses, *e.g.*, absence of a school within a distance of one mile, sickness, the seasonal needs of agriculture, &c. Gratuitous instruction is to be provided for boys whose parents earn less than ten rupees a month. The period of instruction is to extend to four years (in most countries, including Ceylon, Baroda and Japan, it is six years).

Sir Harcourt Butler, the Education Minister, in the course of the debate, said of the Bill: –

"My Lord, it is in itself a modest and unassuming measure. It is full of safeguards—so full of safeguards that it seems to many likely to remain a dead-letter."

And yet, modest as it was, Mr. Gokhale knew that the fate of his Bill was sealed. Here is the pathetic peroration of his speech:—

"My Lord, I know that my Bill will be thrown out before the day closes. I make no complaint. I shall not even feel depressed. I know too well the story of the preliminary efforts that were required even in England before the Act of 1870 was passed, either to complain or to feel depressed. Moreover, I have always felt and have often said that we of the present generation in India can only hope to serve our country by our failures. The men and women who will be privileged to serve her by their successes will come later. We must be content to accept cheerfully the place that has been allotted to us in our onward march. This Bill, thrown out today, will come back again and again till on the stepping stones of its dead selves, a measure ultimately rises which will spread the light of knowledge throughout the land. It may be that my anticipation will not come true . . . . . But, my Lord, whatever fate awaits our labours, one thing is clear. We shall be entitled to feel that we have done our

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duty, and where the call of duty is clear, it is better even to labour and fail than not to labour at all."

We shall now deal with the arguments advanced by the opponents of the Bill. First and foremost among them was the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy. It may be here mentioned that almost all the members who spoke against the Bill thought it necessary to preface their opposition by a strong expression of sympathy for the object of the Bill. This in itself shows that the opposition was conscious that it had a weak case. Mr. Dadabhoy, for instance, said that he had great faith in free and compulsory education and added that he felt as keenly as ever that if there is any country in which a sound system of universal compulsory education was required it was India, with its dense mass of ignorance, its religious and social prejudices, its industrial backwardness, its want of enterprise, its helplessness. His objections were against the permissive character of the Bill, which in one view constituted its chief merit, but which excited the criticism that if passed into law it would remain inoperative; against the power of initiation vested in local bodies, which did not faithfully represent public opinion and implicity followed the lead of the District officers; but chiefly against the proposed education cess, which he considered to be the most objectionable feature of the Bill. He pointed out that according to Mr. Gokhale himself taxation in India is equal in incidence to that in the United Kingdom and France. This proposed Education tax,* and the fear that if the Bill were passed into law municipal areas where primary education already finds some favour will be fattened at the expense of rural areas, where the necessity is greatest, are the two principal objections urged against the Bill.

Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis is a representative of the upper middle class which views with suspicion and alarm every extension of privilege or liberty among the masses. He said that :—

"The educated child despises and in most cases desires to depart from his traditional occupation. The stuff which issues from the cheap press fills his mind with unwholesome ideas.* It is not necessary to make education compulsory, as the people are themselves anxious to send their children to school; all that is necessary is to provide school accommodation. 'Doubts have been expressed about the utility of rudimentary knowledge among the working classes. Agricultural labour, far from improving, deteriorates in quality also from disregard to irksome details and want of application which association in early life with better classes of people, absence of manual labour during a long period and the vitiated taste for ease inseparable from school education produce in the recepient."

The Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid represents two interests, the aristocracy and the Mahomedans. His arguments are characteristic. Compulsory education will be a source of great discontent among the people. 'After education agriculture is sure to be given up.' The Government of India and the landed classes will then be put to face a dangerous labour problem. Socialistic ideas, which are absent from our country, are sure to come into existence. Before undertaking legislation for compulsory education, a desire for educating their children should be created in the minds of the majority of parents. First make India a homogeneous country, let not one section entertain a desire to steal a march over the other, then will be the proper time for the introduction of such a measure. In the United Provinces compulsory education will lead to an attempt to teach Mahomedan boys Hindi instead of Urdu.† They shall have either to give up

* The Despatch of 1859 (para 52) was in favour of an education rate, to be imposed by the Government instead of by local officers. It was pointed out that the Road Cess afforded a suitable precedent for the impost. 'The several existing Inspectors of Schools in Bengal,' said the Despatch, 'are of opinion that an education rate might without difficulty be introduced into that Presidency'.

* In fairness to Sir G. Chitnavis, it must be said that these notions are not peculiar to him. Ruskin, in his *Crown of Wild-Olive*, speaking of compulsory education, says: "It is not teaching the youth of England the shapes of letters and the tricks of numbers, and then leaving them to turn their arithmetic to roguery, and their literature to lust."

† The *Comrade*, which in its issue of the 22nd July said that anyone going against the Bill would in fact be going against the wishes of the Moslem community as a whole, referring to the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid's speech writes on the 27th April that where the pupils in an elementary school wish to learn Urdu as a second language, provision should be made to teach it. In that case a similar rule must be made in favour of Hindi, and the cost of compulsory education would far exceed Mr. Gokhale's estimate. The *Comrade* also says that all communities should be free to provide religious education at the cost of the State. Mr. Frederick Harrison, who is an authority on educational matters, is of opinion that religious education is

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their religious education, or to forego the advantages of these schools, which will be secular in character. If the Mahomedans be in a minority on the school committees, their interests must suffer.

The Hon'ble Maharaja of Burdwan and the Hon'ble Raja of Kurupam took up an attitude which may fitly be described as sitting on the fence. The first opposed the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee on the curious ground that the attitude of the Government was against it, and the second supported the motion, but the arguments advanced by the former were mostly in favour of, while those urged by the latter were mostly against the Bill. The Maharaja of Burdwan was however of opinion that a Primary Education Bill in some form or other was sure to be passed in India before very long and the Raja of Kurupam was no less emphatic that the principle of free and compulsory education was the ideal which the Government should put forth every effort to realise slowly but steadily.

The Hon'ble Mr. Madge somewhat inconsequentially opined that the better classes of the country should be called upon to pay more for the education they had received than they had ever done in the past. He pointed to the absence of trained teachers and said that one of the first needs of the country was a Normal College and a Normal School. Charles Lamb tells us that the children of the poor are adults from their infancy. They help a great deal both in the management of the home and in field labour, and if Mr. Gokhale had shown how these difficulties could be met, he should have thought more favourably of the Bill.

The Hon'ble Malik Umar Hyat Khan supplied the element of humour without which every debate must lack in liveliness. He posed as the representative of the 98 per cent. of the illiterate people who could not read the Bill and discuss its contents. 'I stand up here for them and say that they are all against it.' The Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department says that everything is being done, 'and if one is going 16 annas,' asked the Malik Sahib, 'why should one ask him to go 20 annas?' The agriculturist would send his boy to school,' and perhaps the boy would fall into the hands of some agitator.' Labour has become very dear and sometimes it is not possible to get men. Here the cat is let out of the bag. The Hon'ble speaker maintained 'a sort of free school' for his tenants, and his experience was that 'when they received the education they will always disabuse it. That is my opinion and of course I must express it. In my opinion really I think the Bill is rather before the time.' It is difficult to withhold one's sympathy from the Hon'ble Malik Sahib and men of his stamp, who are fast becoming fossils of a bygone age, and cannot but regard the times as very much out of joint.

Sir Harcourt Butler's speech has already been largely quoted from in our first article,

primary schools should be provided by religious bodies entirely at their own cost, though every facility should be granted by the State for the purpose. "Education on such lines flourishes in countries where education is most successful. In France, in Germany, in the United States it is not found that Protestant and Catholic children will not submit to learn reading, writing and arithmetic unless they are preceded by devotional acts and followed by dogmatic teaching in the ritual, catechisms, and manuals of their special church and sect. Catholics and Protestants give their own dogmatic teaching in their own way." (*Realities and Ideals*, p. 231). Thirdly, the *Comrade* says that the committees in charge of elementary education in local areas should have an effective and adequate representation of the Mussalmans. From what follows it is quite clear that what the journal asks for is not 'effective and adequate representation' but over-representation. The subject of Mahomedan representation has been discussed threadbare in the press, but we shall make room for one quotation from a sagacious, discriminating and disinterested English politician to show its present bearings. '. . . . a carefully devised scheme of proportional representation will give the Mahomedans that protection to which they are entitled. Some of the far-seeing members of the Mahomedan community are already beginning to feel that they have made a mistake. Several spoke to me with bitterness about the way that certain of their leaders had consented to play a game planned for them by Anglo-Indian officials, whilst in the minds of others who were still in favour of what had been done a knowledge was dawning that there were dangers ahead and that they might have been better protected if they had not asked for so much. Few of them could be induced to defend the privileges given to Mahomedans in East Bengal and the Punjab where they are actually in a majority, whilst the Aligarh school was exceedingly displeased with the mixed electorates and the enfranchisement of uneducated Mohamedans. A change in the direction of fairplay all round is inevitable, and if our officials were wise they would hasten it." *The Awakening of India*, by Ramsay Macdonald, Part III, Chap. VII.

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Here we shall refer to the objections which he thought fit to urge.

"India with its numerous and varying types of men, its 1400 castes and sects, its multiform creeds and languages, its many scripts—there are 20 different scripts in common use in India—and above all, with its early marriage and seclusion of women—India, I say, cannot usefully be compared with countries where there are none of these great lines of cleavage, where there are no untouchable castes."

Referring to Baroda, he said that the population is not greatly different from the surrounding British districts except that it is more heavily taxed. The fines for non-attendance at Baroda amount to Rs. 60,000 a year and this indicates a very considerable measure of popular hostility. As for the small native state of Sangli in the Bombay Presidency, Sir H. Butler admitted that there the experiment of compulsion had proved successful. He also admitted that the majority of non-official opinion was in favour of the Bill. But all the Local Governments, though in favour of the extension of primary education, were unanimous and emphatic in their disapproval of the Bill. Local tyrants and the subordinate agency may distort the beneficial measure of compulsion into an instrument for oppression. He added that the principle of free elementary education had long been accepted in India. In Assam, Beluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province, elementary education was entirely free. In the Punjab and in certain districts of the United Provinces all the sons of agriculturists got their education free. In Burma a very large proportion of the children paid no fees. In other provinces proportions of the school population, varying from 20 to 33 per cent., paid no fees at all. And in a recent communication to Local Governments in connection with the 50 lakhs recurring grant, the Government of India have expressed themselves in favour of the extension of free elementary education for all those who cannot afford to pay fees. As for costs, referring to Mr. Gokhale's estimate, Sir H. Butler said :—

"This estimate leaves out of account altogether the cost of increased inspection, the cost of training teachers, the cost of adequate schoolbuildings and appliances, the cost of machinery for enforcing compulsory attendance, and the multiplication and cost involved in the provision of separate schoolbuildings in numerous areas where there are other classes who attend the same school. It leaves out of account also the cost of prolonging the course beyond four years....."

The Education Minister also quoted w approval the following passage from opinion of the Bombay Corporation :—

'The Corporation.....consider that at present great need of the country is a strenuous accelera of the policy of Government to push primary educa as rapidly as possible and to adopt a definite p by which the number of schools can be increas ed year to year within a definite period and thus to the way for the proposed measure."

The Hon'ble Muhammad Shafi made fairly long speech, but he contributed the discussion little that was new. opposed the Bill, but prefaced his oppo tion with the remark that—

"The establishment of an increasing network of mentary schools throughout the length and brea of the Indian continent and the gradual adoption measures calculated to make elementary educa ultimately free so as to bring it within easy reach o masses is the most crying need of the time."

He devoted himself to an analysis of opinions sent up to the Council, and ca to the conclusion that even among educated classes there is a hopeless confl of opinion upon the adoption of comp sion as a means for the extension of eleme tary education in India. In his opini the first need of the country was establishment of a school in every villa and the next is to make education fr If the results are still unsatisfactory, it w then be time to think of compulsion. further attempted to show that compulsi would not be acceptable to the Mahomed community. He quoted with evide approval the All-India Muslim Leagu opinion which was to the effect that educ tion should be made free, that Urdu sho be the sole medium of instruction Mahomedan boys throughout India, th their teachers should be Mahomedans, th their text books should be written Moslems, that *Maktabs* should be recogni by the Education Department, that Mus Inspectors should be appointed for Ma medan pupils and that compulsion sho not be introduced unless two-thirds of members of a Board are in favour of measure.

The second day (19th March) was field-day for the supporters of the B On that day some able speeches w made, those of the Hon'ble Mr. Haque the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao being specia excellent. The only speeches in which

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note of dissent was struck were those of the Raja of Pratapgarh who had supported the Bill on two previous occasions and the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, who, however, was not entirely unsympathetic. The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp said that Mr. Gokhale had given too little thought to the educational facilities necessary before compulsion can be introduced, and re-iterated the difficulties pointed out by his chief, the minister for education. So ardent was his zeal for making out a case against compulsory education that he even mentioned the supply of free meals as one of the questions to be faced if Mr. Gokhale's Bill were adopted. "The raiyat is no fool, he is not going to leave his old ways, and he is not going to forego his son's help in the fields for education in a school which he feels will do his son no good." *Ergo*, supply the schools with better teachers. "It is money, more money, and money reasonably and equitably distributed that we want. It is the want of this that checks us, and not the absence of a compulsory Act."

Let us now turn to the other side of the shield. We shall first take up Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, who was the second member to speak in support of the Bill, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale being the first. We shall begin by quoting his spirited rejoinder to the Maharàja of Burdwan, who, when the Bill was introduced in the Council last year, quoted Pope's wellknown line, "a little learning is a dangerous thing."

"I cannot understand how it can be dangerous if a poor agriculturist can read and write and put his signature to Marwari bills after reading the amount that is mentioned therein, instead of without knowing as at present what the bill contains. I cannot understand how it could be dangerous for these illiterate people if they were prevented from being defrauded by moneylenders and by those who buy their produce. I do not understand how it would be dangerous if they kept their accounts and were in touch with the central markets and knew exactly how their prices compared to the central markets. Well, Sir, I cannot understand how it would be dangerous if they could read the leaflets (published by the agricultural department) ... showing the results of the experiments obtained at enormous expense to the Government of India. They could see fares mentioned on the railway tickets and thus make unnecessary for the railways to employ special jamadars, as is now the case, to prevent the people from being defrauded by the railway servants. And above all, Sir, I cannot understand how it would be dangerous if they got the benefit of the newspapers now-a-days published for their benefit at great expense from the public exchequer."

Sir Vithaldas said that Government had passed laws and adopted measures to protect the raiyats against the consequences of their ignorance in their transactions with moneylenders and landlords. They were prevented by legislation from contracting themselves out of their rights. All these measures were necessitated by the illiteracy and consequent helplessness of the masses. But though Government has done so much to protect the illiterate masses, it is reluctant to adopt the only effective means of removing the root cause of their helplessness, namely, their illiteracy. To the contention that the country is not ready for a Bill of this kind, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey's reply was that in every civilised country voluntary measures, however liberally supported by Government, were found to be ineffective in bringing about real mass education, and that you can never know whether the country is ready or not except by means of a measure of this kind. He further pointed out from his personal experience that it was the want of education which prevented the masses from taking full advantage of the co-operative movement.

The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar said that according to the Punjab Government, among the majority of the people of that province, there is a disinclination not only against compulsory education, but against education of any kind whatever.* Mr. Mudholkar did not agree with this opinion, and said that even if this were true that was no reason why Punjab should set the pace for other parts of the country. He might have added that if this is to be used as an argument against popular education, it might be used as an argument against secondary and higher education as well. Mr. Gokhale's Bill wants the Government to proceed in a tentative manner and on a small scale. Mr. Dadabhoy argued that the scheme, if adopted, would have to be worked on what he called a comprehensive basis.

* Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in the *Awakening of India*, says (Part II, Chap. VI) : 'It is generally conceded in India that the most incompetent of the Governments is that of the Punjab.' If there is any connection between the backwardness of education and the backwardness of the Government, we have in this fact a further argument in support of Mr. Gokhale's Bill.

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"It is one of the favourite devices resorted to, when a scheme of reform is introduced, by which the reform is sought to be killed. If you want to stave off a reform say that the reform will not do any good unless it is introduced on the largest scale possible, and then the next moment dilate upon the serious consequences which would result from its general operation."

The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu said that the great pride of British rule in India was that it has, for the first time in the history of India, made knowledge, which was the privilege of the few, the heritage of the many. As for trained teachers, if any one takes the trouble to read the history of free and compulsory education in other countries, he will see that all these countries were at the start confronted with the same difficulty. But that difficulty had not prevented them from introducing legislation for making education compulsory. Given the demand, there will not be much difficulty in finding the supply. Regarding buildings for elementary schoolboys, we do not want "any very elaborate and ambitious buildings which the Public Works Department may set up for them, where roofs curiously enough behave like seives on the least threat of a downpour." He also pointed out that in Bengal death from preventible malaria in 15 years reached the apalling figure of 20 millions which during the same period the total mortality from plague in all India did not exceed $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions. If by a little compulsion you can educate the people to adopt sanitary measures which would protect their lives, would it not be doing a great thing for India? The Zemindars of Bengal, who pay no Income-Tax, may very well be asked to contribute an education cess if necessary.

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque went full tilt against the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi and conclusively demonstrated that the Mussalmans of India as a community supported the principle of compulsory education as embodied in Mr. Gokhale's Bill and that the throwing out of the Bill would be as much a disappointment to them as to any other community in India. He agreed with His Highness the Aga Khan who said that no country can flourish or can make its mark as a nation so long as the principle of compulsion is not introduced. As to the argument advanced by some other Mahomedan members of the Council, that compulsion would make the Governme unpopular, he said that in his opinion t exact opposite would be the case and th it was a mere bogey to frighten the Gover ment. He, in common with the All-Ind Moslem League and the All-India Muha medan Education Conference, was of opin that primary education should be absolute free and in this respect he differed fr Mr. Gokhale.

'The desire to conciliate official opinion had indu him to propose that education should be partially but he ought to have known that, in this country, i almost impossible to conciliate official opinion, an would have been better if he had stuck to his be judgment and not made the Bill of too modes character.'

Regarding the stock plea of want funds, the Hon'ble Mr. Haque said:—

'When the Government of India are determined carry out a scheme of their own, however expensive may be, they never lack money; but the moment t are confronted with a popular demand, they b out this eternal argument as an insurmounta barrier.... What an immense amount of money will required to build up the new Imperial Delhi,...and Sir, you are going to provide this sum.'

By the time the happy day arrives India when every man, woman and ch will be able to read and write, it is hop that this country will have made su strides in trades, commerce, industry a general prosperity that it will be able bear the burden easily. As to fresh loc taxation, "the Mussalman community ha already shown their willingness to be tax for the expansion of education, and I ref to believe that the Hindus are less patrio or more backward than their Mussalm countrymen." Compulsory education girls had been described by the Hon' Mr. Shafi as one of the most objectiona features of the Bill.* Said Mr. Haque—

"To my mind, it is one of its most welc features. You cannot regenerate a country wit raising the status of the women of that country. what is the fear after all? The mistrust of little of from six to ten years of age. Sir, I hope that e man of light and leading, be he a European o Indian, will set his face against such immoral doctr and monstrous sentiments."†

* The Hon'ble Maulavi Shams-ul-Huda, Member of the Bengal Executive Council, referri the Compulsory Education of girls, said last year his place in the Viceregal Council: "I am afraid that for 50 years to come the masses of the Mu medans will not consent to this part of our fri Bill."

† Lord Curzon's resolution of 1904 truly says

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The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad of Madras assured the Council the entire Mahomedan community of his presidency unanimously supported the Bill and added that the rejection of the Bill would create a very painful impression which will counteract the excellent effects of His Majesty's and His Excellency the Viceroy's noble pronouncements on education.

The Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao, adverting to the objection that the Bill would lead to the unfair distribution of the public funds, said that the result of the present system of distribution was that there were glaring inequalities in the amounts of financial help rendered to the different provinces and districts. Such inequalities were bound to occur under any system of distribution. In order that persuasion and warning might be effective in ordinary cases, compulsion in the last resort had been found necessary even in Western countries. The report of the English Education Commission of 1888 declared that

"To educate the young is the greatest security for relieving and removing the pauperism and the degradation which are now blots on our society.'

Does anybody seriously expect that at any time there will be an army of trained teachers waiting for employment as soon as a Bill like this is passed into law?

'Speaking of school accommodation, I must say that like other branches of the British administration, the education department is also making exhorbitant demands unsuited to the poverty of the country, the necessities of this climate, and the traditions of our indigenous system of education.'*

He quoted from *The Making of the Citizen* by R. S. Hughes, published in 1906, which says:—

"Poor school buildings are not peculiar to England; they are to be found in America, France and Germany, and but little satisfaction can be gained by a prolonged contemplation of them."

Regarding the staffing of schools, it says:

"It is calculated that to provide every class in Prussia with a teacher of its own, and to reduce each class to its normal size of 70 or 80 children, would require the appointment of 20,000 more Prussian teachers."

It is therefore idle to expect perfection in these matters at the outset in this country, when advanced countries like England and Germany have not been able to perfect their organisation even after decades of compulsory education. As regards cost, this is eminently one of the cases where if there is a will, there is a way. Has not the Government provided against the threatened extinction of the opium revenue amounting to several crores of rupees, purely on humanitarian grounds?

The Hon'ble Mr Jinnah also assured the Council that the great and overwhelming majority of his co-religionists were for the Bill.

'It is no use saying India is different, India has got a number of languages, a number of castes, a number of creeds. What has this got to do with the number of castes, religions and creeds?'*

It is said that the people will not follow the occupation of their parents, they will demand more rights, there will be strikes, they will become socialists.

"Well, Sir," asked the Hon'ble member, "are you going to keep millions and millions of people trodden under your feet for fear that they may demand more rights; are you going to keep them in ignorance and darkness for ever and for all ages to come because they may stand up against you and say 'we have certain rights and you must give them to us?'...Is this the spirit of humanity? I say, Sir, it is the duty of the Zemindars and the landlords to be a little less selfish."

'through female education a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the education and moral tone of the people than by the the education of men.'

* "……There is no sound sense in erecting for the children's school a building so much more pretentious than the houses in which the parents live, in which they themselves were born, and marry and live and die."—*Suggestions for the better governing of India*, by Sir Frederick S. P. Lely, C.S.I., K.C.I.E. (1906) pages 59-60.

* "What is called the peculiar condition of India is constituted more than anything else by the backwardness of her people in the matter of education..... it is monstrous in a country where not even the semblance of popular government prevails, where the people have no real or effective voice in any matter of policy or administration affecting their well-being, to resist the demand for what universal experience has found to be an unalloyed blessing on the curious ground that it would involve (in the words of one of the provincial governments) 'an unwarrantable interference with the people's liberties', when a Press Act or a Seditious Meetings Act is passed in opposition to the clearly-expressed wishes of the educated community, the people's liberties, it seems, are quite safe .....A man may be deported without trial,...but he cannot be educated in spite of himself, without his liberties being endangered."—*The Bengalee*. Nowhere in the world would an interference with the people's liberties be more resented than England and America, and yet both these countries have undertaken legislation for compulsory education as being both good and necessary.

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The Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya alluded in passing to the dictum of Sir William Hunter that Hindi stands at the head of all vernaculars in India, and said that for seventy years the Government of the United Provinces had been utilising both Hindi and Urdu in imparting education among the masses, and hence there is no cause for the fear expressed by Nawab Abdul Majid. For the same period the Government had been extending education among the masses, including the backward classes, notwithstanding the existence of different classes, and creeds, which need not therefore prove insuperable obstacles to its further expansion. The principle of compulsion has to be introduced in some departments of every civilised administration. Vaccination is an instance in point. Waterworks and drainage schemes have been introduced in many places for the good of the general public without their consent, though they have to pay the rates and undergo hardships and prosecutions. The Local Governments are not really opposed to the principle of compulsion *per se*. The Bengal Government has no objection to the principle in itself, but says that conditions essential to its success have yet to be created. The Madras Government says:—

"It is an axiom that the universal education of the masses is the goal to be aimed at, and all who have the interests of the country at heart are equally interested in bringing about this compulsion."

The Government of the United Provinces is of opinion that when the majority of parents desire elementary education for their children, compulsion may be adopted as a statesmanlike measure to bring laggards and malcontents within the fold. His Excellency the Viceroy has said:—

"But the goal is still far distant when every boy and girl and every young man and maiden shall have an education in what is best calculated to qualify them for their own part in life and for the good of the community as a whole. This is the ideal which we must all put before us."

The shifting of the power of initiation from the Government to the district and municipal boards saves the Government from the risk of unpopularity. At present Government provides funds for the creation of elementary schools in a most arbitrary fashion. This involves greater injustice to areas where schools are not created than would be the case if provision were ma by legislation for the distribution Imperial funds on some definite and we regulated principle.

The Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia said th the fear that agriculturists after being ed cated in the elementary schools wou consider it derogatory to do manual labo is more imaginary than real*—

"Such a state of things is only possible when a f men are given education; but when the whole pop lation is educated, such absurd prejudices are bou to disappear."

To us this seems to be eminently tru So long as a knowledge of the three R remains exceptional among people of th lower classes, it will confer a distinctio and will perhaps make the literate peasa a little vain. But when such knowled will become generally diffused, it will cea to raise any extravagant expectation Thus the remedy for the present apathy the literate agriculturist to his ancestra occupation lies in making literacy universa

The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri made a vigo ous little speech. Referring to the view advanced by the Hon'ble Nawab Abd Majid and the Hon'ble Malik Sahib as t the inadvisability of extending educatio among the tenants and agriculturists, h said:—

"I had thought, Sir, that if any such selfish though contrary to all morals as it is, had entered anybody mind, he, for his own sake and for the sake of decenc would not give vent to it in public, especially in responsible and august body like this Council. confess, Sir, that I for one heard, with a sense of shar and humiliation, these views...."

He pointed out with pardonable prid that all zemindars do not share these views The Sindh zemindars whom he represente had asked the Government to levy a sma cess on themselves and to spend the pro ceeds of the cess on the education not onl of their children, but those of their tenant as well. He had himself introduced such Bill in the Bombay Council.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha gave his unquali fied support to the motion.

We shall now deal with the two speeche of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. We shal

* Referring to the boys of the boarding schools fo the forest tribes, the Baroda Administration Report fo 1910–11 says: "Most of them follow their ancestr profession of tillage and are better off for their learnin their ignorant *confreres*."

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first quote his spirited rejoinder to the copious expressions of sympathy indulged in by some of the members who opposed his Bill:—

"Official members, when they oppose a non-official motion, express plenty of sympathy with an object. Sometimes the sympathy is really most valuable; sometimes it is only intended to soothe our susceptibilities. But in any case sympathy is generally expressed before a motion is resisted. My Hon'ble friend [Mr. Dadabhoy] has also begun to give us sympathy while opposing our resolutions. But, Sir, official sympathy has a practical value because it often means increased grants. I do not know, however, what we can do with the sympathy which the Hon'ble member offers us. In fact, Sir, I must say that it is a source of no small embarassment to us, because official opponents can point to that sympathy and say, 'Here is a member who is in sympathy with you, and yet who deems it his duty to oppose your motion.' The less therefore, that we have of such expressions of sympathy from my Hon'ble friend in future the better, for we certainly should prefer his opposition pure and simple."

Mr. Gokhale pointed out that non-official opinion was strongly in support of his Bill. He showed that in the Punjab, educationally the most backward province in the whole country, out of the 60 municipalities named in the Government papers, as many as 32 are in favour of his Bill. Of the 234 official opinions recorded, 90 were in favour of the Bill, 39 among them being Indians. A substantial minority of officials was therefore in his favour. The letter of the Government of East Bengal he characterised as being almost perfunctory in its treatment of the subject. Some local Governments opposed the Bill because elementary education has not sufficiently advanced in those provinces; the Government of Burma opposed it for exactly the contrary reason. The principal argument against the Bill is that there is ample room yet for work on a voluntary basis, as schools are filled as soon as they are opened. Mr. Gokhale quoted Mr. Maynard of the Punjab and Mr. Orange, the late Director General of Education, to show that while absence of schools is undoubtedly one cause of the smallness of school attendance, the apathy of parents is another equally potent cause. As the late Hon'ble Krishnaswamy Iyer of the Madras Executive Council said, and the experience of all civilised countries shows, 'the voluntary method of persuasion must be condemned as a hopeless failure.' Another objection is that the poorer people will be exposed to the exactions of a lowpaid agency if compulsion is introduced. But the only way in which this evil can be remedied is by spreading education among them and thus enabling them to take better care of themselves. As for the objection that in the absence of trained teachers and sufficient school accommodation the quality of the education imparted will be poor, Mr. Gokhale said that the primary object of mass education was to banish illiteracy from the land. The quality of education is a matter to be considered only after illiteracy is banished. The next objection was on the score of cost. Mr. Gokhale showed that an additional expenditure of $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores for boys and one crore for girls of which one third will be raised by local bodies will meet the requirements of the case, and this additional sum can be raised by an addition of 2 per cent. to the existing 5 per cent. customs duty (at one time the duty stood at 10 per cent.). An export duty of 5 per cent. on tea, and a higher duty on foreign sugar, were among the other expedients suggested. In the last resort, Mr. Gokhale proposed an extra eight annas on salt, but from this suggestion most people will probably be disposed to disagree. The argument of financial injustice in making larger grants to certain areas than to others was characterised by Mr. Gokhale as one of the flimsiest that was advanced. If we are to introduce compulsion gradually, area by area, and not all over the country at once, those who are the first to introduce compulsion must also get a larger assistance from Government. This principle is already recognised by Government in making grants for sanitary and other purposes. Besides it is not suggested that grants for primary education in backward areas on a voluntary scale should be reduced. In reply to the non-official argument that the Government should find the entire cost, Mr. Gokhale pointed to England and France where Government bears two-thirds of the cost and local bodies about a third, the only exception being Ireland, where the State bears the entire cost. Adverting to the contention that elementary education should be entirely free, he frankly admitted that the proposal embodied in the Bill was intended to conciliate official opinion, but he was willing to go back to his original

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proposal that where education is compulsory, it should also be free. As for the Mahomedan objection that Moslem students would be compelled to learn non-Moslem vernaculars, he said that he was willing to provide that where 25 children speaking a particular language attended a school, provision should be made for teaching them in that language.

Mr. Gokhale added that the Bill was sought to be discredited in two ways. When educated people supported the Bill, it was said, what did it cost them to do so? The question did not really concern them. When on the other hand, members of the backward communities supported him, the argument was used, what did they understand of the Bill? Again, we have got primary schools just now to teach different scripts, and different languages, and for different communities. If other countries have not this peculiarity, it only shows that we have a larger but not necessarily more difficult problem to deal with. There are no castes among the Mussalmans. And yet had the Government done anything to introduce compulsion among them?* As for trained teachers and well-equipped schools, those who will go through the parliamentary discussions of 1870 will find in the volumes of Hansard that the same arguments were used in England against the Act of 1870. Too much is being made of the necessity of trained teachers for teaching the three R's.

"How did we receive our primary education? I remember how I did it. We used to squat on the floor with a wooden board in front of us covered with red powder and a piece of stick to write letters with. Well, we have done fairly well in life after all, though we received our primary education in that way un... untrained teachers."

First establish the schools, then go o... as you have funds, improving the standard... But for God's sake do not wait for yo... trained teacher, for your decent schoo... houses, till you take in hand the question ... removing illiteracy from the land. Eve... at the present accelerated rate of progre... without compulsion, a whole century mu... elapse before the problem is solved, eve... partially for the male population; wit... compulsion, it will be solved in a period ... about 20 years.*

POL.

* The Census Report (1911) of Baroda, where education has been made compulsory and free, says: "Gujarat is pre-eminently a land of castes. In no part of India are the subdivisions so minute as in Gujarat."

* We shall conclude with a quotation from a we... known passage which occurs in Macaulay's spee... on Education delivered in 1847. The editor of t... *Review of Reviews* (April, 1912) says that every wo... of it is as true today as when the speech was delivere...

"A hundred and fifty years ago England was one ... the best-governed and most prosperous countries in t... world; Scotland was perhaps the rudest and poore... country that could lay any claim to civilisation. T... name of Scotchman was then uttered in this part of t... Island with contempt. The ablest Scotch statesm... contemplated the degraded state of their poor... countrymen with a feeling approaching to despair.... The Parliament which sat at Edinburgh passed a... Act for the establishment of parochial schools. Wh... followed? An improvement such as the world ha... never seen took place in the moral and the intelle... tual character of the people. Soon, in spite of th... rigour of the climate, in spite of the sterility of th... earth, Scotland became a country which had ... reason to envy the fairest portions of the glob... Wherever the Scotchman went—and there were fe... parts of the world where he did not go—he carrie... his superiority with him.... And what produced th... great revolution? The Scotch air was still as cold, th... Scotch rocks were still as bare as ever. All the natura... qualities of the Scotchman were still what they ha... been when learned and benevolent men advised th... he should be flogged, like a beast of burden, to h... daily task. But the State had given him an educa... tion. That education was not, it is true, in a... respects what it should have been; but such as it wa... it had done more for the bleak and dreary shores ... the Forth and the Clyde than the richest of soils an... the most genial of climates had done for Capua an... Tarentum."

KASHMIR AND THE KASHMIRIS

IV.

THE PANDITS. (*a*)

[I take the liberty of reminding my readers that I am trying to give a glimpse of Kashmir and its people in natural sequence in this series. In my last three papers* I have aquainted the reader with the 'Way ... Kashmir', 'the Hanji'—the most conspicuous, serviceab...

* I. Modern Review for Oct., 1911.
II. " " " Nov., 1911.
III. " " " Jan. 1912.

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and corrupt creature, a necessary evil in the valley, a favorite of the tourists,—and have ultimately brought the good reader to 'the City of the Seven Bridges'—Srinagar, the capital. In this paper, as a matter of course, I shall tell him something about the (Hindu) Pandits of this happy valley.]

Introductory.

THE premier city of every country always exhibits the best and the worst of the country. It does not include in its civic polity the peasants—the backbone and real life of the country.

So in Srinagar we come across the *Muhammadan* artisans, merchants, hawkers, labourers and the idle; the Hindu *Pandits* and *Pansaris*; and the *plains-men* (the Panjabees). The Kashmiri peasants and the domiciled Sikhs are not to be met with here, unless they happen to be there on some errand of their own, or on *begar* (the forced labour for which I am told they are paid by the State).

The Hindu Pandits, although they form a minority, about 5 per cent. of the population, yet are the most impressive and prominent people in Kashmir. Cities are generally the strongholds of the idle and leisured classes. So the greatest number of Pandits is to be found in this City of the Seven Bridges. But since the people of cities, everywhere, lead a more or less artificial life, I had to go out into the villages to study the life of these wonderful people. The city displays one particular side of their life and also brings to our notice their weak points and artificiality, and the result on their morals and manners of the contact with the outside world and of foreign influences.

The origin and the present condition of the Pandits.

We in India proper by the term *pandit* understand a learned man. And by virtue of their ancient learning the *Brahmins* have monopolised this title of *pandit*. A Kshatriya, Vaishya or Sudra, however learned he may be even in the Hindu Shastras, will never be called a *pandit*. Srijut Babu Bhagvan Das, though much more learned in the Shastras and the ancient sacred lore of the Hindus than many a so-called Pandit of Benares, will never be called a *pandit* and has to be contented with the title Babu.

Thus as a rule the term Pandit (learned) is affixed to the name of the (unlearned) Brahmans also, and it goes to certify their social standing in this huge structure of Hindu caste.

Again there is in the United Provinces and the Punjab a class of fair, tall, handsome, clean and impressive people who go by the name of Pandits.

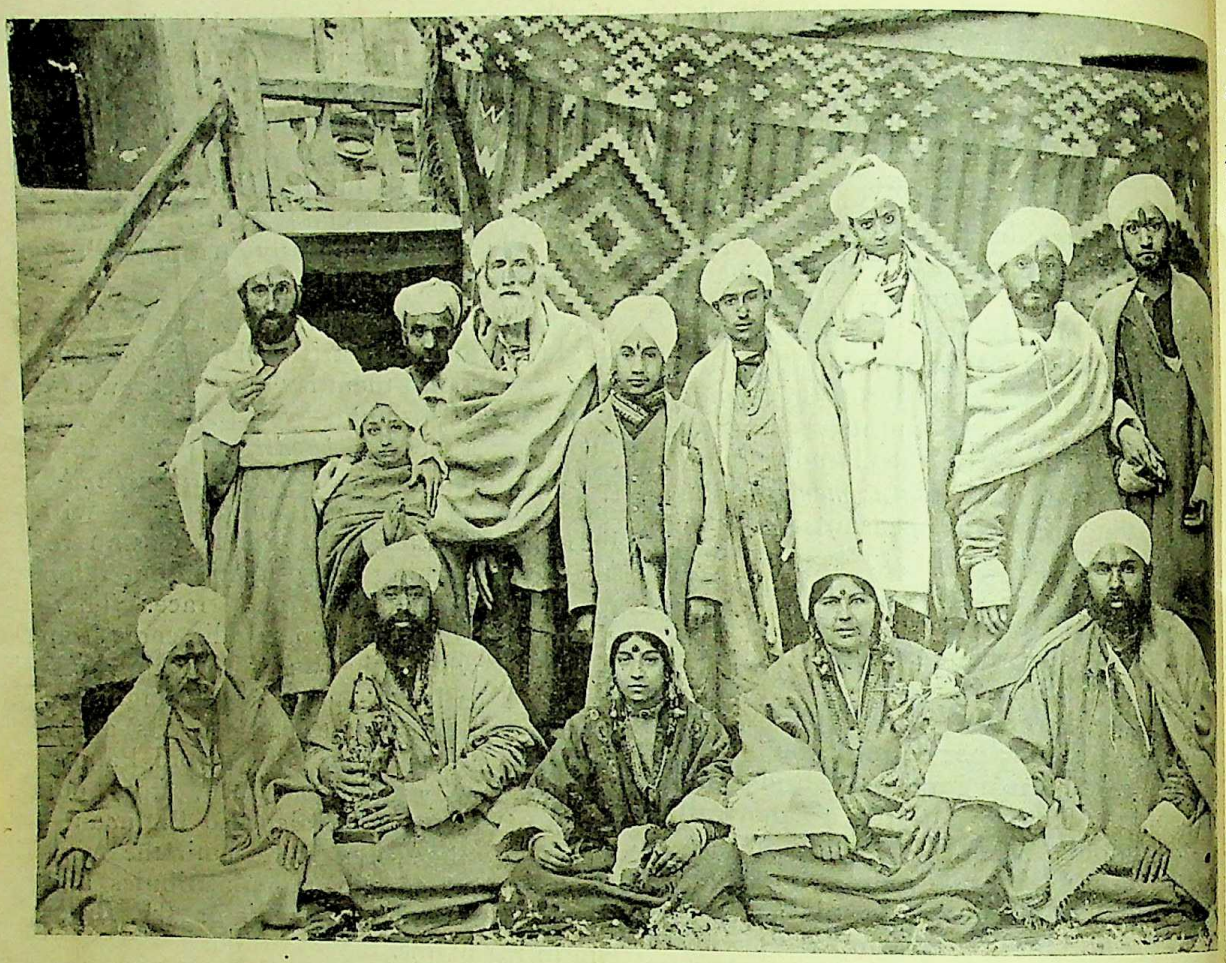
And though they may not know even a single word of Sanskrit or Hindi—and as a rule Sanskrit to them is what Hebrew is to a modern Englishman—yet they carry with their names the title *pandit*. These people are much more entitled to this title (*pandit*) than our Brahman Pandits. For with these people the word Pandit has no reference to learning or occupation but refers to their nationality and race. These Kashmiri Pandits of upper India come from Kashmir, where their ancestors and kinsmen are called Pandits, as distinguished from non-Hindus (Musalman converts) and a few other *non-brahmins*. The word Pandit, as far as they are concerned, from our point of view, is equivalent to Brahman—but among themselves in Kashmir the word *Brahman* has much more attributes and connotes more than a *pandit* or the *Brahmin* in the plains.

To divide the population of Kashmir into two broad divisions it will suffice to say that the whole of this valley is inhabited by Musalmans and Pandits, both of whom come from the same *Aryan* stock and are cousins.

It must be borne in mind that although 90% of the people of Kashmir are Muhammadans yet none of them comes from a foreign stock and all of them by blood are brothers to Pandits. As far back as the 14th century Kashmir was inhabited by a single race and all of them were Hindus by religion and nationality. A full account of this wholesale conversion will be given when I deal with the Muhammadans; here it is enough to add that they have by force been separated from their brothers. The Kashmiri Muhammadans still bear their old Hindu caste-names. For instance, if a Hindu Pandit has Kaul for his family (caste) name, a Muhammadan also has the same caste-name tagged to his name. Many Hindu family names are quite common among Muhamma-

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A family group of Pandits taken after some religious worship.

dans, which goes to prove their common descent.

In physiognomy, although the change of religion has not yet wrought any great difference between these two cousins, however, the cleanly habits and pure-living and certain other essential clean modes of living that the Hindu religion inculcates among its followers have produced a remarkable difference between the personal appearance of the two. The Pandit though surrounded all round by the dirty Muhammadans and himself suffering from his own filthy surroundings, looks comparatively clean and is decidedly more intelligent and remarkably handsome and attractive, while the Muhammadan looks dull and dirty.

There is no doubt that if Aryan migration into India is really a historical fact, then Kashmiris undoubtedly are the last remnant of the last band of the Aryans who settled down in this magnificent valley and have in their veins the largest quantity of Aryan blood. To a superficial observer they look—all Hindus and Muhammadans and the country peasants—as a people coming from the same stock. Yet to me it appeared that Kashmiris too like other races and tribes of the world cannot boast of 'unmixed blood,' of which so much is made in these days. To me it appeared that there is here and there, Tartar and Mongolian blood in addition to a little of the indigenous blood, that ran in the veins of the original inhabitants before the Aryan settlement. I found sufficient traces of admixture of blood—though in a very slight and almost negligible and imperceptible quantity—in the physiognomy of not only the Muhammadans but also of the Pandits. Instead of describing their facial features I present here some illustrations from which readers can form their own conclusion. These illustrations give a fair idea of the physiognomy of the Pandits. For instance take "A family-group of Pandits taken after some religious worship."

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This is a group not of one single family, but a family with their friends (relatives). In this group you will find that the matron on your right (with a 'doll-Krishna' in her lap) has a distinctly Mongolian face. And I noticed it in the physiognomy of women particularly that in a large number of cases their build of the body and stature and eyes or cheek-bones were sufficient reasons to presume that there has been in the past some admixture of Mongolian blood. And why



A Group of five Tartars of Ladakh.

we find more traces of Mongolian blood in women than in men can be accounted for by the fact that the Aryan settlers from the north must have married indigenous women of the Mongolian stock that inhabited the country before the Aryan settlement, for there are reasons to believe that the newcomers, as is usually the case, contain a smaller number of women than men in their horde. As to the male population, their physiognomy too does not escape unchallenged. In the same family group there are distinctly three types of faces. What I should single out as Aryans and what as Tartars and Mongolians, is a difficult thing



A Panditani of Kashmir.

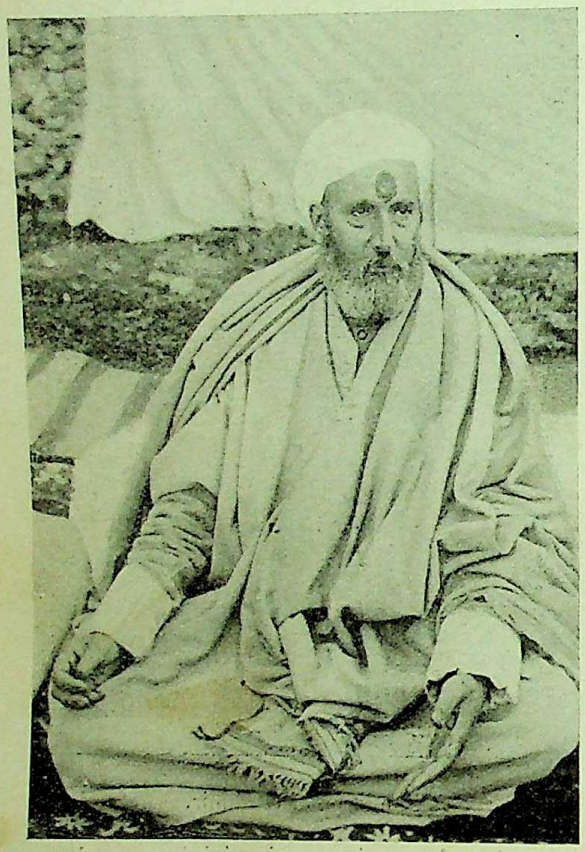
to do, in these days of criticism and no-coming-to-a-single-conclusion. The physiognomy of the so-called Aryans is so varied in different climes. Therefore instead of saying who's who, I give here an illustration of a group of "Five Tartars of Ladakh." Taking this as a typical Tartar type the reader can trace the similarity in the physiognomy of the two and then form his own judgment about the inhabitants of Kashmir—both Muhammadans and Hindus (Pandits)—as far as the question of origin and blood is concerned, and can be inferred from resemblance in features.

I am afraid that this question of admixture of blood may irritate and touch the sensitiveness of some of my Kashmiri friends settled in the Indian plains. And they will be no exception ; as in these times

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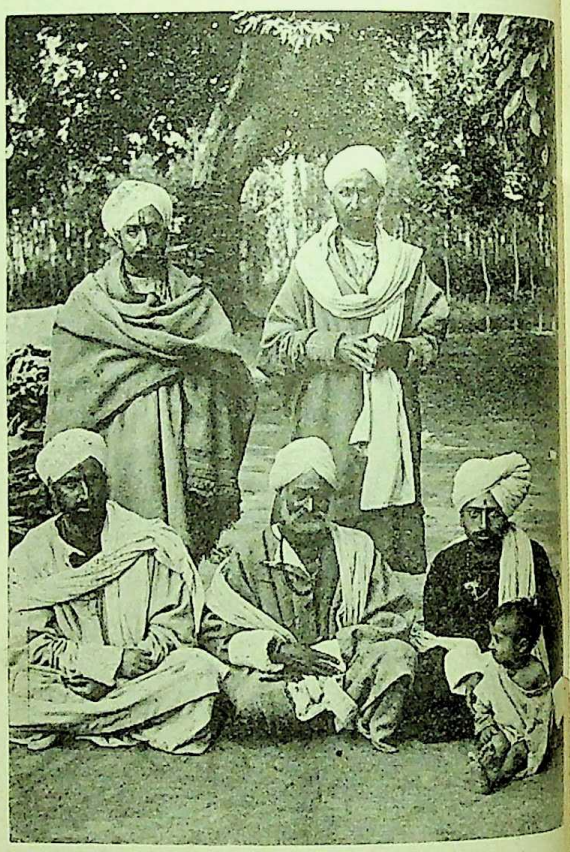
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there is a hobby, amongst the civilised and so-called educated people, all the world over, for Aryan blood. The chemists cannot weigh the quantity of Aryan blood in the veins of the mixed races, and the biologists of the old Aryans have left neither their disciples nor the records of their experiments; and the followers of Darwin



An old venerable Pandit.

and Herbert Spencer are unfit to handle this question of Aryan blood. However, people do pride, in our country and out of it, over the so-called Aryan blood. The Kashmiris (not the original ones, the people living in the valley, but those living in the Indian plains) are very conscious of the Aryan blood—perhaps in spite of ages having swept over their heads they still feel the glacial coldness of the Arctic Aryan blood in their veins. Once we had a debate on Mr. Basu's Civil Marriage Bill. My chief opponent was a Kashmiri youth domiciled in the Indian plains. He could not tolerate the idea of inter-marriages between the different *castes* of India. And, of course, not being sure of the logical conclusion, he said that they were the '*pure Aryans*' a their brothers lived in Germany. A ret was given him that our purpose would served if he would recognise the Germans of the same stock and favour marital relatio with them, beyond the pale of his cas This rather personal matter, I have brou in to show that our Kashmiri brothers l ing in our midst have a tendency to form Kashmiri community like that of the Pa to live as if in a camp in this country, wi whose people they ought to mix.



A Group of Kashmiri Kshatris (Khatri or Pansari or Bora).

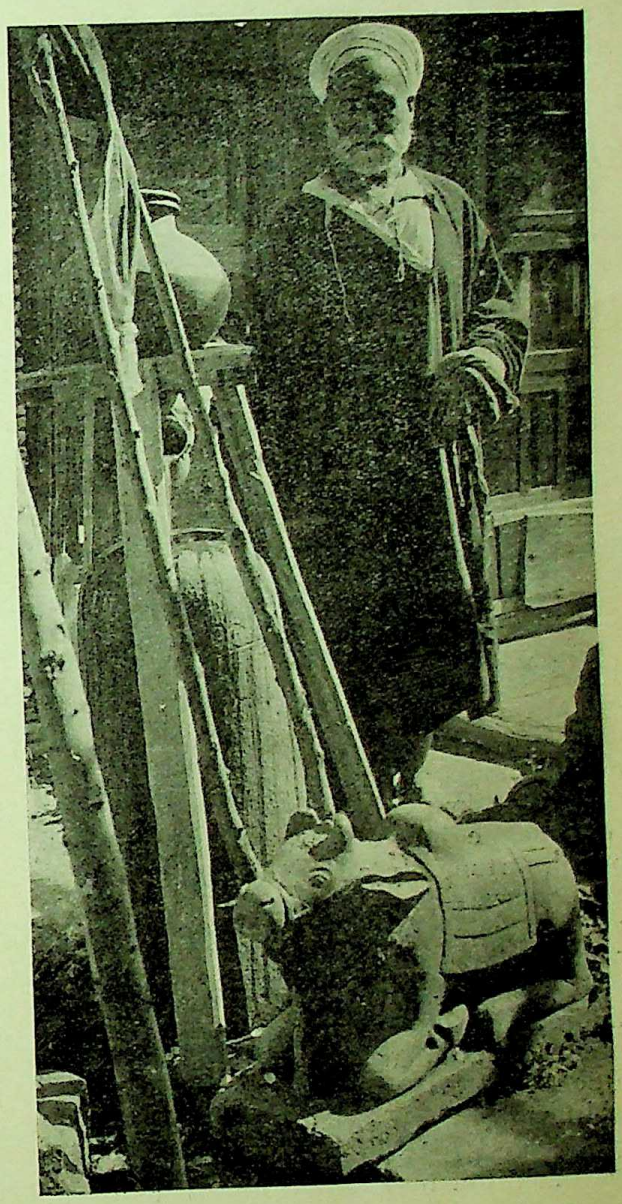
It is a pity that in Kashmir there is scope for enterprising Pandits. The a and crafts of the country they have, wi the supreme Brahmanic contempt handicrafts, surrendered to the Muha madans. Land they get cultivated themselves by Muhammadan peasants. T old Sanskrit learning finding no patrona and scope has been given up. Only a few men of limited vision—can be content with astrology and temple worship, prie hood, etc. The State does not afford the

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sufficient opportunity. All the high offices are in the hands of non-Kashmiris—the king himself occupying the same position in Kashmir as a Manchu King did in China, on a smaller scale surrounded by Manchus (non-Kashmiri Punjabis and Dogras). Higher education, on account of poverty, is beyond their reach. New fashions and new standards of living are rankling in their hearts. So the only alternative left for the enterprising and promising Pandits is to run down to the Indian plains, never to return to their mother country. In upper India, these domiciled Pandits flourish very well and some of them are shining brilliantly in the bar and in other learned professions. Some of them can afford to make their summer quarters in England and can boast of the latest motor-car and latest French fashion. They mix with the people freely and cannot be singled out from the crowd unless their names are repeated—such as Pandit so-and-so Gurtu or Kunzru, etc. From my point of view their only shortcoming is this that they have not yet taken to inter-marriage with even the high class Brahmans of the Indian plains—may be that the more forward of them will take to other extreme courses and begin in the reverse order as some intelligent youths are tracing their affinity with Germans. It is good for our whole Hindu nation and good for the Kashmiris themselves that they should widen the circle of marriage. It will be fatal for us all if they raise another Parsi community. Another fault of theirs is this that they cut off their connection with the mother country. I would like them to frequently go back to Kashmir and keep in touch with their old relations; and those who can afford may have their own houses in Kashmir for summer residence instead of squandering money in Europe or Massurie. It is very necessary for the welfare of Kashmir that these intelligent and cultured men should go to their mother country often and try to improve the intellectual and moral condition of their brothers in Kashmir. They would do well also in seeking service in the State there. I hope the Maharaja would be glad to have well qualified Kashmiris in his service.

Of course the dress and ways of living of these people and of the indigenous Kashmiri Pandits are so different that perhaps *Indian-Kashmiris* feel awkard to make their *clean-cut* appearance before the old-fashioned people clad in their *pheran* (long shirt) and *pagari* (short turban).



A Pujari or priest to an open air Siva-linga.

A change is at work in Kashmir itself, as the picture of "A group of modernised Pandits" will indicate. Compare this illustration with "A group of Kashmiri Kshatris" and that with "An old Pandit" or "A Pujari—the priest" or with "A family group of Pandits." What a vast difference has come about in recent times between the old generation, and the new, even in this

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A Group of modernised Kashmiri Pandits—with a student standing on the right and three girls sitting below.

impenetrable vale of Kashmir—for good or worse, who knows? perhaps for the latter! The change has crept even on little boys, though fortunately girls are yet free from this scourge—as exhibited in the 'modernised group.' Though the dress of the women is not at all changed in Kashmir yet the contrast is much greater when "A Pandit-woman in Kashmir" is compared to her sister domiciled in India, who sometimes outdoes even a Parsi lady in dress.

Although I have given the distinct heading "The Pandits" to this paper yet I make mention here of Kashmiri Kshatris. I am quite justified in including them under this heading, as there is not much difference between the two. Their nationality, physiognomy, customs, and manners are almost the same. There is only an artificial difference of name; and to outsiders there exists absolutely no difference between the Pandits and the Pansaris. In the dress of men there is absolutely no difference. In the dress of women there are slight variations in the *pheran* (long shirt) and in the case of some ornaments—which will be dealt with elsewhere in its proper place, later on. I call them Kshatris but in Kashmir they go by the name of Khatris, Boras and Pansaris. These three names are given to them by the Pandits.

But I came to know that the Pansaris are trying to pass gradually for Pandits, and do every *Kriya Karma* (Hindu ceremonial rites) as the Pandits do. Yet there is a difference in occupation. The Kshatris keep grocers' shops in towns. And this gives them the title Pansāri—as in Hindustani a grocer is called पनसारी (Pansāri) so in Kashmiri language it is called Pansāri. Their number is very small and they reside mostly in towns. They are scattered in some particular villages also. I was told that in pecuniary matters though they can not be called rich, yet they are, unit for unit, better off than the Pandits. It is due to this fact, I think, that they take to trade and look after their own lands whereas the Pandits neglect and despise both.

However the Pandits have also begun to

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adapt themselves to the circumstances and some of them have already ventured to take to trade.

THE SALUTATION AND DRESS (OF MEN).

Among the Pandits there are some *Pandits* whom they call *Brahmans*—the priests, gurus. They show much respect and honour to *Brahmans*. They are supposed to be versed in Hindu Shastras and their services are requisitioned in all Hindu sacred rites and Pāth, pujā, Jap, tap, etc. When the *Brahman* comes in, all the Pandits rise to receive him and in salutation say: "Namaskār." He replies "Jaikār"—victory to you—the Jajmāns.

Among the Pandits there are four kinds of salutations:—

(1) *Namaskar* (from *Jajman* to the *Guru*, *priest or Brahman* and also from the younger to the older person or elder people).

(2) *Orzu*—(from the elders in response to *Namaskar* ओर्ज़ = ओर whole + ज़ life, meaning (live your) whole life.

(3) *Bandagi* (came into vogue since the Muhammadan intrusion and is used by the inferior [actual or presumed] to one's superior.)

(4) *Zindagi* (in response to the above—Bandagi, from the superior to the inferior, meaning: life [to you]).

The dress of men (Pandits) is not so complex and full of mystery as that of women (Panditānis). A complete set of dress with variations and necessary garments is exhibited in "A group of Kashmiri Kshatris" and the "Family group of Pandits." This is the indigenous and ancient dress of the Hindus of Kashmir. The Pandits young and old wear it and the Kshatris use it too; and with slight changes in the head-dress and sleeves minus the sacred marks of the Hindus, Muhammadans also put on the same dress with the addition of a paijāmā (trouser) in some cases, which the orthodox Pandits never do. The main and the principal garment is the *Pheran* (the long shirt with extraordinarily long sleeves). Mark the turned-up-sleeves so conspicuous in the three figures (sitting) in the "Kshatri-group" and in "An old Pandit." These sleeves are made great use of by the Pandits. To me their great utility lies in the protection they afford to the hands in winter and the shelter they give to minor things carried in the hand. But the Pandits use them as 'disinfecting' handkerchiefs. They bring them down to the tips of their fingers and hold pieces of bread to carry to the mouth with the front part of the sleeves or hold their tea cups. Their idea is that things are polluted by the touch of the bare hands, or the hands get polluted. So they have to be touched through sleeves. It saves them the trouble of washing the hands! They can remove any number of tea cups out of which tea has been taken by others, and at the same time by the same part of the sleeve they can hold their own tea cups to their mouth or carry a piece of *kulcha* (a kind of indigenous Kashmiri biscuit) to their mouth. They regard this habit of touching or holding eatables by means of these sleeves as a sacred custom now. They used to stare at me with wonder, when I, a Hindu, sitting with them for tea used to touch the cup or the Kulcha with my fingers.

It will not be out of place to touch upon one other queer custom connected with this pollution or touch and sleeve affair. They attribute to a woolen sheet or shawl disinfective or unpollutable qualities. So they can carry their meal (cooked rice) from place to place puting it upon and under a woolen cloth. When staying in the houses of the Pandits in the villages and asked by them to dine with them, I used to be seated in the same row with them,—although a *non-Brahmin*. But either I used to be made to sit on a woolen shawl or my dish was placed on it!

The reader should not ask me how often were these woolen sheets and the corners of sleeves washed—it is a cold country about which I am writing!

MUKANDI LAL.

A GLIMPSE OF WALT WHITMAN

IN 1906 an American named Horace Traubel published a book entitled "With Walt Whitman in Camden." Camden is a town in New Jersey in the United States, where Walt Whitman lived in 1888 and onwards. The book is an

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account of Walt Whitman's conversations with Horace Traubel himself and other friends. It is a big and loosely constructed volume, covering a period of less than four months, reminding one of the proverbial haystack in which there may be hidden needles. There are many needles and even nuggets of gold to be found in Mr. Traubel's haystack, and as I have spent many pleasant hours in hunting for them and collecting them, I am putting together a few of my finds in the hope of bringing the reader and myself a little nearer to the great American seer.

Horace Traubel read to Walt Whitman the famous story of the great English landscape painter, Turner, who at an exhibition in the Royal Academy smeared one of his own pictures with black, in order that it should not shine to the disadvantage of pictures painted by his friends, inferior pictures, hung on the wall beside it. The anecdote roused Walt Whitman. He exclaimed, "Beautiful, beautiful!...The common heroisms of life are the real heroisms.... Not the military kind, not the political kind, just the ordinary world kind, the bits of brave conduct happening about us."

Upon another day Traubel heard more of what Walt Whitman had to say about "common heroisms." He found Walt Whitman in his room with a Mr. Leonard Corning, a candidate for the pulpit of the Unitarian church in Camden. Walt Whitman was asking Mr. Corning, "And what may be the subject of your sermon tomorrow?" "My subject? Why, the tragedy of the ages." "And what may be the tragedy of the ages?" "The crucifixion." "What crucifixion?" "The crucifixion of Jesus of course." "You call that the tragedy of the ages?" "Yes,—what do you call it?" "It is a tragedy. But *the* tragedy? Oh no! I don't think I would be willing to call it *the* tragedy." "Do you know any tragedy," enquired the minister, "which meant so much to man?" "Twenty thousand tragedies," replied Walt Whitman, "all equally significant." "I never looked at the thing the way you do," replied Mr. Corning. "Probably not," said the poet, "but do it now—just for once. Think of the other tragedies just for once; the tragedies of the average man,—the tragedies of every day,—the tragedies of war and peace,—the obscured, the lost tragedies: they are all c out of the same goods···Think of the oth tragedies, the twenty thousand just for on Mr. Corning."

What Walt Whitman meant by "t other tragedies, the twenty thousa tragedies" appears in a remarkable wa from his emotion when he sorted out fro among his papers a letter which M Edward Carpenter had written him fro England in 1877. Mr. Carpenter said i his letter—

"There is a great deal of distress just now Sheffield), so many being out of work, and it is i possible to pass through the streets without seeing obvious in some form or other. (A man burst into flood of tears the other day when I gave him a bit silver). But each individual is such a mere unit in great crowd, but they go and hide their misery awa easily enough."

Horace Trauble read all the letter t himself except the sentence "They go an hide their misery away." That he rea aloud and it moved Walt Whitman greatly He said:—

"That is a wonderful tribute paid to the comm man. How cheap and vulgar such heroism make the horoisms that are most fussed about in histories 'They go and hide their misery away.' It's the sor of thing in men which makes the race safe,—whic will finally see, assert, demand, produce the new state the new church. I never have any doubts of th future when I look at the common man."

If we ask whence Walt Whitman gained his faith in the common man, the answer is, from looking at the common man himself. Before he came to notoriety as a poet, Walt Whitman had spent many days in the army hospitals, as a nurse of the wounded soldiers, during the great war which did away with negro slavery in the States and preserved the Union. It is said that Walt Whitman sat by the bedsides of a hundred thousand wounded soldiers in the course of his hospital experience, and it was the sights he saw during the war which more than anything else confirmed him in faith and reverence for humanity. In the hospitals and on the battle-field Walt Whitman had seen secrifices and sufferings and death borne without regret or terror. It was life itself which had spoken to Walt Whitman and given him what he called his confession of faith,—a confession of faith in common men and women. Walt Whitman believed in men, and believed that they had in them

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an infinite possibility. It was not a faith which expressed itself in any dogmatic forms, or clear visions of what the future might be, but it was a faith sufficient to fill the poet's being with infinite content and hope and expectancy. It enabled him to live, which is the great office required of faith by men who have grown large enough to feel the need of a sustaining faith. Somebody asked the poet: "Have you ever had any experiences to shake your faith in humanity?" "Never! Never!" the poet replied, "I trust humanity. Its instincts are in the main right: it goes false, it goes true, to its interests, but in the long run it makes advances. Humanity always has to provide for the present moment as well as the future: that is a tangle however you look at it. Why wonder then that humanity falls down every now and then? There's one thing to remember, that the race is not free (free of its own ignorance), is hardly in a position to do the best for itself: when we get a real democracy as we will by and by, this humanity will have its chance,—give a fuller report of itself."

Holding these views,—and more than views,—profound emotions and feelings,—Walt Whitman could not sympathise with any airs of pretended superiority, or superciliousness. Superciliousness means literally the raising of the eyebrows as in astonishment or repulsion when anything that we esteem inferior to ourselves passes by. There is one of our English writers, who, fine thinker as he was, and fine fighter for freedom of thought, yet always carries about with him the air of a superior person. This is Mr. Matthew Arnold, who owed to his training at Rugby and Oxford that something of the prig and the snob which his fine gifts and his splendid spirit enable us to forget altogether except when it is useful for us to remind ourselves of it. Walt Whitman said of Matthew Arnold:—

"He always gives you the notion that he hates to touch dirt,—the dirt is so dirty. But everything comes out of the dirt...everything comes out of the people, the everyday people, the people as you find them and leave them; not university people,...people, people, just people."

Walt Whitman could not endure what he called "disdain for Tom, Dick and Harry, inability to appreciate the average life." He was democratic in heart as well as in theory. Some of his best friends, and he always said, some of his best schoolmasters, were the buss-drivers of New York, with whom he would sit on their boxes, and drive round and round with them, along the streets of the great city.

Talking about dirt, Walt Whitman said one day, "The American people wash too much!" A visitor who heard the poet was deeply offended and went away no doubt with an entirely wrong impression. Walt Whitman explained himself later, after the unlucky visitor had gone. "I think our people," he said, "are getting entirely too decent. They like nice white hands, men and women. They are too much disturbed by dirt. They need the open air, coarse work, physical tasks...I'm not opposed to clean hands, but clean hands may be a disgrace. It was the disgraceful clean hands I had in mind." Walt Whitman's own hands were not clean in the disgraceful sense. Besides nurse, he had been printer, builder, clerk, as well as poet. He knew the good sense which is to be derived from taking part in the common occupations of men, and he could not put up with the spirit that prides itself upon never having done any useful work. I once heard of a Mayoress of a town in Yorkshire, who on the day that she was made Mayoress, said to her friends in one of the confidences we betray when our hearts are full: "My working as a mill-girl when I was young is the one blot upon my history." It may have been the only really good thing upon which so shallow hearted a woman had reason to pride herself.

Walt Whitman's attitude towards the churches around him is very interesting. The Unitarian minister in Camden, Mr. Corning, gave a lantern lecture one evening. The next morning Traubel said to the poet, "I hear you were at the Unitarian church last night." Walt Witman laughed quietly. "Yes," he said, "they wanted me to go... so I went and saw all the pictures!" "But what of the sermon?" "There was not much to it: the audience liked it: the room was crowded." But what of Walt Whitman? Did he like the sermon? "Not a bit,—all preaching is a weariness to me....We have the stock phrases in books, the stock canvasses in art; so we have the stock stupidities in sermons. Corning is all right, the man

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Corning; I can like him, I do like him, but the Corning in the pulpit last night tried my corns. I am always impatient of the churches;—they are not God's own,—they rather fly in the face of the real providences."

This language is very strong, but since it is an attempt on the part of one of the greatest of teachers to improve the quality of sermons I find it very interesting. Those stock stupidities which Walt Whitman found so discouraging, I wonder if we listen to them? I see that it is very dangerous to make the acquaintance of a seer. If we live in a glass house he will be throwing stones and breaking our glass house. Walt Whitman's conversation is not a comfortable thing for a minister of religion. He said again, "I have often tried to put myself into the place of a minister,—to imagine the forty and odd corns he must avoid treading on." Laughingly, "I often get mad at the ministers,—they are almost the only people I do get mad at,—yet they too have their reasons for being. If a man will once consent to be a minister he must expect ruin."

Worse if anything is to come. "I am not willing to admit," said the poet, "that we have any further serious use for the old style authoritative preacher. As I was telling Traubel yesterday, we might as well think of curing people of the measles, small pox, what not, by mere sermonisings...as of saving their souls by such tactics...I mean that no amount of formal, salaried petitioning of God will work out the result aimed at...The whole idea of the church is low, loathsome, horrible,...as if men got down into the mud to worship,...out of touch entirely with the great struggles of contemporary humanity."

I acknowledge that I see a tremendous justification for these tremendous words. While the churches in the West have been clinging to creeds which honest men have put away, the men of science outside all the churches have been teaching men reverence for truth. While the churches have been praying, the working classes in every part of the West have been fighting a batt for a higher standard of life unaided by t churches, and very often opposed and hin ered by the churches. What Walt Whi man means is that the churches have be ignorant and dishonest and selfish,—follo ing their own path to a narrow salvatio while men and women who have been th majority of them outside any church, unhelped of the churches to which the belonged, have been fighting against dif culties, against their own ignorance an self-will, a battle to make every man, woma and child's life the brighter. What have th churches done to help the Labour Party fo instance? Is not the Labour Party puttin a new spirit into the churches? Is not th brightest religious leader in England toda Mr. Campbell, in close touch with labou ideals? And is it not a religious work tha the students of science, and the socia reformers, so often hailed as atheists, hav been engaged upon? The churches are jus beginning to wake up to this fact, and it this waking up, if it goes on, which wi enable us to contradict Walt Whitman assertion that the churches have been out touch entirely with the great struggles contemporary humanity.

Walt Whitman, who came to teach man kind religion, could not look upon th struggles of men without seeing their signi ficance. What humanity longs for an strives for with struggle and effort, that the religion and prayer and church humanity, and to that religion and praye and church Walt Whitman belonged,—b his faith in the common people,—by h anger and disgust with the churches roun him. He challenges the church to mak their religion real and large. To accep the church as a refuge from thought suffering or effort he calls "getting dow into the mud to worship."

If we go searching for needles in a hay stack, have we any right to complain some of them prick our fingers?

P. E. Richard

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N. B.—Contributors to this section are requested knidly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

The Ajmer Urs.

In the glowing account of the Khwaja Sahib *Urs* at Ajmer published at p. 511 in *the Modern Review* for May 1912, a few errors of fact have crept in, which must be corrected to prevent a wrong idea of the nature and character of the Dargah of Khwaja Sahib being entertained by the general public.

The writer, Mr. S. Z. Ali, in introducing the description of the Dargah and its various adjuncts, says:—"As none but Moslems are permitted to enter the precincts of the Dargah, a brief description of the quaint rites and ceremonies that are performed during the *Urs* days, will not fail to interest the general reader." Now nothing can be farther from the truth than to say that, "none but Moslems are permitted to enter the precincts of the Dargah." All Hindus not only enter the precincts of the Dargah at all hours and seasons when Moslems are allowed to go there but have free access to the "Holy of Holies" of the Dargah—the mausoleum containing the tomb of Khwaja Sahib.

Nay, the Hindus are permitted to go round the tomb and even between the two silver plated railings that surround it, separated by a space of about 2 feet from one another. Within this space no woman whether Moslem or Hindu is admitted. These facts are clearly stated by M. Harbilas Sarda in his account of the Dargah Khwaja Sahib contained in his book "Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive" recently published. Describing the mausoleum of Khwaja Sahib he says (p. 97):—"This is the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Dargah and into it only Mohamadans and Hindus are admitted". At p. 98 he adds:—"Between the two railings Hindu and Mohamadan men are admitted but women are excluded." I may add that I have more than once passed round the tomb along the space within the two railings.

Another error which requires correction is with regard to the pair of big drums kept in the Dargah. Mr. S. Z. Ali says:—"The shrine is the proud possessor of a pair of large drums gracing the Nakkarkhana and brass candlesticks alluded to above both of which were taken by Akbar at the sack of Chitor." Considering, however, the fact that the Dargah is of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, a saint who is not only equally revered by the Hindus and Moslems but whose piety and devotion during his life-time endeared him to all, "who never preached aggression, was a man of peace, and good will towards all God's creatures," we fail to see where pride comes in, in the possession of a pair of big drums even if we accept the supposition that they were taken at the sack of Chitore by Akbar. The matter has been carefully discussed and described in brief in "Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive," from which I make the following quotation (p. 92):—"As a matter of fact neither of these Nakkaras nor the *Sahan Chirag* (the brass lamp) ever belonged to Chitore. The Nakkaras (big drums) were no doubt presented by Akbar and were trophies of war but they belonged to the army of the famous Daud Khan, Sultan of Bengal and were presented long after the capture of Chitore. The matter is thus explicitly stated by a contemporary Muhamadan historian, Moulana Nizamuddin, in his wellknown history, Tabqate-Akbari":—

"Translation:—Early in Ramzan (1574 A.D.) the atmosphere of Ajmer became fragrant with the storm raised by the musk-sprinkling hoofs of (royal) horses. (The King) went straight to the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin and duly observed the necessary religious ceremonies there; and from the spoils of Bengal, a pair of big drums which from the first day had been kept apart to be presented to the Khwaja, were brought and presented to the Nakkar-khana of the Khwaja Sahib. According to old custom (the emperor) went every day to the shrine and made the beggars and the needy, rich by charitable presents and alms."

GAURISHANKAR, B.A.,
Barrister-at-law.

History of Aurangzeb.

Allow me to make a comment on the tone, the learned author of the History of Aurangzeb, Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar, has adopted towards Aurangzeb's opponents. He is apparently so lost in the success of Aurangzeb that he does injustice to one of the bravest enemies of the emperor. Speaking of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar in the May Number of *the Modern Review* he says (pp. 467-68): "He (Jaswant) quailed at the prospect." "Jasawant *in mortal fear* attempted to parley." "A general (Jaswant) who shrinks *in terror*." "His spirit quailed before that of Aurangzeb."

"Mortal fear" and Jaswant! And yet never were there greater strangers in this world than fear and Jaswant. All who are acquainted with the characters of the Rathors know that the words used by Professor Sarkar for Jaswant Singh are not only unjust and untrue but ill-befit the impartiality of a true historian, and are not in keeping with the spirit of research and historical instinct otherwise displayed by the learned author. Neither Bernier nor Manucci, both of whom are quoted in the note on p. 472 to testify to Jaswant's courage, and who were present in India and must be accepted as better authorities than official Musalman historians, attribute a quailing spirit or fear under any circumstances to Jaswant, whom Aurangzeb ever

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cajoled and of whom he never dared to make an open enemy even though he looted the Emperor's camp.

How Aurangzeb himself regarded the bravery and undaunted spirit of the lord of the Rathors on the occasion in question are clear from the statement in the Tawarikh Muhammad Shahi, that Aurangzeb when asked by his commanders for permission to pursue Jaswant said:—"Be thankful for the fact that he (Jaswant) is leaving the field for us. To look at, there are only a few men with him, but he is like a boar which has received an arrow, leave him so that he may go away." And the fact that Aurangzeb used to say that "God intended Islam to survive that that Kafir (Jaswant) left the field to the Musalman army. Otherwise the prospect was dreary." Professor Sarkar's acceptance of a writer's statement that Aurangzeb "*mercifully* forbade pursuit" is surprising. Mercy had no place in Aurangzeb's character and if there has been one Moghal King in India whose conduct was dictated solely by considerations of policy and calculation wholly uninfluenced by softer feelings, it was Aurangzeb.

It is a pity that no true history of the Rajputs has yet been published. The historical department of the Jodhpur State ought now to be up and doing so that the public may have a true perspective of the affairs in India during the Mughal times. As his book, which displays so much ability, industry, research and learning, is likely to be treated as an authoritative work on the period it treats of, I request Prof. Jadu Nath to consult Rajput histories also and not to rely so much on Musalman histories, otherwise, the book is likely to be regarded as a prose epic on Aurangzeb rather than history.

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The Problem of the Sruti Scale.

It is a matter of keen delight to me that my article on this subject has attracted attention, even though the result is adverse criticism. Mr. S. N. Karnad in favoring me with such attention in his short criticism in the June number of *the Modern Review* seems, however, to have based his arguments on a fundamental misconstruction of the location of the twelve notes by the author of the Sangita Parijata. If I succeed in showing that this location corresponds to the ratios given by Ganot, my task of answering Mr. Karnad will be complete, for all his contentions hinge on that central point.

Mr. Karnad's series of 12 notes differs from mine in the case of the two *ris*, two *dhas*, and *ga tivra* and *ni tivra*. Now the Sangita Parijata gives the following locations for the two *ris*:—

(*a*) सपयोः पूर्वभागे च स्थापनीयोऽथ रिखरः

and (*b*) भागवयान्विते मध्ये मेरोर्ऋषभसंज्ञितात्।

भागद्वयोत्तरं मेरोः कुर्यात् कोमल रिखरम्॥

(*a*) Here पूर्वभाग means the first $\frac{1}{3}$rd portion, पूर्व, मध्ये and उत्तर meaning the three $\frac{1}{3}$rd sections in order. The expression is used more clearly in the *sloka* fixing the place of *Komala dha*. Thus *ri* is fixed at the point of section on the first $\frac{1}{3}$rd between *sa* and *pa*. This places *ri* at 32 inches (*sa* being 36 and *pa* 24, which is accepted by Mr. Karnad even); giving a vibration ratio of 36/32=9/8.

(*b*) Trisect the distance between *meru* and *ri*, and locate *ri komala* at the second point of section. Thus will fix *ri komala* at $33\frac{1}{3}$ inches (*ri* being at 32 and *meru* at 36); giving a ratio of $36 \div 33\frac{1}{3} = 27/25$.

How Mr. Karnad construes these *slokas* so as to place the two *ris* at 34 and 33 inches passes all comprehension, for the *slokas* in these cases are free from any dubious expressions.

Of the remaining notes *dha*, *ga tivra* and *ni tivra* it should be observed that the location of the two last is dependent on that of the first note (*dha*), as the *slokas* regarding them show. We must therefore take *dha* first.

सपयोर्मध्यदेशे तु धैवतं स्वरमाचरेत्।

Now it must be observed that मध्यदेशे is not the same thing as मध्ये; मध्ये means exactly at the centre point; while मध्यदेशे would seem intended to mean "near about the centre." Where the exact centre is meant the word used by the Sangita Parijata in this chapter is मध्ये (*e.g.*, in the case of the higher *sa*, *ma*, *ga*, *ga tivra*).

Note:—मध्य, when not exactly locating a note, is used in the sense of 'intervening space.' This is quite a different matter.

It must also be observed that, with these writers the location of notes was dependent on perception by the ear, कर्णप्रत्यक्ष, in cases where exact location was not described. Consequently I have, with others who are of the same opinion, fixed this *dha* at 21·6 inches so as to make it coincide with the *dha* of 5/3 ratio which is actually in use amongst us. I am supported by other authorities. Miss Margaret Glyn in the introduction to her "Analysis of the Evolution of Music" states:—"The Hindus had developed at an early period a diatonic scale which accords practically with our own." (*The Hindustan Review*, April 1911, p. 385). This scale would necessarily include this *dha* (5/3). We arrive at this position by moving only ·6 inch from the exact centre, and the exact centre is *not* intended, as is clearly shown by the use of the locative expression मध्यदेशे.

The location of *tivra ga* and *tivra ni* being dependent on *dha*, it follows as a matter of course that these two notes will be different as deduced by Mr. Karnad and as arrived at by me. Mine will be *tivra ga* 28·8 inches (ratio 5/4), and *tivra ni* 19·2 inches (ratio 15/8), while Mr. Karnad's are $28\frac{1}{3}$ and 19 inches respectively.

The only note left is *dha komala*. The location given by the Sangita Parijata is in the पूर्वभाग (*i.e.*, the first 1/3rd section) between *pa* and the higher *sa*. Here also I apply the same principle of correspondence with कर्णप्रत्यक्ष, and vary the location from 22 to 23 inches (ratio 8/5). I cannot, for want of space, enter into full details and reasons for this. But it will be seen that whereas I, for good reasons, stretch a point only in this case, and reach the correct notes, Mr. Karnad, for no conceivable reasons, fixes the two notes quite at wrong places, and in the case of *dha* and the two dependent notes errs in consequence of missing the true significance of the loose word मध्यदेशे and necessarily arrives at incorrect notes in all the cases.

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may add that if the author of the Sangita Parijata had intended the equi-distant measures of

30—28½—27 and 22—21—20—19—18,

ग ग म ध ध नि नि स

as given by Mr. Karnad, he would have given them in a direct way saying that particular notes were at such equal distances serially, instead of adopting the roundabout course of taking the notes by breaking the sequence. The fact of this break of sequence indirectly supports my interpretation.

Mr. Karnad seems to forget that Indian music knows of no tempered scale, it always dealt with the just or natural scale, and that even in the West authorities on music and science have consistently condemned the tempered scale as utterly false and out of tune. Prof. Blaserna was one of the scientists who raised a powerful protest against this tempered scale. In this connection I would draw Mr. Karnad's attention to the article headed "Abolish Harmoniums" by Mrs. Maud Mann (*Modern Review*, May 1912, P. 498), wherein she says in concluding this point:— "In justice to Western musicians it must be said that many have rebelled (*i.e.*, against the tempered scale), that many more would rebel if they could only hear the pure tones, say, of Indian *srutis* often enough." This being so, Mr. Karnad's assertion that the Indian scale of 12 notes does not correspond with the scale given by Ganot is hardly justified; when I was throughout speaking of the just Western scale, and not of the tempered scale. It should be added as a reminder that the Sangita Parijata fixes only the 12 main notes and leaves the location of the remaining 10 *srutis* untouched. This seems necessary, because Mr. Karnad's utterances are likely to mislead one into the belief that the work located all the 22 *srutis*.

Lastly, I may inform Mr. Karnad that I was not unaware of the overlapping of E sharp and F flat, and that of B sharp and C flat. In a Gujrati treatise on the *Srutis* I dealt with the question about three years ago. Gujrati being apparently an unknown language to Mr. Karnad, all I can say here is that such overlapping is a mathematical paradox which need not alarm any one; for it does not hurt the theory in any way. All we have to do is to alter the order of the overlapping notes. The fact need not be regarded as a flaw at all. It is a mathematical condition to be accepted as inevitable.*

N. B. DIVATIA.

* This condition arises out of the fact that the interval between E and F, as also that between B and C is 16/15, and the factor of the flattened higher note (in its ratio to the lower note), *viz.*, 16/15×24/25 is bound to be less than the factor of the sharpened lower note, *viz.*, 25/24. The case is otherwise with the other intervals, 9/8 and 10/9, in the scale of seven notes.

NOTES

How Musalmans can Progress.

Recently the Rev. Thomas B. Gregory wrote in a San Francisco daily:

"It was eleven hundred and fifty-six years ago on March 18, 756, that the Arabs made Cordova the capital of the Spanish Caliphate.

"Thus was laid the foundation of a literary and scientific civilization that was to last for more than six centuries, and that was to shed upon the ways of men such light and glory as had not been seen since the age of Pericles.

"Cordova, in the reign of Abderrahman, 950, contained 200,000 houses and a population of more than a million souls. After sunset a man might walk through it in a straight line for ten miles by the light of the public lamps. Seven hundred years after this time there was not so much as one public lamp in London. The streets of Cordova were, solidly and beautifully paved. In Paris, centuries subsequently, whoever stepped over his threshold on a rainy day stepped up to his ankles in mud.

"The city was full of magnificent public buildings devoted to religion, the arts, the sciences, and education. In Cordova and the surrounding region there were no less than fifty universities, colleges and schools for the higher learning, while free public schools were to be found in the remotest corners of the dominion. Abderrahman, himself a diligent student, invited illustrious foreigners to send him their works. He employed agents in every land for collecting and transcribing rare manuscripts, and his vessels returned freighted with cargoes more precious than the spices of the East. The circle of letters and science was publicly expounded by professors whose reputation for wisdom attracted the attention of scholars the world over.

"And it must not be forgotten that this glorious period of Arab learning corresponds precisely with the period of the deepest barbarisms of Europe, when, according to Tiraboschi, there was not a philosopher in all Italy save Pope Sylvester, who drew his knowledge from the Spanish Arabs, and was esteemed a 'necromancer' for his pains. While Italy, Germany, France, the British Isles and Northern Spain were in the depths of ignorance, only a little removed in intellectual acquirements from the dumb cattle of their fields, the Mohammedans of Andalusia were teaching astronomy, navigation, mathematics, chemistry, medicine, law and polite literature, music and all the other things that appertain to the higher human culture.

"This glorious lamp of learning, after burning brilliantly for six hundred years, was extinguished about the time of the discovery of America. In their ignorant fanaticism the Spaniards drove out the Arabs, and in doing so paved the way for their national extinction.

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The Arabs were the brain of the country—and with the brain gone what could Spain do but die?"

If the past be a guide to the future, the above would show by following what method the Musalmans can make progress. The method is that of trying to take their place among the leaders of science and civilisation, so that they may be benefactors of humanity again. Needless to say, the law of progress is the same for non-Moslems, too.

History is vitiated by bias. But the Rev. Thomas Gregory is not partial to Mohamedans, as the following tirade from his pen in the same San Francisco daily against the Turk and against all who, from whatever motives, have helped to keep him in power in Europe, will show :—

"It was fifty-eight years ago—April 8, 1854—that the quartet of Great Powers—France, Austria, Russia and Great Britain—through their only accredited representatives, met in the city of Vienna and decreed, with a beautiful equanimity, that the integrity of the Turkish Empire in Europe should be maintained.

"Turkey was threatening to break up, like the iceberg that had drifted into the warming waters of the gulf stream, but the doctor-nations resolved that the "Sick Man" should live, that the alien institutions which had already for so long a time usurped so large and fine a portion of the European territory should not be disturbed.

"Of course, the treaty by which this was done was not only a crime, but a double-barrelled crime. For, in the first place, the doctor-nations did not want to save the Sick Man, but, on the other hand, were very anxious that he should die. The vote of the representatives of the Powers to maintain the Turkish Empire in Europe was, therefore, a glaring piece of hypocrisy.

"In the second place, the vote, in and of itself, was a great piece of injustice to humanity in general, including the Turks themselves. For hundreds of years the Turks have been the breeders of discord among the peoples of Europe. Religious fanatics, polygamous in their domestic life and in pretty nearly every way the very opposite of Europeans, they have been a thorn in the side of the Great White continent from the time they squatted upon it right up to the present moment.

"Turkish rule in Europe has familiarized the world with the word 'atrocity,' and with the terrible thing for which the word stands. Long ago Europeans were given to atrocities, but for some centuries now they have been fairly clear of such things, but the Turks are apparently as atrocious today as they were a thousand years ago.

"In addition to this, they are predisposed, through their fatalistic faith, to ignore modern progress in every shape, and in consequence are a sort of dog in the manger, doing nothing themselves and unwilling that others should do anything for them.

"But for the criminal selfishness of the Powers—each fearing that in case the Turkish Empire was dismembered the other fellow would get the lion's share of the territory—the distressing situation might long ago have been remedied, and the horrible brutalities of the past half century been averted.

"It is hard to say which is the worst—the selfishness of the diplomats or the atrocities of the Turks."

So that Mr. Gregory's testimony regarding the past glory of the Moslems in Spain may be taken as quite trustworthy.

Freedom of Speech in Russia.

It is true that Russians do not enjoy as much freedom in their country as Frenchmen or Englishmen do in theirs. But it is possible to have an exaggerated idea of the Russians' political disabilities. The following extract from the *Christian Register* of Boston shows what degree of freedom of speech members of the Douma, the Russian Parliament, can exercise :—

A striking illustration of the effectiveness of the Russian Douma as an organ of public criticism of governmental policies was furnished in the day's sitting of April 29. On that day M. Milukoff, leader of the constitutional democrats, in referring to the alarmingly large number of suicides among the pupils in the public schools, denounced the government in bitter terms. Turning to the benches reserved for the ministry, which at that moment were occupied by the minister of public instruction and one of his colleagues, M. Milukoff exclaimed, "There before you sit the murderers of our children!" On being suspended for five sittings for the use of unparliamentary language, the constitutional-democratic chief repeated his accusation, and the penalty imposed upon him was doubled by the president of the chamber. M. Milukoff, who stands well in the forefront in the ranks of the friends of Russian freedom, undoubtedly recalls the day when such a denunciation of the governing class would have placed him in the melancholy gray line that marched into Siberia between two files of soldiers.

This will enable our readers to form a comparative estimate of the freedom of speech possessed by members of the Indian and Russian legislatures. Of M. Milukoff's antecedents the same paper says :—

M. MILUKOFF, who combines political progressiveness with a conservative sense of what is possible and what is impossible in his day in a country like Russia, suffered much for his convictions in the old reign of absolutism, before the present Czar issued his famous rescript which irrevocably committed Russia to ultimate constitutionalism in the sense in which the word is understood in free countries. From the opening of the first Douma, destined to die a violent death in the throes of disorderly demands for a measure of self-government for which the country obviously was not prepared, he has maintained a consistent attitude of protest against the evils which beset Russian society through maladministration. He has locked horns with government after government. In each skirmish, and through three Doumas, he and his liberal colleagues

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have maintained their struggle against the retreating forces of absolutism and of reaction. The fact that the determined group of champions of liberty is able to apply the name of spade to that article with no graver penalty than a suspension for ten sittings throws a revealing light upon the effectiveness of the existing parliamentary machinery of the late autocracy.

Advocates of rigid scholastic "discipline" in India ought to take a timely warning from the results of such "discipline" in Russia.

Race and Creed in the Indian Army.

The Indian Spectator writes :—

A conference in the Northern Circars last month passed a resolution praying for the withdrawal of the prohibition of recruitment of Telugus in the Indian army. In accordance with that resolution the Godavari District Association has submitted a memorial to Government, in which special emphasis is laid on an invidious distinction which is said to be made between Telugu Mussalmans and Christians on the one hand, and Hindus of the same districts on the other. The Andhras were at one time empire-builders. They overran a great part of India as the Mahrattas did in later times. Their enterprise extended to the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and the monuments of their civilisation are to be found both in and outside India. The Telugus distinguished themselves in the army of the East India Company, and the martial qualities which characterised them in former days are not denied. The recorded opinion of Lord Roberts, however, is that the Telugus, the Mahrattas, and the Hindustanis of Bengal have all deteriorated under the influence of peace and prosperity. That opinion is perhaps widely shared, and the result is well-known. The Rajput and the Goorkha, the Sikh and the Pathan, may be preferred to the Tamil, Telugu or Mahratta. But the memorial raises the very pertinent question how a Telugu Pariah becomes a better soldier directly he embraces Christianity or Islam. The memorialists say that they ascertained from a recruiting officer who visited the district recently that he had orders to enlist only Mussalmans and Christians.

In this connection the reader may peruse again our article on "the Fighting Races and Castes of India," which appeared in this Review in July, 1907.

Mixed Marriages.

Herbert Spencer wrote against mixed marriages in one of his works, on what has always appeared to us quite insufficient data. By mixed marriages he meant marriages of persons belonging to such widely different races as the Negro and the Anglo-Saxon. Unprogressive people in our country, however, seized upon his dictum to oppose marriages between even Brahmans and Kshatriyas, Kayasthas and Brahmans or Vaidyas and Kayasthas! We do not know by what anthropological investigations they have ascertained that these Hindu castes represent separate races like the Negroes and the Germans, for example. Of course, one reason why they have been misled is that in Sanskritic vernaculars, the same word "jati" is used to denote both caste and race.

But whatever support Herbert Spencer's dictum may have lent to social stagnation must now give way before the progress made by anthropological studies in Germany. For we read in the *Christian Register* of Boston :—

A racial experiment authorized by the German Reichstag will be watched with interest by other powers that have negro populations to govern. After an exhaustive debate of the question, the German national legislature last week voted, by 203 to 133, to sustain the legality of marriages between Germans and natives in the German colonies, including those in Africa. The measure adopted by the Reichstag was a reply to an imperial order recently issued prohibiting mixed unions. The action of the Reichstag was based upon the reports of experts who had reached the conclusion that the mixture of races is both practicable and advisable upon ethnological, political, and economic grounds. It is worthy of note, in the face of the almost universal Anglo-Saxon repugnance to race amalgamations, that satisfactory results on the basis of intermarriages have been recorded in the French colonies in Africa, and that the Russians in their contact with non-Aryan peoples in Asia have solved important problems with apparent success by encouraging or sanctioning mixed marriages.

Indians in British East Africa.

India writes :—

Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, the Indian Member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa, who is now in Bombay, has entered a vigorous protest in the columns of the Indian Press against the proposed Bill for imposing a poll-tax on all the "non-native" population in the Protectorate. There are, he says, 25,000 British Indians affected by this new tax, which will amount to Rs. 15 (£ 1) a year, and only 2,000 Europeans. Not only, therefore, will the burden fall principally on the Indians, but it will be felt most seriously by them, for the majority are labourers and artisans earning not more than Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 a month. He concludes his letter thus :—

I have the honour of being the Indian Member of the local Legislative Council; and to those who do not know the conditions which obtain in East Africa it would appear strange that instead of fighting within the Council, I should have chosen to absent myself from the scene. To such people I may say that my past experience does not encourage me to attend the Council. It is a hopeless task for a single Indian Member to fight against tremendous odds. The Council is packed with a Government majority and European representatives. I found it to be a sheer waste of time and energy to fight against an interested majority who refuse to be convinced and to consider any other interests than their own Hence my absence from the Council Chamber.

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Though Indian legislatures have a much larger proportion of "native" members, they are far from being able to make their voice effectively heard there; which shows how difficult must be the position of the solitary Indian representative in the British East Africa Legislative Council.

Those who know that it is Mr. Jeevanjee and his Indian fellow-countrymen who are the makers of British East Africa, will understand how unjustly they are being treated. Of course, gratitude is a thing which white men there do not owe to the "coloured" people.

Islam and Christianity in Zanzibar.

Addressing the members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London, the Bishop of Zanzibar explained that the people in his diocese were of different races, and spoke six different languages. Mahomedanism was contesting every inch of the ground with Christian missions. He was convinced that behind the religious propaganda of Mohamedanism there was a political motive. Is there nowhere on earth any political motive behind the religious propaganda of Christian missionaries? But whatever motive there may be behind Islamic propaganda, there is no doubt that Islam appeals to savage and semi-civilised races more strongly than Christianity. One reason, no doubt, is that Islam allows polygamy which Christianity does not. But as a set-off, it may be said that Islam prohibits drinking which Christianity allows. Where, however, the superiority of Islam lies is its democratic character. For the jet black Musalman is socially equal to the yellow, the brown and the white Musalman. When the Amir of Afghanistan visited Calcutta, he prayed on the same carpet with Musalman syces, coachmen and coolies. For in Islam the sovereign and the slave are equally the servant of Allah.

Turkey's Determination.

The Literary Digest says that Assim Bey, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, has communicated to Mr. M. H. Donohoe, Constantinople correspondent of the London *Daily Chronicle*, the views of his country with regard to the continuance of the war with Italy. This communication is styled by the Minister as "a message to the people of the civilized world, giving the official reply of this Government to the efforts made by highly placed personages in Europe to secure a termination of the war in Tripoli." His Excellency declares that Turkey refuses even to discuss, let alone to consider, the terms of peace as laid down by Italy. The decree of annexation must first be torn up before pourparlers between the governments of the two countries are possible. Says Assim Bey:

"Turkey as a nation has not yet begun to fight.

"Italy now threatens to take sterner measures, and to carry the war into European Turkey if we continue to resist her unlawful and preposterous demands. Let Italy continue to bombard our unfortified and defenceless towns; let her if she dares, attempt the passage of the Dardanelles. Let us admit the impossible—that she forces the Straits and even bombards Constantinople.

"What then? When she presents her dishonorable conditions afresh we will fling them back in her face. For never! no, never! will any Turkish Government accept them.

"Turkey has no fleet, it is true; but she has an Army. The day Italy invades our European provinces we meet on equal ground. Judging by previous Italian campaigns, we need have no fear of the result of the encounter when her Army meets ours. No Italian soldier who sets foot on the soil of European Turkey will ever leave it again unless by permission of the Turkish Army."

Social Reform and Sastric Learning.

The Leader writes:

A correspondent writing in the *Hindu* strongly criticises Rao Bahadur M. Rangachariar, President of the late Pandits' Parishad at Conjeeveram, for marrying his second daughter at the age of eight. The learned professor, who in common with Sir S. Subramania Iyer and a majority of the Pandits present at the Parishad is in favour of postpuberty marriages, married his first daughter at the age of seven! The correspondent also criticises Mr. Justice Sundra Aiyar, President of the Hindu Marriage Reform League of Madras, for marrying his daughter at the age of ten. The correspondent is quite justified in being disgusted. Backsliding never has helped the cause of reform.

Perfectly true. But when did these learned specimens of humanity *actually* move *forward* that they may be accused of *backsliding*?

Pan-Islamism in Russia.

The "Pioneer's" London correspondent writes:—The St. Petersburg correspondent of the "Standard" says that all private Mahomedan schools in Astrakhan are ordered to close owing to Pan-Turkish or Pan-Islamic propaganda among the Tartars of south-east Russia.

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This dislike of Pan-Islamism is not peculiar to Russia. Christian nations do not like it.

Ragoonatha Rao on the position of the Viceroy.

Mr. Wilfrid Blunt writes in "India under Ripon" that the late Dewan Bahadur Ragoonatha Rao described to him with great humour the position of a modern Viceroy

who comes to Calcutta or rather to Simla with the idea of understanding the native case and doing good who finds himself with a crowd of permanent English Officials always surrounding him and pulling him by the coat tail whenever he approaches what they consider a dangerous subject. His term of years as Viceroy is at most five. The first two are occupied in getting used to the climate and way of life, in learning the official view of the larger questions he has to deal with. The next two years, if he is an honest man and a man of energy he begins to propound his policy only to find that he is everywhere defeated in detail by officials who bow to him and pretend to agree with him, but who go away and raise obstacles which defeat his ends, or at any rate delay them till his power to enforce them is nearly over. Usually he swims with the official stream, save what money he can out of his immense salary, shoots tigers and amuses himself with viceregal tours and visits and durbars to the native princes, spending half his years always away from native India in the Himalayas and giving balls and entertainments to the Anglo-Indian ladies. The last year of his term he is looked upon as already defunct and of no importance, and he packs up his things and goes home satisfied with having done no worse than his predecessors.

Ragoonatha Rao on Magisterial Displeasure.

The Dewan Bahadur gave Mr. Blunt "three or four instances" of "the impertinences of the English District Officers, and even their persecution."

One was of a friend of his, a former magistrate and most respected official, who had retired, as he himself had intended to retire, to spend his last days in his own town. He was a man of independent character, and not wishing to be troubled any longer with etiquette, neglected to pay any special court to the Resident Collector. This brought him into official disrepute, and one day he found himself arrested on a charge of conspiracy, a charge absolutely unfounded, and involved in legal proceedings, which, besides endless annoyance, cost him some thirty thousand rupees. I asked him 'What kind of conspiracy'? 'You don't suppose', he said, 'I mean a political conspiracy. We are far too frightened here for anything like that. No, this was a vulgar charge of conspiracy to cheat and defraud a neighbour. My friend disproved the charge but it has left him a broken man. He is now the humble servant of the Government, and bows to the ground when he sees th lle Government officer.

Modern District Jupiters when offended, would seem to have the same methods, as some rules issued and made absolute by the High Courts show.

Presidentship of the Indian National Congress.

It is said that the choice of Behar has fallen on the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale for the presidentship of the next session of the Indian National Congress. As Mr. Gokhale has presided on a previous occasion and as it is not difficult to name others, worthy of the honour, who have not done so even once, we think some one else ought to be chosen. For instance, there is the Hon. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, whose public spirit and patriotic labors are too well-known to need recounting. It should not be forgotten that he was one of the *two* members of the Viceregal Council who made a plucky fight for the liberty of the press, the other champion being the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who has already been President of the Congress. Surely the educated public of India should mark their appreciation of courage, patriotism and ability by unanimously electing Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu to the presidential chair of the next Indian National Congress.

It is said that Bengal has already approved of the choice of Mr. Gokhale. We do not know what is meant by Bengal. Has the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee met and registered its decision? If so, when? Or has some self-constituted representative of Bengal passed off his opinion as that of the whole of Bengal?

After the above was in type, we have learned from a telegram that the presidentship was offered to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who has declined it, as it would be impossible for him to leave England this year. So the Behar Committee thinks there is not a single Indian living worthy to fill the Congress presidential chair!

Panjab Moslems and Crime.

The Panjabee has shown from the jail administration report of the Panjab that the Moslem convicts form nearly two-thirds of the whole number of convicts there. "Their member is 10,255 as against 5,899 of

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both Hindus and Sikhs and we note that this proportion has been maintained for over 10 years." As Musalmans form less than two-thirds of the population of the Panjab, these figures show that they are a more criminal people in that province than the Hindus and Sikhs. It may be good to claim superior political importance; but it is decidedly better not to swell the number of thieves, robbers, swindlers, murderers, adulterers, ravishers of women, &c.

India's Political Future.

The House of Lords has passed the third reading of the Government of India Bill and the Bill has received the royal assent.

In the course of the debate Lord Curzon severely criticised that paragraph of the Government of India's despatch of 25th August last which seemed to promise provincial autonomy and drew attention to the conflicting interpretations thereof given by Lord Crewe and Mr. Montagu. It was significant, he observed, that it was the latter's view which was taken in India. Lord Crewe said in reply that

> he would venture to say that if he could collect the various allusions to the subject in the speeches of the Viceroy and Secretaries of State, he would often find the expression of hopes that with the growth of education and the sense of responsibility more influence and actual power might be placed in the hands of local Governments and bodies than is possible at present. There is a certain political school in India of Indians altogether free from the taint of disloyalty, who, while agreeing that India must remain under British rule, look forward to something approaching the self-government enjoyed by the Dominions.
>
> "I say quite frankly I see no future for India on those lines. I think the experiment one impossible to try. Consequently it is my duty, standing here as Secretary of State for India, to repudiate altogether that reading of the despatch which implies anything of the kind, or that it is the hope or goal of the policy of His Majesty's ministers or the present Government of India.
>
> "I cannot put the matter more forcibly. I do not complain that some men hold this ideal, which is a revolutionary one though not in the odious sense of the desire to break up the British Empire, but I can only say that I hold it no sense myself."
>
> "I do think it is our duty to encourage every reasonable and possible want or desire on the part of the inhabitants of India to participate in the further management of their own affairs. I am sure Lord Curzon never attempted to discourage the aspirations of the Indian people for greater opportunities of work in the public services."

Lord Cromer said that he welcomed the statement that whatever concessions were made in future there was no intention to release our paramount hold India.

Lord Curzon said that they now had a perfec clear statement from the Secretary of State. It was most emphatic and most unmistakable repudiation the interpretation placed on the sentence in t despatch in question.

There are a few rather unimportant thing to be remembered in this connectio (1) That human nature was not constitute by British or European or other officials rulers. (*a*) That Indian nature, bein also human nature, was not constitute by these officials or rulers. (2) Tha therefore, men, including Indians, co tinue to form and cherish their ow hopes and aspirations inspite of offici wishes, commands and dicta to the con trary. (3) That British officials as well a other officials are human beings wit human limitations and cannot look int forecast or control the future destinies nations, peoples, &c., including those Indians. (4) That history and comm sense both show that the final disposer events is not any man or men, or Empi or combination of white or Christian other Empires or States, but a power being which is variously named *God*, *Alla Brahman*, *Nature*, &c. (5) That this pow is not a respecter of persons and fulfils t hopes and aspirations of a people accor ing to their deserts, in utter disregard the prestige and convenience of oth peoples. (6) That the true estimate of people's worth can be formed neither b themselves nor by some other, interested people, but by this power alone.

So we remain absolutely unruffled by t debate in the House of Lords, in the cal faith that our future will be shaped by o worth and work. Nor do we attach mu importance to the despatch or its interpre tions by Lord Crewe and Mr. Monta Such documents and their interpretati are inspired by the political needs a motives of the hour. When the immedi purpose has been served, no politician ever in a hurry to fulfil a royal or any ot promise.

The only thing that deserves to be no is that former British statesmen ope declared their belief that India would free at no distant date, whereas presen day British politicians seem to be afra even to imagine such a contingency.

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Excise Returns.

The Report of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association furnishes the following gross excise revenue figures for the current quinquennium :—

1908-09	...	...	£ 6,389,627
1909-10	...	...	£ 6,537,853
1910-11	...	...	£ 7,030,314
1911-12	(revised)	...	£ 7,502,666
1912-13	(budget)	...	£ 7,762,000

The approximate increase in the liquor revenue of the major provinces from 1900 to 1912 is shown below :—

Bengal	...	...	24 per cent.
United Provinces		...	51 per cent.
Punjab	...	...	120 per cent.
Central Provinces		...	80 per cent.
Eastern Bengal and Assam			44 per cent.
Madras	...	...	120 per cent.
Bombay	...	...	90 per cent.

Some officials, we hope not all officials, think that the increasing consumption of liquor is a sign of increasing prosperity ! They would therefore think that Bengal has made the least material progress, the Punjab and Madras have made five times as much progress as Bengal, Bombay about four times, the Central Provinces more than three times, Eastern Bengal and Assam nearly twice and the United Provinces more than twice. But we do not think even these officials would make the consumption of liquor a test of "moral progresss."

We do hope our educated countrymen would go on strengthening the old-world notion that the man who drinks is a disreputable man, and the woman who drinks is lost. We are speaking of our own society and our own notions. Let Westerners take care of theirs in their own way. We regret very much that our contact with the West has relaxed the hold which this notion formerly had on our minds.

The Security taken from the "Kesari".

We have read the translations of the two articles in the *Kesari*, one an extract, 30 years old, from the writings of a well-known Maratha writer, and the other a letter, for which the Bombay Government has demanded and obtained a security of Rs. 5,000 under the provisions of the Press Act. The Magistrate's letter demanding security mentioned the cumulative effect of the previous writings of the *Kesari*. We do not know the character of these latter. But judging from the translations, we must say that the Bombay Government has been very hard upon the *Kesari*, that its action has been the outcome of an absence of the judicial temperament, that Mr. Tilak is still on its brains and that if its extremely sensitive and elastic interpretation were impartially and uniformly adopted by all provincial Governments, security would have to be taken from all Anglo-Indian dailies and most Indian-owned papers.

The late Mrs. Tilak.

We have heard with sorrow of the death of Mrs. B. G. Tilak. It is probable that her end was hastened by her enforced separation from her husband and the disappointment caused by his non-release from jail on the occasion of the Coronation. We hope her children will bear this calamity with a fortitude worthy of the character of their father, and pray that God may give them and Mr. Tilak strength in their great sorrow. We tender them our respectful condolence.

The Home Rule Bill.

If what is one man's good is the good of all, much more must the good of a whole people conduce to the welfare of all mankind. We rejoice, therefore, in the prospect of the Home Rule Bill becoming law. The Irish people have made immense sacrifices and worked hard and incessantly and suffered untold miseries, to obtain their heart's desire. This lesson will not and should not be lost upon other peoples in similar circumstances.

Ulster's Threats.

Ulster has long been threatening civil war and actually making warlike preparations, in case the Home Rule Bill pass both Houses of Parliament. And yet not a hair of the heads of Ulster's spokesmen has been singed, nor has the least warning been given to them !

Anglo-Indian bureaucrats say that the Indian and English laws of sedition and that sort of thing are the same. It may be so. But how is the immunity of Ulstermen, then, to be explained ?

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The Weak Vegetable-eaters.

The New York World says :—

Our college professors nowadays not only teach youth but also make many original and startling discoveries. Prof. James Rollin Stonaker of Stanford University has just proved that eaters of meat are more enduring than eaters of vegetables, grain and grass. He put four rats in rotary cages with speedometers attached and found that in twenty-five months the meat-eating female rat ran 5,447 miles, while her vegetable-eating sister ran only 447. The meat-eating male ran 1,447 miles, but the gentleman rat of the vegetable diet ran only a pitiful 200 miles.

While we have not made such striking experiments, we have noticed these facts ourselves in our observation of the animal kingdom. Take the case of the poor elephant. He does not taste meat in his whole life, being reduced to such miserable fare as shrubs, the tops of bushes and little trees, and other such food lacking in nutrition. As a result the elephant seldom attains a weight of more than 10,000 pounds, and the hardest specimens do not often live longer than 200 years.

The rhinoceros, which also has a thin diet much like the elephant's is notably of poor physique. He is perhaps not more than twenty times as heavy as the meat-eating leopard. His brother the hippopotamus, which grubs around the edges of rivers, is noted for his slim and delicate figure. There too is the feeble camel which does not have meat on its bill of fare. It is so lacking in endurance that it cannot pass more than a couple of weeks in the desert without water. No specimen of our Alaskan moose weighing more than 2,500 pounds has yet been found.

We might cite many other instances, but we do not think that Prof. Stonaker's theory needs any more.

The vegetable-eating horse does more work and is capable of more sustained speed than any carnivorous land animal. Carnivorous animals, no doubt, have a greater murderous propensity than vegetable-eaters because that is their way of living.

A High Court for Behar and Orissa.

A High Court for the province of Behar and Orissa is the latest thing before the public. If established it will not probably at first be beyond the reach of extraneous influence to the same extent as the Calcutta High Court is; but in course of time the two High Courts may come to occupy the same level as regards independence,—whether by a process of levelling up or levelling down, it is difficult to say. But this aspect of the question will not appeal to the Executive. There is, however, another which ought to appeal to Government and that is the location of the proposed High Court. As it is not meant only for Behar, but Orissa, Chota Nagpur and some Bengali-speaking tracts as well, it would be inconvenient to a large number of districts to locate it at Patna. A more central spot ought undoubtedly to be chosen. Patna moreover has long ceased to be a healthy district.

The Protection of Women and Girls.

Two Bills are to be introduced by Messrs. Dadabhoy and Mudholkar in the Imperial Legislative Council for the protection of women and girls. Mr. Dadabhoy's Bill will seek to raise the age of consent as against strangers to 16. Mr. Mudholkar's Bill will deal with the revolting practice of dedicating minor girls as Devadasis and Muralis attached to temples, which invariably degrades them to a life of prostitution. All decent men should warmly support both the Bills.

The New Delhi.

That the site on which King George laid the foundation stone of the New Delhi that is to be, has been condemned by experts does not give us any pleasure,—no, not even any malevolent pleasure, which some Anglo-Indian journalists are evidently feeling. For this rejection of the site at first chosen simply means greater expenditure, however small it may be. And the poor Indian tax-payer can ill-afford to pay additional sums for unnecessary baubles when there is a crying need for increasing expenditure on sanitation and education.

The Jamalpore House Search Case.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has decided an appeal affecting the right to search for arms in Bengal. Mr. Clarke, District Magistrate of Mymensingh, appealed against the judgment of the High Court of Bengal, which upheld actions for trespass against Mr. Clarke arising out of the latter's orders for searches for arms on the premises of Hindu respondents after the Hindu-Moslem disturbances at Jamalpore on 27th April, 1908. The judgment found that there was no foundation for a trespass suit and that Mr. Clarke's action in the circumstances was quite justified. The appeal was allowed and suit was dismissed with costs in both the Indian courts.

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The respondents to pay costs of appeal. Not being lawyers, we are unable to say whether technically the Privy Council judgment is right or wrong. Mr. Clarke may have simply done his duty. But there is no doubt in our mind that Babu Brajendra Kisor Ray Chowdhuri has been subjected to undeserved wrong and indignity and pecuniary loss and has had no redress. We are afraid the Privy Council judgment may increase the arbitrary tendencies of some district officers.

India's Cotton.

The Statesman says :—

"Twelve or fourteen years ago the Indian cotton-crop represented three and a quarter million bales, and the acreage was 15,000,000. Within the last few years, the acreage has increased to 20,000,000 and upward and the yield in a fair average year is well over 4,000,000 bales. . . . The Indian cotton-crop is now the second largest in the world."

Side by side with the increase of cotton-cultivation, there has been a growth of cotton-factories in India. Sir Theodore Morrison, a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, said at a recent meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, as quoted in a brochure issued by that body, that despite the fact that no less than 2,670,000 men weave cotton-cloth on hand-looms in various parts of the dependency, "India has, in the last quarter of a century, quadrupled her capacity to spin and weave by steam-power." In the table which we reproduce, somewhat abridged, this growth is seen at a glance :—

	1880-81.	1900-01.	1909-10.
No. of Cotton-mills	55	177	216
No. of Looms ...	12,739	37,210	74,585
No. of Spindles ...	1,434,364	4,679,648	5,773,824
No. of Persons employed ...	46,530	144,983	215,419
Pounds of Yarn produced ...	figures not available.	342,777,547	593,206,855
Pounds of Woven Goods ...	ditto	95,844,590	215,360,604

But in spite of the fact that India has succeeded so well in adding to its facilities for spinning cotton, a great deal of cotton goes out of the country, one of the principal buyers being Great Britain. The Secretary of State for India tells us that "the average exports during the ten years ending 1900 were 1,300,000 bales, but the average exports of late years have been over 2,000,000 bales."

The Parsis are the largest cotton mill owners in India. Their organ, the *Parsi*, tries to show Indians that the great clamour which the British are making to increase the output of cotton in our country is not for the advantage of Indians, but solely for the benefit of the English. Our contemporary says :—

"The British Cotton-growing Association consists of people who have always professed the keenest interest in India. Out of the fulness of their knowledge, they decided that it was not worth while to spend money on cotton-growing experiments in India, so they spent immense sums instead on its cultivation in any wilderness they happened to find between Tripoli and the Cape. Roseate reports were issued ; Sir Harry Johnston (the great British authority on African matters) assured everybody that the African native positively loved work if it were only presented to him in a gentlemanly manner.....But the cotton problem remains unsolved.

"Meanwhile the Indian Agricultural Department continues its experiments with varying success. The Sind Egyptians, so promising the first year, were so disappointing the second that they had to be temporarily abandoned. Greater success appears to have attended the cultivation of Georgian cotton in Tinnevelly, and 3,000 bales have found their way to Oldham.

"The Cotton-growing Association immediately cries out that the Government of India is starving its Agricultural Department, and that more land in the south of India must be put under Georgian cotton immediately.

"The Association loses sight of two important facts : the first is that the Indian farmer is free to grow whatever he likes, and the Agricultural Department can make no further inducement than the provision of seed and instructions how to grow it ; the second is that India does not exist only to help Lancashire out of her difficulties. A slump in American cotton would mean the rejection of all Indian-grown cotton except at a price that would not pay for cultivation.

"Sir Sassoon David has lately given eight lacs of rupees (about $267,000), a part of which will probably be spent on the improvement of cotton-culture ; but we may be sure he did not anticipate that the result of his beneficence would be that Lancashire would use India simply as a stick to beat down American prices with. The Secretary of State may be persuaded by the political weight of Lancashire, but the Indian cultivator wants the assurance of regular custom at a decent price—as the Bombay Mill-owners' Association has found out already."

Musalman Women in Turkey and Persia.

The Near East writes :—

It must be said, to the credit of the new *regime*, that, in addition to permitting philanthropic foreigners, without hampering and harassing them, to carry the light of emancipation to the Turkish fair sex, it is

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trying to evolve an educational system which will provide adequate facilities for the girls to acquire knowledge. During the last few years many schools especially and exclusively designed for girls have been established, and many more are being built. An effort is being made to train teachers to staff these new academies and text books are being compiled along modern lines.

The work of emancipation proceeds slowly. In some towns any man seen talking with a Moslem woman in public renders himself liable to a fine, while the woman must submit to be bastinadoed!

However such stringent measures are more than offset by the fact that the conscience of Islam is slowly being quickened, and that it has commenced to feel the sting of shame at the low state of Moslem women. The men followers of the Prophet are beginning to believe and declare that their women are not being treated as well as Muhammad intended them to be. They are searching the Koran for proof of this assertion, and are showing by the great Teacher's own words that he expected woman to have a much higher status than is given in Islam to-day. They quote texts to prove that Muhammad really prohibited plurality of wives, and they expatiate on the fact that their religion gave to women at its promulgation property and divorce rights that they have enjoyed through the centuries.

Turkey, more than any other Moslem country, shows the action of this Islamic revival. The Sheik-ul-Islam, whose position corresponds with that of the Primate here, has unhesitatingly spoken in favour of feminine progress. The present Sultan, too, is sympathetic towards the movement.

"The strangling of Persia" is the name of a book which Mr. Shuster, the late Treasurer General of Persia, will shortly bring out. A chapter of the book dealing with the doings of the Persian women in the recent crisis has appeared in the *Century Magazine*. Mr. Shuster says:—

'It was they from their cloistered lives, who, with the patriotic support of the Islamic priests, fomented the national movement of the Persian people for the adoption of constitutional forms of government, and for the inculcation of Western political, commercial, and ethical codes.'

When Russia demanded Mr. Shuster's expulsion from Persia, the women of Persia sent a deputation of 300 women to the National Assembly.

'These cloistered Persian mothers, wives and daughters, we are told, actually showed their revolvers threateningly, tore aside their veils, and confessed their decision to kill their own husbands and sons, and add their own dead bodies to the sacrifice, if the deputies should waver in their duty to uphold the liberty and dignity of the Persian people and nation.'

Indians in South Africa.

In May last in the South African Union Assembly Mr. Smuts moved the second reading of the Immigration Bill. He said it embodied the understanding reached with the Imperial Government in 1910 with regard to Asiatics. The difficulty the administration was confronted with was considerable. After much consideration Government had decided to adopt the suggestions of the Colonial Office which the Government of India supported to apply the Australian education test which could be applied so as to encourage whites and exclude Asiatics. They intended to carry out the arrangements reached with the Imperial Government to allow the entry of educated professional Asiatics in limited numbers while preventing the influx of Asiatics. The Imperial and Indian Governments had seen the Bill and were most anxious to see it passed. The Government also intended at the instance of the Imperial Government to introduce an amendment relating to Asiatics domiciled in South Africa.

But even this Bill, an apology for justice to Indian immigrants, has been withdrawn. Mr. Henry S. L. Polak of South Africa interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press of India expressed great disappointment at Reuter's message from South Africa announcing the prorogation of Parliament without passing the Immigration Bill. He said this was the second Bill that had been introduced to give legal effect to the last year's settlement and subsequently withdrawn. Mr. Polak had recently received a communication from Transvaal indicating that the Bill just withdrawn with the amendments promised by the Government satisfied the demands of the passive resisters and removed some of the important objections of the Indians in Natal and Cape Colony. He pointed out that the disappointing result was probably due to General Smut's difficulty in reconciling his obligations to the Indian community following the suggestions of Imperial Indian Governments with strong objections of the opposition principally in the Cape to the severity of the education test which might be used to exclude desirable European immigration. The incident, however, showed the strength of the position taken up by the Transvaal passive resisters as the Union Government had been bound to consult the Indian community before introducing a legislation

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affecting their interests. The resulting "impasse", he said, meant prolongation of the anxiety of the Indian population until the next year's session when the new Bill must be introduced, whilst an alternative legislation affecting the Transvaal only was possible next year. Mr. Polak thought this is unlikely as the Government thought it desirable to settle the immigration problem for the entire Union once for all. He pointed out that funds are now urgently needed and hoped that the Indian public would subscribe generously to enable the South African Indians to take the utmost advantage of delay both in South Africa and England, as the future of the Indian community largely depended upon carrying on an active campaign.

Nothing but perfect equality with white men as regards freedom of emigration can meet our needs and satisfy our self-respect. Any measure which falls short of this standard may be accepted for the present; but it must be considered to be of a temporary character.

Mr. T. Palit's Gift to the Calcutta University.

Mr. T. Palit's gift to the Calcutta University of more than seven lakhs of rupees, in cash and lands and buildings, for the founding of chairs in chemistry and physics and the building and equipment of chemical and physical laboratories, is the most munificent which it has yet received. Mr. Palit has earned the warmest thanks of his countrymen by this great benefaction, and by laying down the condition that the chairs founded by him are to be always filled by Indians. We have heard the news with mingled feelings. While we are glad that a considerable portion of Mr. Palit's wealth will be devoted to the spread of scientific education, we are sorry that the cause of national education, for which this donation had long been earmarked, loses the impetus which it would have received if it had been allowed to use this princely donation. Probably if the Bengal Technical Institute had been amalgamated with the proposed Government Technological Institute, Mr. Palit's donation would have gone to support this combined Institution. It would, however, be needless now to discuss this question of the amalgamation that was proposed.

We have reasons to think that the Calcutta University will in future receive a supplementary endowment from Mr. Palit worth at least 4 or 5 lakhs of rupees.

The University has from its reserve fund added Rupees two and a half lakhs to Mr. Palit's present endowment, thus raising it to nearly ten lakhs. We hope other wealthy men will give as largely for education as Mr. Palit has done.

We do hope now that B. Sc. (Honours) and M. Sc. students of Chemistry and Physics will not be deprived of the opportunity to go on with their studies, which in many instances has hitherto been the case, owing to the artificial numerical limits laid down by the Presidency College.

The Dacca University Commission.

Our opposition was to the establishment of a separate university itself at Dacca. But the Dacca University Commission has been appointed to settle the details, the question of the establishment of the University not being left open. The constitution of the Commission,—particularly as its most learned member, Dr. Seal has resigned his membership, is also not quite satisfactory. But these are points which it is now useless to raise.

The Commission is not taking evidence or calling for suggestions, which cannot be said to be an ideal procedure. It is said that the members will themselves frame a complete scheme and then submit it to public criticism. In that case we will do our part as best we can. For the present we refrain from both criticism and suggestion, as, among other reasons, the general sittings of the Commission will probably be over before the publication of this number. One comment alone we shall make. The Commission is said to have decided that day scholars will also be admitted. That is welcome news, if true. But, if so, how would the Dacca University with its four Colleges teaching both residential and day scholars, differ from the Calcutta University with its Colleges teaching both students residing in hostels and outside hostels? Only in this that the Colleges affiliated to the former would be situated only in Dacca, and the Colleges affiliated to the latter are

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situated mostly in and near Calcutta;—a very fundamental difference indeed!

Dacca University Finance.

The Government of India's letter to the Bengal Government on the Dacca University Commission says that "from the allotments made this year the Government of India have decided to make a recurring grant of Rs. 45,000 for the new University and a non-recurring grant of Rs. 10,00,000 for the initial expenses of the University and for a full residential scheme for the students and pupils of colleges and high schools in Dacca city." And a sort of official communique says that it is proposed to make Dacca as nearly an ideal university as possible. But for this purpose the proposed expenditure seems to us inadequate. Not to speak of other endowments, Mr. Palit's recent endowment to the Calcutta University with the addition thereto made by the University itself amounts to nearly 10 lakhs. But all these endowments have not made Calcutta an ideal university. Let us consider the financial condition of modern British Universities. Sir Edward T. Cook, journalist and author, writes:—

> Enormous sums of money have been forthcoming for University work. The bequest of Mr. Rhodes and the trust of Mr. Carnegie are only the largest of many private benefactions. Public-spirited citizens in the English towns named above have built great University halls, equipped laboratories, endowed professorships. Large subscriptions have been forthcoming for the general purposes of the new Universities. Some idea of the scale of local benefactions may be gathered from the fact that the value of site, building and endowments, at the time when they severally applied for University charters, was—Liverpool, £673,000 (Rs. 10,095,000), Manchester, £587,000 (Rs. 8,805,000) and Birmingham, £639,000 (Rs. 9,585,000). Birmingham, finding its endowments insufficient for its now more spacious schemes, secured from the City Council only the other day an annual grant of £15,000 (Rs. 225,000). Many of the London City Guilds have made good use of their wealth in subsidising or founding colleges and institutes, and in providing laboratories or other equipments both in the old Universities and in the new. Even the Central Government has done something, and the Treasury makes substantial grants to approved University colleges. The University idea appeals to the pocket alike of the State, of the municipalities, and of private citizens.

It will appear from the figures given above that some of the modern British universities, started with endowments worth from eight to ten times the non-recurring grant of the India Government to Dacca, and that Birmingham finding its endowment of nearly a crore of rupees (in addition to annual grants) insufficient got from the city council an annual grant of two lakhs and twentyfive thousand rupees, against the Government of India's Rs. 45,000 for Dacca, being one-fifth of the municipal grant alone of Birmingham. It should also be remembered that apparatus (to be brought out from Europe) and foreign professors would cost here much more than in England. So that Dacca will be far from an ideal university, unless more funds be available. Perhaps it will be long before it can rival much maligned Calcutta even.

"Calcutta's Record Muster."

In the Government of India's letter to the Bengal Government, an attempt has been made to show the unwieldy character of the Calcutta University by quoting the number of students of all foreign Universities which are smaller in this respect than Calcutta. In the Calcutta figures, besides the numbers of College students, and University examinees, even the numbers of high school students have been mentioned. But as regards the foreign Universities, all these three sets of figures have not been given, only the number of collegiate or University students being given. But this is not the only omission. The Paris and Berlin Universities are bigger than Calcutta having more students than the last. Why is there no mention of these Universities? Is it due to ignorance, or is it a deliberate omission?

The University Idea and the work of British Provincial Universities.

Sir Edward T. Cook says, "The University idea is no longer 'academical'; it is shared by the practical man." Will the truth of this observation be illustrated in the Dacca University scheme? Sir Edward further says:—

> What is the conviction of which such large provision of money is the expression? What is the actual work of the newer provincial Universities? What is the need which they supply? The work is multifarious and varies to some extent with the several local needs, but it may be divided roughly under the four heads. The Universities provide "superior instruction" on the spot to young persons destined for professional and commercial callings. They carry on a certain amount of general research; as, for instance, in the School

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Tropical Medicine. They also organise special research and teaching with reference to local industries or conditions; as, for instance, in the Faculty of Commerce at Birmingham, and the Schools of Textile Industries at Leeds. And, further, they have organised superior instruction in a direction wherein, according to Lord Haldane's testimony at Leeds the other day "we are ahead of the rest of the world" namely the way in which "we have brought the influence of University life to bear upon the best brains in our artisan class through a system of evening instruction."

Behind all this various activity two convictions may be discerned. The nineteenth century was an age in which the energy and prosperity of this country were very conspicuous but as the century advanced, it was more and more perceived that the organised efforts of other great countries were going to press us hard. The task of the twentieth century would be as Lord Curzon once put it, to retain in an era of competition advantages which we had won in an era of monopoly. And as this fact became more and more apparent, the conviction grew that the way of salvation was to be found in the better organisation of intelligence. The words of the wise man have been taken to heart: "If the iron be blunt, and a man do not whet the edge, then must he put forth more strength; but wisdom is profitable to direct." It is from these convictions that the University idea has grown, and civic patriotism—as in the case of Wales, national patriotism—has done the rest. The activities of a University have, as Professor Raleigh says, come to be recognised as "essential to a full-grown municipal civilisation," and from each place in turn the cry has gone up for a University for the city, of the city, in the city.

Will Dacca have all these four features of modern British Universities? Or will it simply be a sort of mediaeval place of learning with the political control of its students thrown in? What industrial, agricultural, technical, or other features will it have, to make it "a University for the city, of the city, in the city"?

A Forthcoming History.

We have stopped printing Prof. Judunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib* serially in our pages, as it is going to be published in book-form soon. Two volumes, each containing about four hundred pages, crown 8vo., will be placed before the public at the close of this month. The first, containing chapters I to XIV., deals with the career of Aurangzib during his father's reign and is practically a history of India for half the period of Shah Jahan's sovereignty. The second volume, in twelve more chapters, is mainly concerned with the great war of Mughal Succession and the tragic close of the lives of Aurangzib's rival brothers, and carries the narrative down to the time when that Emperor had made himself undisputed sovereign of India and organised a new Government.

A New Public Service Commission.

The Times states that Government has decided to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire with regard to the public services in India generally. We shall be glad if this new Commission does not further narrow the sphere of the higher appointments open to Indians, and saddle the country with higher salaries to be paid to European officials. But if anybody asks what we wish this Commission to do, we will say, "Let ability, merit, to be tested by means equally applicable to all candidates for office, be the sole qualification, not race or creed; let the line of demarcation between the provincial and imperial services, drawn along racial lines, be wiped out once for all; and let all government servants, whether Indian or European, doing the same work, be paid the same salaries." Let the value attach to the man's work, not to the colour of his skin.

Indian Technological Students in England.

Lord Crewe has appointed a committee to enquire into the facilities available to Indian Students for industrial and technological training in Great Britain with special reference to the system in connection with the State Technical Scholarships, established in 1904. The Committee is composed of Sir Theodore Morison, Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, Mr. Reynolds, late Principal of the Manchester Municipal School of Technology and Professor Dalby, of the Imperial Science College, South Kensington. It is understood that the Committee will visit University centres in the United Kingdom and hear evidence of Professors and others on whose co-operation the success of the system depends. There are now 27 State scholars undergoing instruction in Great Britain, in America and on the Continent. Though it is believed that the system rests on a sound basis it is held that it may be capable of improvement. It is recognised that if the full benefit, that may be derived by scholars and Indian industries, is to be obtained, there

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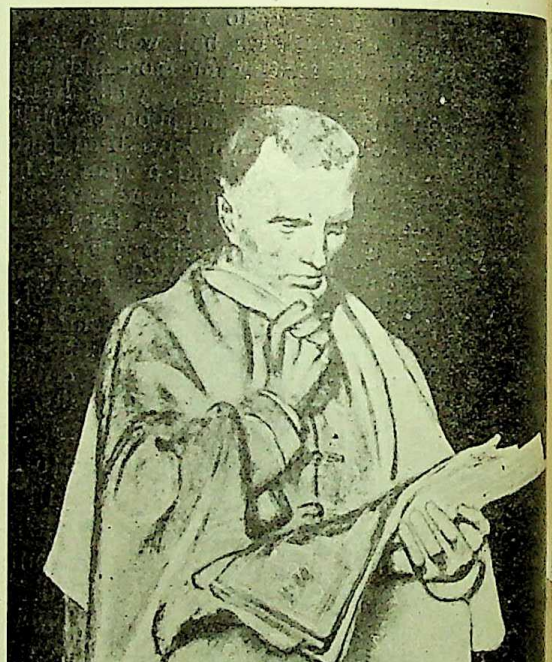
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must be a somewhat wider and more systematic survey, than hitherto, of the existing facilities in Great Britain.

English manufacturers and others do not afford to Indian students full facilities for obtaining technological training. That is due to trade jealousy. But if Indians receive such training in America, Germany, France or Japan, they are likely to purchase machinery (and skilled labor, too, when necessary), from these countries, not from Great Britain. That is a selfish consideration which ought to move Britishers to be more generous to Indian students. Moreover, politically speaking, it must be felt by all Britishers that it is undesirable that any very large number of Indian young men should breathe the political atmosphere of the contiment or of Japan or America. So it would be better for Great Britain if the stream of students were to flow towards that island instead of to America or Japan. The Government here vetoes the grant of scholarship or passage to students by the Scientific and Industrial Education Association, under certain circumstances, and has also made it impracticable for poor students to avail themselves of the help of that Association by laying down the condition that every one of its scholars going abroad must show cash in his hands amounting to Rs. 1200, in addition to passage money and outfit. But still many students go abroad. It would be advantageous to Great Britain if their goal were that country, not any other. The advantage to the students themselves is obvious.

Alexander Csoma de Koros.

Alexander Csoma de Koros, a native of Hungary, born in the year 1784, that of the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones, early became imbued with a passion for Oriental studies, dreaming that, in the East, he would be able to trace the ancestry of the Magyars and to the end, he cherished the idea that, somewhere North of Lhasa, he would find the ancestral home of the Huns. He belonged to a noble family which had sunk into poverty. In 1820, having received from a friend the promise of an annuity of 100 florins (about Rs. 150) to support him during his travels, he set out for the East. He visited Egypt on the way. He arrived in Tibet in 1822 when he was 38 years of age, having made his way on foot from Hungary. He remained in the country or in its vicinity for 9 years. Eventually he achieved his long-cherished desire of visiting Calcutta. While in Calcutta he placed at the disposal of Government all the literary treasures he had accumulated on his travels. For four years, 1831—35, he lived in the Asiatic Society's rooms and was engaged in making a catalogue raisonee of Brian Hodgson's collection of Tibetan works. In 1834, his Tibetan dictionary and grammar appeared, the expenses being defrayed by Government. From 1835—37,



Alexandra Csoma de Coros.

travelled in Eastern Bengal and Sikkim perfecting his knowledge of Sanskrit and learning Bengali. In 1837, he returned to Calcutta and for the next five years he resided in the Society's house in the capacity of Librarian catalogueing the works which he had himself presented. During this period he contributed many articles to the Journal of the Society on the Geography, History and Literature of Tibet. In April 1842,

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died at Darjeeling on his way to Lhasa, at the age of 58.

His habits were Spartan in their simplicity. He never used stimulants or tobacco. His food was tea with a little boiled rice. He possessed but one suit of clothes. His life and all his available funds were devoted to the objects for which the Asiatic Society stands—the furtherance of Oriental learning in all its branches.

His great Tibetan-Sanskrit-English Dictionary is now appearing in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society and a commemorative reprint of his articles in the Journal will be shortly published. His tomb at Darjeeling has been repaired and restored. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences still further to perpetuate his memory have recently presented the Society with a beautiful bust which is a representation of a great scholar and a magnificient work of art, well worthy to rank with the numerous treasures with the Society possesses. We present our readers with a photograph of this bust.

"Siva and Parvati."

This picture, which we are able to reproduce by the courtesy of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, is attributed to Molārām of Garhwāl (d. 1833). It is thus described by Dr. Coomaraswamy :—

A moonlit night in the hills, Siva watching over Pārvati sleeping. Siva's trisūl (trident), drum, gourd and banner on the right, the bull Nandi on the left; a lotus lake and low-wooded hills in the distance. The clear night effect is very well suggested; the figure of the great god is drawn with much tenderness. The trees are somewhat artificial, the figure of Pārvati a little stiff, the fingers unnaturally pointed; these may be regarded as late features in a work otherwise well designed, and fascinating by its romantic, but not sentimental tenderness.

Dr. Miss Jamini Sen.

We are glad to learn from a Reuter's telegram that Dr. Miss Jamini Sen, after passing an examination of the Glasgow University, has become a Fellow of the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of that University. She is the first lady to obtain this distinction. Miss Sen is a licentiate of the Calcutta Medical College. She is a daughter of the late Babu Chandi Charan Sen, the Bengali novelist, a sister of Mrs. Kamini Ray, the Bengali poetess and an elder sister of Mr. Nisith Sen, advocate of



Dr. Miss Jamini Sen.

the Calcutta High Court. After graduating from the Calcutta Medical College she served with great distinction in Nepal, winning the respect of all by her character and her medical skill.

Statue of Begum Sumroo.

The statue of Begum Sumroo reproduced elsewhere is to be found at Sardhana near Meerut. It is chiselled out of Carrara marble by Italian sculptors. The Begum holds in her right band the *Sanad* granted to her by Emperor Shah Alum. To the right stands her grandson and heir Mr. Dice Sombre, to the left her Dewan Ray Singh. There are besides six symbolic

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figures. There are also three panels representing scenes from the Begum's life.

Bethune College.

Bengali girl students have again given another proof of woman's perversity. In spite of the fact that at a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council Mr. Kuchler, the Director of Public Instruction, authoritatively said that women could not possibly understand Mathematics, and that if any girl evinced any liking for that subject, it was only a proof of woman's perverse preference for a forbidden thing, several girl students have this year passed the Intermediate Examination of the Calcutta University with Mathematics as one of their subjects. Some of them have done so by studying the subject at home, as there is no professor of Mathematics in Bethune College. Some wish to take up this subject for their B. A. degree examination, too, but the difficulty is as to how they are to receive instruction in it. Every father of a mathematically inclined girl is not rich enough to engage a professor of Mathematics as a private tutor for his daughter. Two girl students have passed the I. Sc. Examination also, but not from Bethune College.

Some girls have passed the Matriculation Examination, obtaining high marks in Mathematics; one is reported to have received the maximum. Still Bethune College must remain without a professor of Mathematics. The College used to have such a professor in former years. Evidently we are making progress backwards.

Students as Shuttle-cocks.

It is a well-known fact that for some years past many students seeking admission in Colleges, even many of those who have passed in the first division, are driven from post to pillar and are refused admission by Principals of Colleges on the ground of absence of sufficient accommodation. The consequence is that many students, particularly B. Sc. Honours and M. Sc. students, are deprived of the opportunity of receiving further education. Commenting on this state of things, the *Tribune* of Lahore observes :—

> The rules relating to the affiliation of Colleges to the University are inexorable and they limit the number of students that a College can admit. Under these very rules it is [practically] impossible to start a new College. How then is this congestion to be met? Apparently the authorities of the Educational Department do not think they are called upon to suggest a remedy. And the Syndicate of the University is also under an impression that it is no business of the University to suggest one! What are the parents and boys to do? Verily in the name of educational efficiency atrocities are being perpetrated in this country. The congestion we refer to is by no means confined to Calcutta. It is being felt more or less severely in Lahore and Allahabad. In these latter places it will begin to be felt very badly in a couple of years. If Government cannot provide more Colleges, it is only reasonable that it should allow private enterprise to come forward and help in the matter. But the whole trend of the educational policy in this country, both University and Departmental, has been during the past decade to discourage, if not throttle, private enterprise. We do not know if our rulers are aware that their educational policy is a potent means of increasing and accentuating discontent in the country. We have heard Secretaries of States and Viceroys dilating on the necessity of a policy of conciliation being adopted towards the people, but any work that they do in this direction is undone by the repressive and mischievous educational policy followed in all the Provinces. The Senates of the Universities which are now officialised and the Departments of Public Instruction are under the control of Government and the latter cannot in our opinion divest itself of responsibility for what they have done, if not peremptorily checked

The Lascars.

Judgment in the Board of Trade enquiry into the loss of the "Oceana" has been rendered. "The Court is satisfied that the Lascars behaved quite well and that they were efficient and disciplined."

In a letter to the *Empire*, Mr. K. Chowdry, Founder and Assistant Secretary of the Lascars' Institute in Royal Albert Docks, London, writes from 7, Swallow Lane, London, much about the lascars that is not generally known in India, but which it is very important to know. He says :—

> "In connection with the "Oceana" disaster the conduct has been somewhat harshly criticised and even condemned by some passengers who found them in a state of nervous excitement; but I would ask them as well as the readers of the article to refer to the "Shipping Gazette" February 23rd, 1912, giving an account of the narrow escape of the turret steamer "Dumconda" carrying a crew of Indian lascars. The steamer sailed from Blyth with a cargo of coal for South America, and when the vessel reached the Straits of Magellan, things were so bad that the captain decided to throw overboard some of the coal, but in spite of all difficulties, he held on with his brave officers and crew, struggling with explosion flames and gas fumes till his ship got to Calao. Mr. Chadwick in presenting a purse of £200 on behalf of the underwriters said : "It is a fine example of sustained pluck, but it is special

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significant when it is known that the crew was composed of Lascars. These Lascars did their duty like men and in so doing vindicated themselves in the eyes of the world." The Gazette commenting on this, said, "We hear a good deal nowadays of the inferiority and frequent cowardice of Lascar crews in time of danger but the behaviour of these men could not have been surpassed by those of any other nationality." "

"I am of opinion that given better opportunities and after proper training they before long will pass the test for the Royal Navy. As a matter of fact they are working with the Royal Indian Marine. The P. and O., the British Indian, the Anchor, the Ellerman, the Bibby, the Clan, prefer Lascars and even foreign lines as the Rubattino, the Hansa and Australian Lloyd, employ a number of them. The number of Lascars according to Blue Book is just over 100,000 and I should think half the number is employed on vessels passing the home ports."

"I imagine that India would lose something like £125,000 or nearly 19 lakhs a month if the company yielded to the brutal demands of the white seamen. The Indian people took very little interest when the employment of Lascars was banned on vessels trading with Australia and New Zealand and if they preserve the same indifference bread will be taken away from the mouths of 50 thousand Indian sailors who not only benefit themselves and the country by the amount of wages they earn, but by the knowledge and experience they gain by foreign travels. I would sooner have a well-travelled Lascar as my companion to a stay-at-home graduate of our Indian Universities."

"In giving evidence before the London Committee on Distressed Colonial and Indian subjects under the Chairmanship of Sir Owen Phillips, M. P., I pointed out that not unfrequently the licensed brokers in Calcutta and Bombay put on board incompetent coolies as Lascars with the result that they had an awful time on board and deserted on the first home port they put their feet on. There was a heated debate on the question of these licensed brokers at Caxton Hall, London, when Capt. Walsh read a paper on Lascars and the consensus of opinion was that the licensed brokers should be abolished and responsible Government officials should be appointed to recruit Lascars instead of leaving them to the hands of people whose only objects are to get as much out of the business as they can.

"The whole thing deserves a careful investigation and I am prepared to place some very unpleasant facts which will open the eyes of the authorities to the grossest abuse the system of recruiting through brokers is open to. I am told and I have reason to believe that a small clique of people are making something like a lakh of rupees a month out of the employmeat of 50,000 Lascars who earn the money deservedly but get a lakh of rupees less than what is due. I would also suggest that the system of gradation be introduced among them to encourage competence as there is among European sailors and that there be placed no colour bar to any hnmble heights they can reach by industry, sobriety and right obedience. I should also like to see navigation schools started in the four great ports of India to train them and make them proper mariners instead of ship coolies as most of them are in the present time. We talk so glibly of autonomy and self-government but who will protect our shores from foreign Dreadnoughts but the British Blue Jackets in time of danger? In these Lascars we have, however, the germs of a future Indian Navy flying British colours as do the Australasian men of war."

Mr. Chowdry's suggestion about the starting of navigation schools is very important.

A Woman's Heroism.

The Manikganj correspondent of the *Bengalee* narrates the story of the heroism of a young woman named Jamini of the Namasudra caste of village Bagherchar. Her husband having absconded for some reason or other, she was alone in her house with her two year old child. At dead of night a brute of a man knocked at her door. She asked who gave the knock. No reply was received. She at once understood what that silence meant. She was not frightened, however. The brute at last broke open the door and attempted to assault her. But she dealt him such a heavy blow on the arm, with a "dāo," that the man beat a hasty retreat. He died eight days after in the village of Sabhar. The police found out that the wound of which he had died was inflicted by Jamini. So they sent her up for trial, with a request, however, that she should be released on bail, which was done. She has now been discharged.

Jamini, the Namasudra woman, risked her life to save her honour; the chastest Brahman woman could not have done more. All honour to *Sati* Jamini.

Unto those that have more shall be added.

We learn from the *Tribune* that the question of the improvement of the pay and prospects of the members of the Indian Educational Service has been under the consideration of the Government of India now for sometime and that a despatch will shortly be sent to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India embodying the recommendations of the Government of India. It is stated that about three years ago "the Secretary of State asked the Government of India to consider on suggested lines the improvement of the Indian Educational Service. Local Governments were consulted and they in turn asked selected educational officers for opinions. The replies of these local Administrations have been received, and in the near future the proposals of the

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Government of India will be sent Home." This means that the Government of India has decided to raise the pay and prospects of the Indian Educational Service which consists exclusively of Europeans recruited in England. It appears that the present opportunity when funds are available in plenty and large grants have been made to education is being taken to add to the attraction of the Indian Educational Service. Money is wanted to improve the pay and prospects of teachers in elementary schools and to improve the pay and prospects of those who are serving in the Subordinate Gazetted and the Provincial Services. The members of these services are very poorly paid and compared with them the members of the Indian Educational Service draw princely salaries. Of course members of the Indian Educational Service when consulted by Government *will* say that their salaries are inadequate and that their prospects require to be improved. But it is for Government to decide whose claims are more pressing.

While fully endorsing these observations of our contemporary we wish to point out that Japan gets more competent professors, often for smaller salaries than are paid to our European professors. In "The Educational System of Japan" by Mr. W. H. Sharp, M.A., the present Joint Secretary to the Education Department, published by the Government, we find that "At Tokyo..... the average pay of a fereign professor is £684," that is to say, Rs. 10,260 per annum (p. 174.) In India the European professors' and teachers' posts are quite secure, and they enjoy handsome pensions on retirement. In Japan, on the other hand, Mr. Sharp says (pp. 370-80), "the modern foreign employe not unfrequently complains that, after he has given the best years of his life to Japan, he is summarily dismissed." Not only this; the Japanese do not allow their foregin teachers to have even their due meed of fame: "the Japanese do not advertise the work of their foregin employes, and prefer to enter the names of the figure-heads on the records." In India it is often the other way about;—the Indian works and the European figure-head gets both the fame and the fat salary.

We think if a proper method of recruitment were adopted, a much better class of European professors could be had on the salaries at present given. And competent Indian graduates of foreign universities would be only too glad to serve on these salaries. The remedy, therefore, lies in throwing the Indian Educational Service open to competition, European, American and Indian graduates being all allowed to compete on equal terms. That would give us the best men, without additional cost to the Indian tax-payer.

When people have got more than they are justly entitled to, they clamour for still more, not only that they may get more, but in order that, in any case, they may be able to keep what they have already got. That is the spirit in which the *Pioneer* writes:—

"One suggestion more. There is an imperative need for the employment of more Europeans as inspectors, as teachers in secondary schools and as professors of colleges. The Government of India are watching, doubtless, with considerable anxiety how the secondary schools and colleges have drifted slowly out of the hands of Englishmen into the control of those who are not yet fitted by training or tradition to conduct an essentially European or Western system of education."

If the object be to exploit the revenues of India as much as possible, and also to supplement the work of the police, the *Pioneer's* suggestion must be pronounced quite excellent. But so far as the demands of efficient teaching, economy and justice are concerned, the suggestion can be characterised as simply preposterous. To the extent that education is a science or an art based on science, it is neither of the East nor of the West, and can, therefore, be learnt by all alike. And we are quite able to master it, and a sufficient number has mastered it. And even if it be of the West, what stands in the way of our men mastering it, men who have rivalled and sometimes beaten Westerners in a knowledge of Western literature, science, philosophy, mathematics, &c.? *The Pioneer* simply begs the question.

The Mysore Economic Conference.

The Mysore Economic Conference has been doing good work. This year it has given prominence to elementary education and has recommended the starting of one thousand schools at a cost of seven lakhs of rupees in the next five years and two lakhs and a quarter after that period. Some of their more important resolutions are that a central State-aided Bank, to be known

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as the Bank of Mysore, be established; that steps be taken to revive the hand-made paper industry of the Province; that the Industries Committee be asked to conduct a preliminary investigation with a view to establishing in the Mysore State a Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works for the manufacture of acids, tinctures, extracts, etc. on modern lines; that additional taxes be levied in a manner that appears most suitable to Government solely for the expansion of primary and industrial education; that the economic condition of about ten typical villages in each district be investigated by an Agricultural Committee to ascertain the indebtedness of the ryot.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Indian Shipping: A history of the sea-borne trade and maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times: by Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co., London and Bombay, 1912.

This book, of 256 quarto pages, has amply fulfilled the expectations of the public who were looking out for its publication with considerable curiosity. It has enhanced the reputation of the Bengalis for sound scholarship, and has given the entire nation something to be proud of—an authentic account of the high position which India has held throughout the centuries as Queen of the Eastern Seas. Literature—Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, Tamil, Bengali, Greek and Roman,—epigraphy, numismatics, architecture, have all been made to yield their secrets and the result leaves nothing to be desired. There is a list of authorities consulted extending over 8 pages, a subjects-index, and an index of proper names. The book contains several excellent illustrations, and the get up makes it a delight to handle the book.

The passages which one is tempted to glean are almost innumerable. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the introduction, the conclusion, and the chapter on Bengali maritime activity.

"We shall have ample evidence to show that for full thirty centuries India stood out as the very heart of the Old World, and maintained her position as one of the foremost maritime countries. She had colonies in Pegu, in Cambodia, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo, and even in the countries of the farther east as far as Japan. She had trading settlements in Southern China, in the Malayan Peninsula, in Arabia, and in the Chief Cities of Persia and all over the east coast of Africa. She cultivated trade relations not only with the countries of Asia but also with the whole of the then known world, including the countries under the dominion of the Roman Empire, and both the East and the West became the theatre of Indian commercial activity and gave scope to her naval energy and throbbing international life.....The early growth of her shipping and shipbuilding, coupled with the genius and energy of her merchants, the skill and daring of her seamen, the enterprise of her colonists, and the zeal of her missionaries, secured to India the command of the sea for ages, and helped her to attain and long maintain her proud position as the mistress of the Eastern seas."

"The testimony that history bears to the military, religious and maritime enterprise and achievements of the ancient Buddhistic Bengalis in the earlier centuries of the Christian era now scarcely wins belief and acceptance. Yet it is an incontrovertible fact that Bengal of old gave birth to men who marched armies beyond the frontiers of modern India and ruled for a time as the paramount power in the land; who braved the perils of the deep in armed galleys, and carried home foreign itinerants in their ships. It is also equally noteworthy that from very early times she has been the home of many a religious movement whose influence penetrated to lands far beyond her limits. It is hardly sufficiently known that during the first few centuries of the Christian era an enthusiastic band of devoted Bengalis, burning with a proselytising zeal, went as far as China, Corea, and Japan, carrying with them the torch of the Buddhistic faith, while her Buddhistic scholars and reformers, like Atisha, Dipankara, and Silabhadra achieved an Asiatic fame, and were known throughout the wider Buddhistic world. It is also a recent discovery that some of the scriptures of the Japanese priests preserved in the Horiuzi temple of Japan are written in Bengali characters of the 11th century, thus testifying to the extraordinary vitality of Bengali religious activity that made itself felt even in the Land of the Rising Sun. Artists and art-critics also see in the magnificent sculptures of the Borobudur temple in Java the hand of Bengali artists who worked side by side with the people of Kalinga and Gujarat in thus building up its early civilisation. And the numerous representations of the ships which we find in the vast panorama of the bas-reliefs of that colossal temple reveal the type of ships which the people of lower Bengal built and used in sailing to Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, China and Japan, in pursuit of their colonising ambition, commercial interests, and artistic and religious missions. The *Mahawansa* and other Buddhistic works tell us how as early as about 550 B. C. Prince Vijaya of Bengal with his 700 followers achieved the conquest and colonisation of Ceylon, and gave to the island the name Sinhala after that of his dynasty—an event which is the starting-point of Sinhalese history. It is also said that in a still earlier period the Bengalis of Champa, near Bhagalpur, founded a settlement

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in Cochin China, and named it after their famous native town. No less creditable also were the artistic achievements of Bengal; besides, as we have seen, influencing the art of Borobudur, Bengali art has influenced that of Nepal through the schools of painting, sculpture and works in cast metal founded about the middle of the 9th century by Dhiman and his son Bitpal, inhabitants of Barendra, and from Nepal the art of the Bengali masters spread to China and other parts of the Buddhistic world.

"This tradition of Bengalis being once famous for their maritime enterprises and commercial activities has also been, as may naturally be expected, well preserved in their literature. No folklore is so popular in Bengal as those volumes of poetry evoked by devotion to the goddesses Chandi and Manasa, and in them are contained accounts of the maritime adventures of merchants like Dhanapati, Srimanta, and Chand Saodagar...." From the Chandi of Kavikankan we find that the sailors were East Bengal men, and the ships bore poetic names, *e.g.*, sea-foam, 'swan-song' &c.

The ancient Hindu ships carried lifeboats and mariners' compasses and five hundred to eight hundred passengers. There were light-houses in the time of the Chola Kings. The Italian traveller Nicolo Conti (15th century) says that the natives of India built ships larger than could be found in his country, and 'some ships are so built in compartments that should one part be shattered, the other portion remaining entire may accomplish the voyage'. Of some Indian merchants of Southern India he says that 'some will carry on their business in forty of their own ships, each of which is valued at 15,000 gold pieces'. Pearl fishery was one of the important national industries of the Tamils. In A. D. 1510 Albuquerque found a strong Hindu element in Java and Malacca, and Sumatra ruled by a Hindu, named Parameswara. During this period a ship built in the dockyard at Agashi on the western coast performed several voyages to Portugal. The Indian ships met with about the same time by Captain Saris in the Red Sea were 1200 tons in burthen, whereas the English ships of that age were 300 to 350 tons at most. The celebrated Nowwara fleet of Akbar and his successors had its headquarters at Dacca. Kedar Roy and Protapaditya in Bengal, and the Angrias on the Malabar coast, were the greatest sea-captains of the age. The Bombay Marine (1736—1837) was entirely in charge of Parsee master-builders, and so great was their fame that they built ships of the line for the Royal Navy of Great Britain. The teak wood ships of Bombay lasted fifty years and upwards, whereas the oaken walls of Great Britain had to be renewed every twelve years, and their cost was also four times as great. Many of our old wooden ships have passed at second and third hand into the coasting trade of north-western Europe, and are still to be met with in Norway, Scotland and Holland. The Calcutta Marine (1780—1863) built as many as 376 ships. Lord Wellesley wrote in 1800 of 'the state of perfection which the art of shipbuilding has already attained in Bengal'. M. Solvyns wrote thus in 1811:—"In acient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe—so much so that the English, attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with succe to their own shipping.....The Indian vessels un elegance and utility, and are models of patience a fine workmanship."

Let us now listen to the lament of the patriotic auth for this once flourishing, but now lost and all but for gotten trade:

"India now is without this most important organ national life. There can hardly be conceived a mor serious obstacle in the path of her industrial develop ment than this almost complete extinction of h shipping and ship-building. And yet India certain is one of the countries which can ill spare a nationa indigenous shipping. The sea-borne trade of Ind is continually expanding, with the result of increasin our dependence on foreign shipping, and for this w have, on a rough estimate, to pay a price of about crores of rupees a year. We have trade relation with every quarter of the globe.....The total value this trade is about 344·2 crores.....and the entire tra lies at the mercy of foreign shippers, who are liberty to impose on us whatever freights they wish charge for the use of their ships. Even in the matte of our coastal or inter-portal trade, which is also ex panding, aggregating in value about 46·37 crores rupees, a policy of free trade is pursued, throwing open to the shipping of all the world, instead reserving it, as almost all other countries do, for th national shipping, so that about 85 per cent. is appro priated by foreign shipping, leaving only one-seven to the native. Similarly our entire passenger traffic in the hands of foreign shippers: our Mahomeda pilgrims to Mecca and other places; our emigrant and immigrants, numbering on an average 25,000 p year; our passengers that voyage within Indian limit numbering over 15 lacs every year; and lastly, th outgoing and relieving British soldiers of the India Army, numbering more than 25,000 every year, tha transport costing annually about 55½ lacs of rupees— all these have to voyage in foreign ships, while even the matter of the conveyance of mails there is n Indian steamship company that can take up the wor and appropriate the yearly postal subsidy of 7·8 la of rupees that now goes to a foreign company. T extent of our dependence will be evident from the fa that in the oceanic trade, of which the total tonna is 11,800,000 tons, our indigenous shipping represe only 95,000 tons, or only about ·8 per cent.; while the aggregate tonnage of 29·61 million tons in t inter-portal trade, only 3·24 million tons is our o and over 89 per cent. foreign. Our national shipp at the present day means only 130 vessels under tons each, used in the oceanic trade, and 7,280 in t interportal trade of the country of under 20 tons ea making up in all the insignificant number of 7 vessels, large and small, for a country, or rather a co tinent, whose seaboard extends over a length of 4,0 miles and upwards. Our shipbuilding now is so co tracted as to give employment to only 14,321 m who build only about 125 galbats a year in shipyar of which the number is now reduced to only 48, w the aggregate capital yearly invested in shipbuild may be estimated at between five and six lacs rupees."

We shall now make a few extracts from certa books which do not find a place in the Bibliograp and were not probably consulted by the author.

The cause of the decline of the Indian shipp

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industry will appear from the following. "The arrival in the port of London of Indian produce in Indian-built ships created a sensation among the monopolists which could not have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames. The shipbuilders of the port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm, they declared that their business was on the point of ruin, and that the families of all the shipwrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation." Taylor's *History of India*, page 216 (quoted in Digby's *Prosperous' British India.*)

We have referred above to the colonising activity of the Bengalis, and to the accounts of sea-voyages contained in Bengali literature so late as the 16th century. The following extract will not be out of place in this connection: "On the whole Bruton's (William Bruton, 1632) memories of Bengal were pleasant. His final reflection on the people is that they are 'notable ingenious men, *let it be in what art or science soever*, and will imitate any workmanship that shall be brought before them.' In the seventeenth century, as now, the Bengalis had more than their fair share of cleverness."—*European Travellers in India*, by E. F. Oaten, London, 1909.

Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* has been referred to at page 91 of the book, in connection with the trade of India with Egypt. The subject will be found discussed in Chapter III, Vol. I, of his book which was published in three volumes in 1837. In Vol. III, Chapter IX, occurs the following: "Among the many bottles found in tombs of Thebes, none have excited greater curiosity and surprise than those of Chinese manufacture, presenting inscriptions in that language ... they were probably brought to Egypt through *India, with which country I believe the Egyptians to have traded at a very remote period...*" Again, in a footnote at page 189 of the same volume, we find: "Among the numerous products of India met with in Egypt which tend to prove an intercourse with that country, may be mentioned the pineaple, models of which are found in the tombs, of glaze pottery."

Malabar has been mentioned at page 188 of the book under review. Pietro della Valle (17th century) mentions the danger from attack by the Malabar pirates which made it too risky to go by sea. John Nienhoff, the Dutch traveller who visited India in the same century says: 'All the Malabars are either merchants or pirates.' "The audacity and strength of these scourges of the Indian trade, of whom we hear continually in the pages of almost all our travellers, is exemplified by the fact of their coming so far north (Goa)."—*European Travellers in India*, page 134.

"The Indians of Bengal formerly carried on a considerable trade by sea, and had some sort of maritime power, as we read in many parts of Purchas's collection; particularly in the year 1607, an account is given of a fleet from the King of Bengal having invaded the Maladive islands. It is most probable that this fleet was composed only of *coasting boats, such as are still built in some parts of the Bay*....However, the late Angria, at Gheria on the coast of Malabar, gave many signal proofs of what might be done, even by an Indian navy, in Indian seas, under the direction of only one able man."—*Considerations on Indian Affairs*, by William Bolts, Chap. II, page 21, footnote. London, 1772.

The following are from Walter Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, London, 2nd Edition, 1828, compiled from the published and manuscript records of the India office:

Satgaon: (about 4 miles to the N. W. of the town of Hoogli, situated on a small creek of the river Ganges): "In 1566, and probably later, this was a large trading city, in which European merchants had factories for procuring the productions of Bengal; and at that date the Satgaon river was capable of floating small vessels." Vol. II, p. 17.

Sylhet: "Formerly large boats were built here for the Mogul fleet at Dacca, aud square-rigged vessels have since been occasionally constructed of timber, the growth of the country". Vol. II, p. 553.

Islamabad (Chittagong): "...extremely well-suited for external commerce, as well as for the construction of *ships of large dimensions*, and of these a considerable number are built annually, both of imported timber and of that indigenous to the country." Vol. I, p. 404.

Dacca: "*Shipbuilding has long been the most profitable occupation here*, the teak forests being at no great distance. The builder in 1818 was a Hindu, who constructed all his ships on one model, which was too short for the breadth, thereby rendering them uneasy in a hard sea. On the other hand it is admitted that they wear well, stow well, and before the wind sail most furiously." Vol. I, p. 480.

Even at the present day, when the glory of this Eastern capital has vanished, it continues to be a most important centre of the boat-building trade, and large houseboats, budgerows and pinnaces built at Dacca ply on the waters of the network of broad rivers which intersect East Bengal. The description 'Mehal Newwara' still occurs in title deeds and are to be met with in the law-courts, and the surname 'Mirbahar' (Mir-el-Emir=Admiral; Bahar=fleet) has ousted many a family name among highcaste Hindus of East Bengal whose forefathers once held responsible posts in the Mogul navy.

In Foreign Lands: by J. Nelson Fraser M. A. (Indian Education Service). London, John Ouseley, Ltd.

This is a bigsized volume of 424 pages in which the author gives an account of his travels in India, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the Fiji islands. Portions of the book were, we believe, printed in the *Modern Review* in serial form, but there is no acknowledgment of the fact. Mr. Fraser has visited many unfrequented and littleknown parts of the world and throws much new light on them, though many of his pages form but dull reading, owing to the fact that his observations are mostly confined to byways and unbeaten tracks which possess but little interest for the general reader. The style is terse, crisp and vigorous. Altogether the book forms a valuable addition to the travellers' library.

The author is a cynic, and a sneering, patronising, contemptuous vein underlies much of his description of men and manners, specially of the nonwhite races. He has imbibed the Anglo-Indian spirit to perfection, and would have made a *pucca* civilian. He has a morbid dread of sentimentalism, like that of the Sister N—(p. 75). He poses as a Rationalist, and advises us to follow facts (p. 146); in reality, however, he is penetrated through and through with the prejudices and preconceptions of the West. The doctrine of survival

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of the fittest, in the Darwinian and not the moral sense, holds him in its grip. A benevolent explorer who has not murdered a single native of Africa and treated them humanely, does not, in his opinion, show 'altogether to advantage' (p. 251). He thinks that sympathy with those who are vanquished in war misleads us, for failure in such cases means allround national degeneracy (p. 66). His philosophy is summed up in the phrase—*laissez faire*. Civilisation has added enormously to the complexities of life, and it spoils the dark races. Let the white races remain what they are, and let not the coloured races imitate them, lest they lose their primitive virtues—this is all that he has to give as the ripe fruit of his experience. A cultured product of the higher civilisation, *blasé* and disillusioned, who knows both sides of a question too well to cry for reform (p. 24) and sick of 'the hateful trade of politics' (p. 100)—such is the impression of himself which Mr. Fraser would like to produce in the minds of his readers, but the favourite role of the modern Hamlet has been played too often to deceive anybody, and in unguarded moments Mr. Fraser shows, to his credit fortunately, that in spite of his apparent unconcern he has a throbbing, palpitating heart which can be moved to sympathy, sorrow and indignation and is capable of taking a lively interest in all things terrestrial and human.

Diving into the contents of the book, we find Mr. Fraser makes the sweeping remark that the 'sexual license of the African is astounding and apalling' (p. 187). But Sir Harry Johnston, in his book, *The Negro in the New World*, expresses a precisely contrary opinion regarding the African Negro (see pages 279 and 462), and undoubtedly he is a greater authority than Mr. Fraser. The author fears that the European settler may teach the African savage, who is fearless in mien and thought, the slavish temper. According to him, there is no resemblance between the African and the Indian ways of looking at things; if any similarity could be found, it would be among the non-Hindu Santals of Bengal. 'The Ethiopian who accepted Islam had a fair chance in the world. No colour prejudice, no caste distinction, barred his path. He might rise to any position to which his talents carried him. At Sydney, there is a Swedish lady, Sister Avobamia, who is a follower of Vivekanand. The low birth-rate of Australia leads the author to make the shrewd remark that 'good-humoured self-indulgence has become almost the moral ideal of the age.' Mixed marriages between the New Zealand whites and the Maoris are not looked down upon. The Hindu settlers in Fiji numbur 40,000 souls. In a few years they are likely to outnumber the Fijians. But 'at present they are very disorganised.'

Turning now to India, with which we are mainly concerned, Mr. Fraser is impressed with 'the severe grandeur' of the temple of Martand in Kashmir impressive by its size, its remarkable surroundings, and its peculiarly Hindu style of architecture. 'There they are, fragments of a Kashmir more populous, more powerful, and more civilised than the valley today.' Elsewhere he calls India the grave of civilisations. The famine of 1877 carried off twenty thousand shawl weavers in Srinagar, and the whole industry is now extinct. Gazing on a village in the Kashmir valley, the author reflected as follows:

"Now, is there anything Providence could glve these people that they haven't got? Excellent land, arable and pasture; unfailing crops, scores of co... hundreds of sheep: poultry as many as it... like to keep, beehives attached to every cottage; a ri... full of fish not far off; fruit trees, walnut trees, d... dars for timber within easy reach; no floods, ear... quakes comparatively unimportant, and cholera ea... avoided, for they draw their water from perenn... springs. And what do they make of all this? N... one of them can read, or wants to read; they ... around all day long; they have never even made a... sanitary arrangements, but ease themselves just outs... their village, here and there and everywhere, like a... mals. Is this satisfactory?"

Burma is merry, careless, and lovely; but M... Fraser's parting advice to it is—"To the graces of l... add, if possible, something more of purpose and de... sion; for life is not all an idle afternoon. To t... foreigner your repose is welcome, to yourself it is fat... and fate is closing in upon you?" For Ahalya B... Queen of Indore, the writer evinces the sincerest a... miration. 'The princes of Chitor exhibited a val... and pertinacity not surpassed in human history.' O... the Observatory at Jaipur he says: 'The powers of t... unaided eye cannot possibly achieve more; and in t... geography of the skies, if we may call it such, J... Singh's work is unsurpassed.' Speaking of neglect... memorials of India's past glory, the author tru... says: "I think my Hindu readers had better here t... unpalatable truth, that if they do not respect these thin... more carefully foreigners will suppose they do not mu... respect themselves." 'Fatehpur (Sikri) is still one ... the most beautiful places in the world.' Muttra ... 'the best and most attractive specimen of an Indi... town that I have seen.' Mr. Fraser is enthusiastic ... his praise of the temple of Govinda at Brindaban. ... may fairly be styled one of the most remarkable buil... ings in the world. The design and the decoration a... most beautiful throughout, and the roof is quite ast... nishing. It is a piece of stone vaulting at least equ... to anything of the kind in Europe...But one forgets ... beauty in marvelling at its originality...It is certa... that no building in India deserves more study or mo... admiration." He regards the Kutab Minar as co... par with the temple of Govinda, and as for the wrou... iron pillar close by which commemorates the old Hi... du regime, it is 'a tough piece of work which even t... modern smith could not easily turn out.' The magn... ficent stone lion surmounting the Asoke Pillar in ... museum at Sarnath he regards as the finest work ... art in India. Calcutta, according to the auth... 'though founded by England,' 'has been and still is ... focus of Indian sentiment.' Here is his parting de... cription of our motherland:

"As I passed through 'Golden Bengal,' I could n... but admire the country; green rice fields and clus... of trees, with villages which seemed to me more cp... and more comfortable than those of the Deccan. T... air was moist and hazy and full of effects that remi... ed me of England. I perceived the source of N... Gangooley's inspirations and felt that painting m... have a future in Bengal."

Before parting with the book, we should like ... allude to Mr. Frasers curious theory that the m... current of influence in Hinduism was Dravidian ... not Aryan and that Hinduism is the ancient prod... of Dravidian India which absorbed only a very ... elements from the Aryans (p. 49). He admits that ... strongest argument against his theory is the Sans...

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language itself. The very word 'Aryan' is Sanskrit, Northern India was known as 'Aryavarta' in our classical works, husbands were addressed by their wives as 'Aryas' and 'Aryaputras' when the forefathers of those who question our right to the title exhibited simian characteristics. Truly the theory is preposterous, and shows the length to which western bumptiousness can go.

In another passage the author betrays an unpardonable levity of thought by placing the Vedanta philosophy in the same category with lynch-law and polyandry (p. 53) as if, like the others, it is a barbarous relic of the past :

"I have noted more than once how the newest civilisation in the world is reverting to ancient ideas—I mean that of America. It is in America the Vedantist propaganda is making progress ; it is America that has rejected the English fiction of law and has set up in its place the vendetta ; and it is in America that the prevalence of divorce is bringing back the system of polyandry." P.

English-Hindi.

The Students' Practical Dictionary containing English words with Sanskrit and Hindi meanings. Publisher—Babu Ram Narayan Lal, National Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 287 + 10. Price Re. 1-4.

In this Dictionary both Sanskrit and Hindi equivalents of English words are given. The publication is the first of its kind and is concise. While turning over the pages, we noticed one printing mistake on page 211, *viz.*, विलण for विलक्षण, as the equivalent for "queer." The usefulness of the book has been enhanced by an appendix on important geographical names used in ancient Sanskrit Literature. These names have been elaborately explained : their modern equivalents have been given and their positions have been fully described. The book is illustrated. The only defect has been a comparative paucity of words, though it contains words ordinarily given in English-Hindi dictionaries. The book could have been printed in smaller type (primer) and additions made to it, with more detailed Hindi explanations. However, the utility of the book, in its present form, to those for whom it is intended, cannot be gainsaid. The Europeans going up for their examinations in the Sanskrit and Hindi languages and the students who have Sanskrit as their Second Language will find it a handy book of reference.

M. S.

Gujarati.

Merchant of Venice, translated into Gujarati by Naraheshanker Pranjivan Dave, M.A., Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Samaldas College, Bhavnagar. Printed at the Saraswati Press, Bhavnagar and Chandra Prakash Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 64 and 106. Cloth bound. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1911).

This is the fourth number of the series of Shakespeare Translations undertaken by Professor Dave. It is in some respects on a level with an uptodate English edition of the plays, especially the introduction which takes a critical survey of the plot of the plays, of the characters, &c. Furnevall, Gervinus, Mrs. Jamieson, and other well-known writers have been drawn upon to furnish materials for the introduction, which is well written. The book is a useful adition to our literature.

Gita Govind, translated by Keshavlal Harshadrai Dhruva, B.A., Head Master, High School, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Ahmedabad Union Printing Press. 3rd Edition. Cloth bound. Pp. 140. Price Re. 1, (1912).

Jayadeva's Gita Govinda, describing the amours of Radha and Krishna, is "a gem of purest ray" in Sanskrit, and who that has read it in original Sanskrit, is lost in admiration at the marvellous powers of the poet, at his grace of diction, at his mellifluous numbers, and at the ease with which he handles his metres. This unique production of a Bengali poet of the 12th century, A.D., has exercised a fascination over all who have come across it, and the desire to translate it into the vernacular of each province has therefore not been unnaturally entertained from the earliest times. There have been several translations of it into Hindi, Marathi and Bengali, and also Gujarati. But we doubt, if in Gujarati at least there is any translation which could be compared with the one under notice. It is rather Gita Govinda, rewritten in Gujarati in the happiest style of Jayadev. But for one's being told that it is a translation, it would be difficult to make out that it is one, so felicitously has the spirit and the gracefulness of the original been copied and preserved. As is usual with all works of Mr. Keshavlal, the translation is preceded by a scholarly introduction, which surveys Jayadev—his time, his work, his perfections and imperfections (for strange to say even in this perfect poem, critics had been able to find out certain defects), in such an ample way that it leaves little to be desired. The singer has been caught neck and crop, into the meshes of the charming original. He has drunk deep at the fountain of Jayadev, and has consequently poured out with a lucidity equally charming as Jayadev's what the latter's soul would have done, had he been a Gujarati.

Delhi Durbar by Bhugubhai F. Karhhari. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 288 and 62. Price Re. 1. (1912).

This is a descriptive account of the Coronation Durbar at Delhi. It contains a short biography of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, and otherwise gives a very interesting and readable account of all that happened before, at and after the Durbar.

K. M. J.

Urdu.

Jilwa Nisar by Munshi Nawab Rai. Printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad. Price Re. 1-4-0. Pages 232.

This is a novel, the hero of which is a Hindu who has prepared himself for service to his mother country by means of a severe course of physical and mental training. The story starts with a blessing given to the mother of the hero by a goddess that she would have a patriotic son. The father of the hero relinquishes the world all on a sudden and the education of the hero devolves upon his mother. The circumstances of the family grow wrose and wrose, and a part of the family house has to be let to another gentleman,

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who is very virtuous and who has a daughter. The hero and this daughter play together as brother and sister and a feeling of affection springs up between them, which matures day by day. The hero teaches the girl reading and writing and after some years the hero's mother teaches her the art of cooking, in which she becomes proficient soon. At last she is married to the son of a Deputy Magistrate on the special insistance of her mother. This son is somewhat of a vagabond and puts to shame his wife's parents. The marriage is taken much to heart by the hero, who had learnt to think the girl as his own property. In course of time, the hero goes to Allahabad and there gives himself up to physical and mental culture. As he did not see the pure Birjan, with whom he had played in childhood, before his departure, she thinks that Pratap, the hero has been much displeased with her. This thought makes her pine day by day: but at last when she sees Pratap, after the lapse of some time, and assures herself that any feelings of displeasure that he might have had, have been removed, she becomes convalescent. Meanwhile, her husband also improves and they both have begun to live happily. The husband after some time goes for his education to Allahabad where he falls in guilty love with a gardener's daughter. He is detected one day and meets with his death in an extraordinary manner. His poor wife, who had already lost her mother, withers at the shock. Meanwhile, Pratap, after a moral trial, goes to the Himalayas, and there trains himself with the help of religious devotees, among whom are his own father (not recognised for some time) and the father of Birjan, who also had relinquished the world on hearing his son-in-law's death. After finishing his moral and religious culture, he imposes upon himself the task of improving his country and devotes himself to two principal works: (1) the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes of India, founding therefor a "Depressed Classes Mission," (2) the founding of *Goshalas*. He has eminent success in both of these. After many invitations he comes to Benares, his birthplace, when his mother falls into ecstasy on seeing his long-lost son again and her long-cherished hopes realised in him. He had become a thorough patriot. The heroine of the novel is Madhavi who, though she loves Pratap the most ardently,—who in fact has made love for him her life-business,—has an ideal sort of love, with not the least taint in it of gross passion. The story has especial merits and characteristics of its own. The language leaves nothing to be desired. In many places, the book is very instructive both to men and women. The moral tone of the book is pure and edifying, though this does not, as may be supposed by some readers of Urdu novels, take away from its interest.

Kalame Falak by Babu Lala Chand Falak. Printed at the Saivak Steam Press, Lahore and to be had of Vyas Pustakalaya, Vachhoovali Lahore. Price one rupee, pp. 112.

The author of this collection of poems was the former editor of the "Hitakari" of Lahore and his *nom de plume* is Falak. The poems are mostly patriotic, some of them being on notable Indians, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Swami Dayanand, Pa Madan Mohan Malaviya. There is a poem on Majesty the present King-Emperor, alluding many qualities of head and heart and invoking b ings on him. The author seems to have a remark poetic taste and his poems can rank with the prod tions of the higher order of Urdu poets. The poe in the collection number 73 and some of them very fit for recitation purposes. They have the sm of modern culture, and have not much in common the style of the old Urdu poets. Allusions have b elucidated in the form of footnotes. Certain po are religious. There is an introduction in the form foreword by Babu Sundar Das, B. U. L., the for editor of "Urdu" and "Hindustan," Lahore. few mistakes in the book have been pointed out short list of errata. The printing is nice and credit to the publishers. The title-page is art There are eleven illustrations in the book, one of th that of "Bharatmilap," being tri-colour. T young poet bids fair to make a deserved name in domain of Urdu poetry.

M. S.

HINDI.

Niti-Darshan, Part I, by Shree Lala Radhamo Gokulji Agraval, Proprietor of the Devana Press, 17, Pagaiyapatti, Calcutta. Demy 8vo. 217+4. Price annas 12.

This book is somewhat on the lines of Bentha Principles of Morals and Legislation and But Analogy of Religion. It comprises a philosop diction of the motives of our actions, their propr our sense of justice and religion, and kindred subje The language is a little difficult, but this was alm unavoidable. The chapter on "Prayer" is instructive. Efforts have been made to appeal reason in every case, and the arguments are calcul to persuade sceptics. There is much originality in book and it is not merely a reproduction of w ancient Sanskrit books have already said. The wr has a fairly competent command over the langu The get-up is fair, and the book has been pr moderately.

Vibhakti-Vichár by Pandit Govind Narayan Mi Printed at the Govardhan Press, 80-1, Mukta Babu Street, Calcutta and published at 16, Nab mal Lohia Street, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. Price annas 4.

The controversy whether *vibhaktis* should be wri separate or combined with nouns and pronoun hardly ended yet and the book under review supp the view of *not* writing the *vibhaktis* separate Hindi. This is the view held by the majority of best Hindi writers and is preferable on philolo and grammatical grounds. The articles written in *Hitavarta* on the subject have been reproduced with some additions. The treatment is learned the arguments for and against the view have handled well. The language is very refined and as we expect from the learned writer. The book be considered a valuable addition to the philol literature of Hindi for its price.

M.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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AN APPEAL TO MUSULMANS

THERE is only one difference which gives rise to strife between the great bodies of Musulmans and Hindus: the killing of cows. Educated Hindus and Musulmans may disagree about their respective shares of Government appointments or representation on councils, but these questions do not affect the masses. Occasionally two religious festivals may clash, but this rarely happens. Nor do theoretical religious differences produce disputes. This is a point which the Englishman who has not been in India cannot understand. He is familiar with the story of the bitter quarrels in Europe between Roman Catholics and Protestants and he imagines that Hindus and Musulmans must entertain a like animosity to one another. It is hardly possible to persuade him that between Hindus and Musulmans in India there is ordinarily less ill-feeling than between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, less even than between churchmen and dissenters in a small English town.

The perfect tolerance of Indians in all questions of religious dogma is a thing which only two centuries ago was unknown in Europe. Islam has been tolerant from the very beginning of its history. The Prophet was not a religious fanatic, but a statesman, perhaps the greatest statesman that ever lived. It is true, that his example of tolerence, has not always been followed by Mahommedan rulers, yet even at the worst their persecutions have not equalled in ferocity those of Christian countries. "There are no massacres of Saint Bartholomew in the history of Islam" says Palgrave. In general Mahommedans have tolerated the widest differences. A writer who expressed himself with as much boldness as Maulana Rumi would at that time in Europe have been burnt alive. Yet Maulana Rumi is revered as a saint by Musulmans. The reason is that the Musulman as a rule does not attach so much importance to strict orthodoxy of doctrine as to a certain mode of life which he considers holy. Men like Maulana Rumi and Ferid-ud-din Attar led what was in Musulman opinion a holy life and so they are revered in spite of their heterodox teaching. Even more than the Musulman, the Hindu regards the life rather than the doctrine. A Hindu will shew the greatest respect to a Mahommedan Faqir. I have seen myself, a Hindu woman make a present to a faqir, because she considered some wish of hers had been granted in answer to his prayers. One of the most striking illustrations of Indian tolerance is the readiness of both Hindu and Musulman parents to send their children to missionary schools and colleges. In England dissenters object to sending their children to the schools of churchmen on account of some trifling, to the foreigner scarcely perceptible, differences in their religious beliefs. But the Indian will allow his son to listen to teaching at variance with his most cherished convictions. He knows that the boy is not in the least likely to become a Christian and he has the good sense to see that a lesson in English or mathematics is not any the worse because it has been preceded by the narration of some foolish legends. In the

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hills I have seen a crowd of illiterate peasants listen with placid indifference to a missionary while he denounced the worship of their gods. They liked the magic lantern pictures he shewed them, and his attacks on idolatry did not hurt them in the least.*

All this is strange to Englishmen. Even at the present day in England under the still unrepealed Blasphemy Act of 1698 any one educated as a Christian who denies the Providence of God or the truth of the Christian religion is liable after a second offence to three years' imprisonment. Naturally the act is not now enforced but that is because the general decay of religious belief has made men indifferent in these matters. The Englishman does not realise that in India men with very strong religious convictions have not the slightest wish to persecute others. Retired members of the Indian Civil Service have, no doubt quite unintentionally, contributed by their writings to the prevalence of erroneous ideas. They have exaggerated the purely theoretical differences between Islam and Hinduism and omitted to point out the practical good will that is shewn by Hindus and Musulmans to one another. The result is that Englishmen are unaware of the friendly feeling that generally prevails between the followers of the two religions. I remember a young English journalist who had just come to India being surprised when I told him that if a Hindu offered a goat to Ghazi Miyan the sacrifice was always performed by a Mahommedan. Any one who lives in India knows numerous instances of the friendliness shewn by the two classes to one another. "Mr. X is very kind on me," a Mahommedan lad wrote to me not long ago.† A Mahommedan, known to me, brought up in his own house the son of poor Brahman parents till the child was old enough to put on the sacred thread. I have known in Allahabad Hindus join in a subscription to help a Mahommedan perform the Hajj, and the same thing I a told happens here in Kashmere.* O incident I witnessed struck me very mu from the delicacy of feeling shewn. So school-boys were very thirsty, but thoug there was a Mahommedan bhishti, there was no Brahman water-carrier present. Th Mahommedans would not drink, becau the Hindus could not. These are only few, out of the many instances within m personal knowledge, but it is useless insist further on what must be perfect familiar to every reader of this Review.

There is then, as I have already said, on one source of discord between Hindus an Musulmans, the killing of cows. Now I a Mahommedans to consider, looking at th matter from their own point of view, whethe the advantages of the slaughter of cow are so great as to make it worth while f them to quarrel with their Hindu neigh bours on that account. As far as ment and bodily vigour is concerned it has be shewn conclusively that there is no need eat meat at all, either in India or in En land. The great English poet Shelley liv exclusively on vegetable food ; so did th greatest of all musicians, Richard Wagne The Prophet himself very rarely ate meat his habitual food was dates and whe These were men of the very highest ord of genius : there are many other examp of men of great eminence who have shew that the keenest intellectual activity can prolonged to old age on a vegetable di This is equally true of bodily activity, as proved by the repeated successes of vege rians in athletic competitions. Many ph sicians have come to the conclusion th meat is unnecessary and have made th patients give it up, not only without inj but with great benefit to their hea That the same conclusion is spreadi among the general public in England shewn by the large and steadily increas number of vegetarian restaurants in Lond

The truth is that men persist in a m diet, not on grounds of physiology or pr tical experience but simply from habit. is from habit, too, we overlook the cruel involved in the killing of animals. In t same way, men naturally kind and humane.

* They thought that some of the stories he related made rather too great demands on their credulity; for example the stories of the flood that covered the tops of the mountains and the story of the birth of Jesus from a virgin. "The Padres tell us things that even a child would not believe," was the comment.

† The name was that of a Bengali gentleman. The reader will notice the literal translation of "mujh par bahut mihrban hai."

* It is rather difficult to imagine English Protest helping with their money a Roman Catholic to per a pilgrimage to Rome.

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will hunt and shoot and fish, because they have never seriously thought of the suffering these sports inflict. We are still far from the ideal of Wordsworth :

> Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
> With sorrow of the meanest thing that feels.

Indeed consideration for animals is comparatively modern in Europe and is no part of Christianity. "Doth God care for oxen?" asks Saint Paul and he seems to think it absurd that any one can answer the question in the affirmative. But Islam teaches that God cares for all living beings. "Dost thou not perceive that all creatures both in heaven and earth praise God and the birds extending their wings? Every one knoweth his prayer and his praise and God knoweth that which they do."* We know too that the Prophet was humane beyond men of his time either in Arabia or in Europe. "His humanity even extended itself to the lower creation. He forbade the employment of living birds as targets for marksmen ; and remonstrated with those who ill-treated their camels. When some of his followers had set fire to an ant-hill he compelled them to extinguish it." "Horses were not to be hit on the cheek ; and their manes and tails were not to be cut ; the former being meant by nature for warmth and the latter as a protection against flies. Asses were not to be branded or hit on the face."† In Europe we have not yet reached the level of humanity to animals attained by Musulmans more than twelve centuries ago. Shooting live pigeons released from traps is even now an amusement of the aristocratic classes and a bill to abolish it was thrown out by the House of Lords. Still there is gradual though slow progress. Even a member of the House of Lords would be disgusted at the cruel and brutal sports practised in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The growth of humanity will I believe ultimately induce men to give up the use of animal food. As has been said already, there is ample evidence that they can do so without any injury to themselves. But at the present time there are many men who will not accept this conclusion. They honestly believe that meat is necessary for health. Even if this were so, and the destruction of animals could not be altogether avoided, yet surely every good man must admit that we ought not to inflict on animals *more* suffering than is absolutely necessary. Now we cannot *know* what the sensations of animals are. Still it is a reasonable conjecture that the larger animal suffers the more acutely. We can hardly suppose that killing a mosquito gives as much pain as killing an elephant. If this be admitted as probable, then those who will not abstain from animal food altogether should at least abstain from beef, since of all animals slaughtered for food the cow is the largest and most highly organized. No one can maintain that eating beef is necessary for health, and by abstaining from beef we diminish the suffering inflicted on animals, although we do not abolish it.

If not for the sake of the animals, then for the sake of their Hindu neighbours, we urge Musulmans to give up the killing of cows. One of the best of the sayings attributed to Hazrat Isa is "Blessed are the peace-makers" and every Musulman who abstains from beef is so far a peace-maker. Put on one side the arguments we have hitherto used and assume for the moment that the objections to the killing of cows are mere foolish prejudice. Still however foolish we may think the prejudices of our neighbours it is neither wise nor kind to wound their feelings by ignoring them. A friend with whom I come in daily contact dislikes intensely some practice which to me seems harmless. Surely, kindly feeling or even ordinary good taste should induce me to abandon that practice. It is true there are some things which no good man can give up even for the sake of peace, duties injoined by his religion or his conscience. But the killing of cows is not one of these, for no Musulman can assert that it is prescribed by his religion. In matters of indifference we should conform to the wishes of others. Men of different races, customs, and religious beliefs have to live together in India. We must disagree about many questions, but we can at least shew consideration for the feelings of our neighbours and endeavour to live at peace with one another.

In this respect, too, we may learn from the example of the Prophet. Even such a bitterly hostile writer as Muir admits that he always preferred conciliation to force.

* Surat-un-Nur, Sale's translation.
† Margoliouth Life of Mohammed, pp. 458, 459.

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He forbade compulsion in religion and wished to gain the hearts of men by gentleness and patience. So he allowed the Arabs to retain their old customs whenever these were not immoral or idolatrous. This is especially shewn in the ceremonies connected with the Hajj. From all we know of the life of the Prophet we may be sure that if he had preached in India, so far from disregarding the feelings of Hindus, he would have endeavoured to win them to Islam by every concession consistent with the fundamental doctrines of religion. To those Hindus who belong to castes which are considered Sudras, Islam offers a higher social position and brotherhood with all believers. As it is converts are made, but probably many more would be made were they not repelled at the outset by the knowledge that Mahommedans eat beef. Naturally this is not an argument which will appeal to Hindu readers, but I am writing for Mahommedans and it should be the desire of every true Mahommedan to extend the creed of Islam throughout the world. It is a desire with which I can sympathize, for though I am not a Muslim, of all existing religions Islam seems to me the most sensible and rational.

From a purely worldly point of view it is no less desirable that there should be friendship between Hindus and Musulmans. Mutual discord can only retard the progress of both classes. Whatever their differences of religion, all Indians should feel that they belong to the same country. All should be united by the tie of a common patriotism. Nothing can be more foolish or indeed contemptible, than for a man to make his religion an excuse for separating himself from his fellow-countrymen. In England, Roman Catholics are in a minority but an English Roman Catholic would feel insulted at the suggestion that he was less loyal to England than a Protestant. At the time of the Boer War the late Pope expressed his sympathy with the Boers. Some prominent English Roman Catholics issued a protest to the effect that in all questions of faith or morals they submitted to the authority of the Pope, but in questions of politics they were loyal British subjects. In the war between Japan and Russia, the Japanese Christians fought no less bravely than the Japanese Buddhists or Shintoists. If a Japanese Christian had deserted to the Russians on the ground that they were Christians he would have been contemptible even to the Russians themselves. For a man who deserts his country is an object of contempt to honest men of all countries.

Want of patriotism has been the great defect of India in the past. Indians have cared too much for their religion and too little for their country. Even now among the older Hindus there is a tendency to identify patriotism with Hinduism. Nothing could be more foolish and mischievous. Patriotism and religion belong to entirely different spheres of conduct. I believe the younger Hindus and Musulmans feel this and will no longer allow differences of religion to drive them into opposite camps. They see that there is no reason why men of different religious opinions should not work together for the good of their common country. Injudicious language has been used in the past, but it is well that this should be forgotten and the old quarrels should cease. As far as I can learn the younger Musulmans sincerely wish to live on the best terms with their Hindu fellow-countrymen. It is for these younger men in especial that I am writing. Every one of them can by his individual life and conduct do something to promote peace. And after all, no man can set before himself a worthier object in life than to endeavour to promote peace and good will among men.

HOMERSHAM COX

NATIONALITY AND DEMOCRACY

EACH successive century turns over a new page in the book of social evolution, and discovers there, sometimes an idea which is new, and sometimes one which is not indeed new but has the novelty of italicisation. Nationalism was written large across the nineteenth century. It brought about changes of governments

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and of dynasties, overthrew monarchies and delimited empires, and was so all-pervading and imposing that it seemed to be the last word in political development. And yet the conditions that made the growth of nationalism possible were such as negatived its ultimate triumph, for without the help of democracy, nationalism would have been strangled in its birth, and this democracy, as old as the beginning of things and as new as today, is in the last analysis incompatible with nationality.

The son of the people is your true idealist. "The young," has said a philosopher, "are always right" and the 'people,' to use the generic term, are always young. Unmindful of incidental consequences, they will follow a great idea to its realisation. But with achievement comes appreciation, and the present is not as rosy, not so near the millenium, as it was when it was not the present but the future. There is always, however, a future, and on the horizon still glows the millenium as bright and as alluring as ever to those who have not known the pain of disillusion, or who in spite of it have still kept the faith. Nationalism achieved by the help of democracy has left it with its main purpose unachieved, and democracy looks beyond nationalism for the solution of the ills from which it suffers. For the democracy of our time is not that of Aristotle and the political scientists. It is not mainly a political principle, it is political only in the sense that it is social, and social disabilities survive when political inequalities have been adjusted. Thus there is to be seen at present a reaction against the conservatism of nationalism amongst the leaders of the democratic movement throughout Europe, and the same tendency may be observed to underlie the many and various theories of what may be called the socialistic school. And yet because political theories are as slow to die as they are to come to maturity, democracy does not at once abandon that which it has fought and suffered for during a century, and its opposition to nationalism is but incidental to the struggle against the great enemy capitalism. Capitalism knows no sentiment, acknowledges no tie of nationalism, makes no discrimination. It is the enemy of the people everywhere and at all times, and if it is to be fought successfully, it cannot be beaten in detachments. Since it is an organised whole, the struggle must be international, because the enemy is international. This is the teaching, this the programme of socialism, and the democracy of Europe is either socialism pure and simple, or socialistic.

There is not the least reason to apprehend the immediate realisation of 'internationalism': even its ultimate possibility is a matter of doubt; for all movements adjust themselves to a compromise, and the Serbonian bog stretching between the present and a future of 'internationalism' is so vast and so intangible that many brilliant aspirations will perish, and those that survive will reach their goal draggled, miry and hardly recognisable. Although the idea of Nationality as a political principle is little more than a century old, the feeling of kinship, of differentiation of interests, of geographical isolation, all that a separate language, different manners and customs, convey, remain in permanent hostility to international community. They existed before the State and they will survive it. Rooted in the immeasurable past, they have been nurtured by the history and traditions of each race stretching far beyond the twilight that shrouds the beginning of communal life. They have been born out of chaos, and chaos will receive them back.

Between the active aggressiveness of democratic internationalism and the inertia of nationality the struggle will go on and the issue lies on the knees of the gods. In the meantime each nation will work out its immediate destiny while the current of the world's progress carries it on imperceptibly but unfailingly towards the inevitable. There are those who look to the future, and see therein the reign of peace inaugurated by the recognition of the brotherhood of the nations, and some who distrustful of national self-consciousness base their hopes on the development of the individual and have a vision of the 'divine anarchy' of Tolstoi. But for both the omens are unfavourable. The only form of internationalism that exists outside the realms of imaginative sympathy is that which organises for war, and a class war is not less brutal, not less destructive and not less an outrage against civilisation than that which is waged between States. For behind Demos

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but not of him there springs up an army of the outcast, the declassés, the submerged. They hover on the outskirts of society, and they see in the awakening of Demos the beginning of war. And when the struggle is knit, when the classes come into handi-grips, then the submerged come to the surface, for they are the end of things. Destruction incarnate, civilisation has made them, they may unmake civilisation. This is the hope of democracy,—the elimination of the submerged classes, the dispersal of the shadow that looms grimly in the background of everyday life, hopelessly sad and terribly significant. If democracy succeeds in this it will have more than justified itself, if it fails all else is vain.

L. Mac Lir.

A REMINISCENCE OF THE LATE SISTER NIVEDITA

IT goes without saying that the late Sister Nivedita has a position in the Indian thought-world which she herself created by becoming one of the foremost pundits of our time in matters concerning Indian culture and history and, particularly, concerning the Indian Future. It goes likewise without saying that she has found a place in the hearts of many of the children of the Motherland, who recognise in her, as it were, "an Uma come from the West, whose home and personality were truly Indian."

Apart from her position as an authority on things Indian and her place in the estimation of the people, both as a writer and a thinker, the Sister Nivedita was a most interesting personality and comparatively few of those who have met her in the world of thought have been privileged to know her as a person. For this reason some recollections of her as the person, Sister Nivedita, are undoubtedly welcome.

It is true, as Mr. J. Fraser Blair has mentioned, that the first meeting with Sister Nivedita proved either most pleasant or most disastrous. Speaking specially with regard to myself, the first meeting was by all means the former. I had long since read certain of her writings, and therefore it was with something like reverent expectation that I anxiously awaited the hour when I was to meet her. But a railway station is not the most advantageous of places for making acquaintances, and worst of all is a railway station in the city of New York. Yet for me the meeting was most interesting in spite of this difficulty. A friend of the Sister and myself had been waiting for some considerable time, scrutinising the different trains that came from Boston.

We had almost given over the last hope when the "last train from Boston" came plunging in the distance. We said, "Let us wait this last time, and if she is not aboard this train, let us give it up." The train was slowing down and in a minute it was beneath the huge shed of the Grand Central Station; and in another minute the compartments were emptying themselves of their loads of human freight. It was an exciting scene, people pouring in and out of the station gates and the passengers dashing here and there and everywhere. We strained our eyes for several minutes. My heart was throbbing with anticipation and I was getting on edge. "There she is," my friend cried out. And my eyes fell upon a woman of about medium height, dressed in a garb resembling that of a nun. She was carrying her own packages and walked along with an intensity of manner that would confuse even a New Yorker, accustomed to the strenuous life of a big city. "Come, let us have tea," were the first words after she had bid us greeting. And so we went into the adjoining restaurant, where amidst the refreshing influence of tea I had my first glimpse of the Sister Nivedita.

Her first words were concerning India. I had just made up my mind in that time to come to India, a land, of which I must confess I knew exceedingly little. Like most Americans I knew that Calcutta was the capital; and upon being questioned I would have answered, after several seconds' pause, "Why the British rule India, of course."

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had I been asked such a question. But I was deeply interested in the philosophy of the Vedanta. Naturally I thought that in meeting the woman sitting before me I had found one of its greatest expounders and representatives. Even in the half or three quarters of an hour, however, I came to know that she was much deeper and much broader than an ordinary philosopher. In the inclusive sense of the word she was an INDIAN, and the manner in which she spoke of Indian politics and the names she mentioned of celebrated Indians, with which her sentences were replete, made me then and there reshape my entire conception as to "who" the Sister Nivedita was. She was no mere nun, with a retiring, purely religious disposition. She was an incarnate representative, as I came more and more to know, verily of the Indian Dharma itself in all of its aspects, and a great enthusiast. I lost myself in that short space of time in admiration, forgetting my tea and my surroundings in spell-bound attention to her words.

Though this might seem somewhat exaggerated to one who has not met the Sister, to those who knew her the situation in which I found myself is quite apparent. During my journalistic experience of five or six years, during which time I have interviewed all types of people from United States senators to interesting hod-carriers and from famous artists to turbulent leaders of labour I had never met a personality which impressed me in less than an hour's time with being possessed of such a synthetic mind and cyclonic personal energy.

My impressions were deeply confirmed that same night. A well-known society in New York had invited the Sister to speak before its members and desired also to give her a cheering welcome to the United States. I had also been invited, as well as the friend whom the Sister and myself had in common. The two were guests of Miss Emma Thursby, the famous singer. So they asked me to call at her residence and accompany them to the society's quarters. It was a rainy, windy night as New York often experiences during the month of November and we trudged along for some distance, weathering the wind and rain as best we could. Suddenly the Sister left the protection of the umbrella and was in the rain. She was thinking of the subject of her address, and found herself inconvenienced with the narrow sidewalk and the umbrella and with a note of impatience walked rapidly ahead, meanwhile discussing with her friend the merits of the arguments she intended using. We reached the residence, where the Sister was cordially welcomed by a body of ladies and gentlemen who had come especially to meet her. After the formalities, the gathering sat down with the Sister in the centre and someone asked, "Sister, would you kindly tell us something of your long experience in India!" She readily consented, and then, for more than an hour and a half, I listened to a discourse the contents of which gave me the first insight into that *Universality* of mind which the Sister possessed. She commenced with the subject dearest to her heart, her girls' school in Bose Para Lane, Bagbazaar, in the far distant city of Calcutta. She spoke so tenderly and so interestingly, describing the school, its curriculum and its children until we were completely won over. She spoke of a trip she had given them on the Ganges river to the neighbouring village of Belur,—a very simple affair which I myself have since often enjoyed, but she put a world of imagination and delicate beauty into her telling of the tale, so that it was romance to the group of listeners in the city of New York.

Diverting from this simple but beautiful description of her life and her work and her school-children she entered upon the subjects of Indian metaphysics and culture until, wrapt in her thought, she unfolded to our astonishment a narrative of what none of us had ever imagined,—the influence of Indian civilisation on Western modes of life and thinking, saying that Central Asia was the scene of the international exchange. She painted this in such glowing terms that one almost *saw* the builders of the Gothic cathedrals gathering their plans from the groined Chaitya Halls of Karli and Ajanta. She spoke of the interrelationship in India between metaphysics and life until we saw Indians as a race of philosophers, because of the very customs prevalent amongst them. The address became more and more luminous and the Sister made us aware of distinctions of

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which we never previously dreamed. She spoke of the tremendous difference between "nation-making and the building up of empires," insisting that the former was a constructive phenomenon in the processes of civilisation. The latter she thoroughly denounced as throughout destructive, because it meant that larger nations prey upon helpless groups and races, swallowing them up in savage greed and making of polished peoples the hewers of wood and carriers of water.

I confess that it was one of the greatest moments in my intellectual enlightenment when for the first time I met the Siste... And coming that night from the quarte... of the society I felt as though in an atmo... phere where all is luminous penetratio... into problems, a joy and a delight in dea... ing with them and an insight borderin... upon something that calls forth spiritu... reverence and regard.

When next I saw the Sister Nivedita ... was in India in the intimacy of her ow... home in Bose Para Lane in the city ... Calcutta whither I had long hoped to go.

F. J. ALEXANDER.

THE LAW OF CONTRACT IN CHANDRAGUPTA'S TIME

BY NARENDRANATH LAW, M.A.

III. Sale and Pre-emption.

WE have now discussed the general principles underlying Hindu contract in Chandragupta's time and shall now proceed to discuss some of the more important contractual transactions.

We begin with the sale of immoveable property. The first provision in regard to this is that the piece of property on sale has to be offered for purchase in the first instance to the kinsmen (ज्ञातयः) of the seller. If they do not propose to buy, then the property has to be offered to the neighbours who can claim such a right on the ground of vicinage or participation in the appendages (सामन्ताः) and on their refusal to purchase, the property is to be offered to the creditors of the seller (धनिकाः).* These rules evidently indicate that something like the right of pre-emption existed in those days. The texts concerning pre-emption are very few in Sanskrit legal literature and even those that exist have been explained away by later commentators. I quote here Prof. Jolly's view on this point:—

"A trace of pre-emption in the Hindu law occurs in the text quoted in the Mitakshara* and other standa... law books. It is as follows—'Transfers of landed p... perty are effected by six formalities: by consent fellow-villagers, kinsmen, neighbours and co-percen... and by gift of gold and water.' This text indica... clearly the existence in the early period of the Hin... law of a feeling that a transfer of landed property is n... valid unless the neighbours, fellow-villagers and oth... who are but remotely concerned with it should ha... given their consent to its being effected. These pers... might therefore be supposed perhaps to have been ... vested with a right of pre-emption. Whatever notio... may have been prevalent on this subject in the ea... period of the Hindu law, this much is clear that t... compilers of those commentaries and digests of law ... which the modern law is based did not approve of a... sort of pre-emption. Thus the Mitakshara in dea... with the above text deprives it entirely of such le... significance as may have once belonged to it. T... consent of fellow-villagers, according to the Mitaksh... is required for the publicity of the transaction merc... but the contract is not invalid without their cons... The consent of neighbours tends to obviate future ... putes concerning boundaries. The consent of kins... and co-perceners is indispensable when they are un... in interest with the vendor. If they are separate f... him, their consent is useful because it may obviate ... future doubt as to whether they are separate or un... but the want of their consent does not invalidate ... transaction. This interpretation of the Mitaksh... may be viewed as an instance of the way in which ... Indian commentators used to dispose of obsolete l... At the same time, it shows clearly that anything ... proaching to pre-emption was entirely foreign t... ideas of such an eminent authority as Vijnanesw... the author of the Mitakshara."†

* ज्ञातिसामन्तधनिकाः क्रमेण भूमिपरिग्रहान् क्रेतुमभ्याभवेयुः। —Bk III, वास्तुविक्रयः, Arthasastra, p. 168.

गृहवास्तुकम् वास्तु here means गृहं चैवमारामस् सेतु-बन्धजड़ाकमाधारो वा, p. 166.

* Colebrooke's Mitakshara, Chap. I, Sec. I, 31.

† See also Bivada Chintamani translated by T... Tagore, P. 300.

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A few other texts besides the one referred to above occur also in the Mitakshara. They are:—

(1) "In regard to the immoveable estate, sale is not allowed; it may be mortgaged by consent of parties interested."* This text like the above is also anonymous.

(2) The text of Brihaspati cited in the Mitakshara, *viz.*, "separated kinsmen, as those who are unseparated, are equal in respect of immoveables, for one has not power over the whole to make a gift, sale or mortgage."

The way in which these two texts have been explained away may be found by a reference to their respective sections in the Mitakshara.†

(3) In a passage in the Mahānirvāna Tantra the rules of pre-emption are set out thus:—

"The proprietor of immoveable property having a neighbour competent to purchase it is not at liberty to sell such property to another. Among neighbours, he who is a relation or of the same tribe is preferred. In their default a friend and the will of the seller prevails; even though the price of immoveable property be agreed upon with another, yet if a neighbour pays the price, he is the purchaser and not another. If the neighbour be unable to pay the price or be consenting to the sale, the proprietor is then at liberty to sell it to another. O Goddess! if immoveable property be sold in the absence of the neighbour and he (the neighbour) pays the price immediately on hearing of the sale, he is competent to take it. But should the purchaser, having made houses or gardens be in the enjoyment of them, the neighbour is not entitled to take such immoveable property even by paying the price."

The Tantras have never been recognized as authorities on law; neither have these rules been quoted in any current authentic law book. So they have failed to influence the practical law of the present day and the net result is that except in Behar and some other provinces of India, the right or custom of pre-emption is not recognized as prevailing among the Hindus, and in the districts where the custom has not been judicially noticed, the custom is to be proved.

It is generally inferred from the way in which the commentators explain or rather explain away the texts that it was at the time of the Muhammadans that the right of pre-emption first came to be recognized among the Hindus. Such an inference cannot be supported if we read properly the mental attitude of the commentators. The later the legal authority, the more hostile is he to restraint on alienations of property. It cannot be denied that the rule that a member of a joint undivided family cannot sell his share in the joint property without the consent of his co-sharers aimed at a result similar to that which the Muhammadan law of pre-emption intends to achieve.* The provision that a field cannot be sold without the consent of the whole village in particular cases, or without the consent of the family, which certainly existed in ancient times, also points to the same conclusion.†

It is often argued that the absence of a Sanskrit name for pre-emption shows the absence of the custom. Such a position is absurd on the face of it, for what is described at length need not be necessarily named. Besides, in all the cases we have noted, the subject of pre-emption has been subsumed under a more general one which has given its name to the chapter and so we do not find a Sanskrit equivalent.‡

From these it appears that the custom of pre-emption among the Hindus dates back to a much more ancient period than is generally supposed and the advent of the Muhammadans only marks a particular stage in its history. The passages in the Arthasâstra serves only as an evidence of a custom which is much older than the passage itself.§

Having now seen how a piece of immoveable property was offered for purchase to certain classes of persons in preference to others in the days of Chandragupta let us turn to further stages in the process by which the sale was effected.

* Chap. I Sec. I, 32 Colebrooke's Mitak.

† दादशोल्लास, Slk. 107 ff; the translation is Macnaghten's.

* The author of the Dayabhaga sets aside the rule by saying that sales of undivided shares are immoral but valid in law.

† See E. W. Hopkins's "India Old and New:" Land Tenure in India.

‡ The word प्रख्यात in Manu VIII, 399 no doubt implies a right of first purchase or pre-emption as Monier Williams calls it but it is claimed by government and in regard to moveables (भाण्डानि) and therefore it cannot be called pre-emption proper.

§ *Vide* in this connection Sivsaranlal's "Law of Pre-emption."

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The fact of the property being on sale has to be announced publicly in the presence of a large number of men who come from not less than 40 neighbouring houses and who have no personal interest in the sale.*

As immoveable property includes cultivated fields,† gardens, enclosed spaces, tanks and reservoirs, each of these kinds of property, before being put to sale, had its boundaries to be accurately defined in the presence of the village-elders and elderly villagers (सामन्तग्रामवृद्धेषु).

Then the crier (प्रतिक्रोष्टा) should shout three times the following words—अनेनार्घेण कः क्रीता *i.e.*, 'who will buy at this price,' thus announcing the price of the property fixed by the seller. The purchaser who accepts the price then enters upon the purchase if the sale be unconditional and not objected to by any claimant.

A tax is levied upon all such sales and in the event of any increase of price owing to superior natural advantages and not to the efforts of the proprietor, the unearned increment is to go to the State.‡

The crier is responsible for the collection and payment of the tax on the sale.§ Any fraudulent announcement of sale of property of which the seller is not the proprietor is punishable with a fine of 24 panas. No sale can be kept in abeyance for more than a week within which time the possession must be delivered to the buyer and the sale made complete. If the purchaser is by fraud passed over and the property transferred to another, the irregularity is punishable with a fine of 200 panas. The punishment for other sorts of fraud is 24 panas.

* ततोऽन्ये वाच्याश्चामन्त्रचत्वारिंशत् कुल्या गृहप्रतिमुखे वेश्म श्रावयेयुः। सामन्तग्रामवृद्धेषु चैवमारामं सेतुवन्धं तड़ाकमाधारं वा मर्य्यादासु यथासेतुभागं "अनेनार्घेण कः क्रीता" इति विवाधुधितमव्याहतं क्रेता, क्रेतुम् लभेत।

For सेतुवन्ध see p. 60 पुष्पफलवाटषण्डकेदारमूलवापास्सेतु। p. 168 वास्तुविक्रयः।

† *See* F. W. above.

‡ खर्गे वायोर्वा भूल्यवर्धने भूल्यवृद्धिः सशुल्का कोशं गच्छेत् (*Ibid*)

§ विक्रयप्रतिक्रोष्टा शुल्कं दद्यात्। अस्वामिप्रतिकोशे चतुर्विंशति पणो दण्डः। सप्तरात्राद्ऊर्ध्वमनभिसरतः प्रतिक्रुष्टो विक्रीणीत। प्रतिक्रुष्टातिक्रमे वास्तुनि दिश्यतो दण्डः, अन्यत्र चतुर्विंशति पणो दण्डः॥ (*Ibid*)

The following restrictions in regard to the sale of immoveable property are also to be noticed. Tax-payers (करदाः) can sell their fields to tax-payers alone and Brahmanas can sell their ब्रह्मदेय or gifted lands to those Brahmanas who are endowed with such lands. Violation of this rule is punishable with the first amercement. Neither can a tax-payer enter on a holding exempted from payment of taxes. If a tax-payer enters on the holding of another tax-payer, he becomes the owner of the whole property except the house (अगार) of the seller unless it is given over by express agreement. If a non-tax payer allows his land to lie fallow, another competent person may enjoy it for 5 years after which he has to return the same to the owner after taking due compensation for the improvement made. The non-tax payer may live elsewhere, and yet may retain the ownership of his land.*

It may be notified in passing that the period of prescription in respect of immoveable properties was usually 20 years but this does not hold good in the case of the enjoyment of a piece of immoveable property by kinsmen, priests or by heretics during political disturbances; neither does it apply in the cases of mortgage.†

We shall now turn to the rules regarding moveables. In the sale of moveables no elaborate formalities are needed. It appears that in a sale of moveable property passed by payment of price and delivery of possession.

A refusal to perform a contract of sale or a refusal to sell an article put for sale by a dealer, was punished with 12 panas, but if the seller could prove any of the following three pleas he was exempted:—

(i) That the article in question had defects (दोष).

(ii) That it has been lost by उपनिपात, i.e., has been stolen or confiscated by the State or has been destroyed by flood or fire.‡

(iii) That it has been found on examination to be unacceptable because it does not possess many of its properties originally imputed to it; or because it has been manufactured by diseased persons (अविदग्ध

* P. 171 विवीतचेवपथहिंसा, &c.

† स्वस्वामिसम्बन्धः॥ P. 190 ff *cf.* Yajn. II, 24-25

‡ Yajn. uses the words पण्यदोष, and राजदैवोपघात while speaking of non-delivery of sold articles—II. 25

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(iv) Another excuse for non-performance of a contract of sale is that a fragile thing contracted for sale to a person cannot be retained longer without detriment to it and so it has been sold to a third person.

The time allowed for recission of sale is 1 night for traders, 3 for cultivators, and 5 for cowherds. With regard to the sale of the necessaries of life however a period of 7 nights is allowed to people of all classes.

A person not accepting an article bought by him is fined 12 panas unless his case has any of the excusing grounds mentioned above.*

If diseased or unclean bipeds and quadrupeds are sold as healthy or clean, the seller is fined 12 panas.† The time for recission of sale is 3 fortnights for quadrupeds, but as regards bipeds no time is expressly mentioned in the text. The recission rule is applicable in the sale of slaves also and in their case a period of 1 year is allowed.

The principle followed in these recissions is that the judges should try to effect them without detriment either to the seller or the buyer as far as possible.

As regards sale through agents (वैय्याहृत्यविक्रय)‡ the following rules are laid down. Agents selling the merchandise of wholesale dealers at prices prevailing at particular localities and times shall hand over to the wholesale dealers as much of the sale proceeds and profit as is realized by them. If owing to the default of the selling agents to sell at the proper place and at the proper time, there be a fall in the prices, the agents shall pay the value and profit at the rate which obtained when they received the merchandise. If however the wholesale dealers agree to remit the profits, the agreement will be carried into effect. In case of a fall in the price, the reduced sale proceeds would be given to the wholesale dealers. If the agents represent that the goods have been destroyed or lost by उपनिपात (explained above) or in transmission (प्रेष) and if the representation appears reasonable,§ trustworthy and is not contradicted by any official report, then the value of the goods need not be made good to the wholesale dealers. The profit and value of the articles would be calculated after making due allowance for all the necessary wear and tear they undergo if they are sold at a distant future or at a distant place. If the wholesale dealers are combined in a partnership, then each will take his own share of the value and profit or loss. The rest of the rules are to be supplied from those regarding deposit (उपनिधि).

Some of the following rules regarding the fraudulent sale of articles* are wide enough and can cover cases in which sale does not come in; but as all of them may also apply to cases where a sale is involved, they have been put here together.

On the detection of a lost article in the possession of a person, the owner will cause him to be arrested by the order of the judge of a court; if however time or place does not permit this process, he can arrest the person himself and realize the article. The judge shall put these questions—"How have you got the article?" If he narrates how he got it but cannot produce the seller, he will be acquitted, but he will lose the article. If the seller is produced, he shall pay not only the value of the article but will also be liable for theft. If the seller runs away or hides himself with the article till it is wholly consumed, he shall pay not only its value but will also be liable for theft.

After proving his title to the lost article, the owner shall be allowed to take possession of it; but on failure to prove his title, he is to pay a fine of 5 times the value of the thing, and the State takes the article. If the owner takes possession of a lost article without taking permission of a court, he shall be punished with the first amercement.

Stolen or lost articles on being detected by persons other than the owner, are to be deposited at शुल्कस्थान *i.e.*, the place for the collection of tolls. If no claimant is forthcoming, such an article shall be taken by the State.

He who proves his title to a lost or stolen biped shall pay 5 panas as ransom (निष्क्रय) before taking possession. Likewise, the

* विक्रीतक्रीतानुशयः। P. 187 ff.

† *(Ibid) cf* Manu VIII, 222, 223, on recission of sale.

‡ वैय्याहृत्य-विक्रयः, औपनिधिकम्। P. 179.

§ सांव्यवहारिक—generally intelligible *i.e.* reasonable.

* अस्वामिविक्रयः P. 189 ff.

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ransom for a single-hoofed animal (एकखुरस्य) is 4 panas; for a cow or a buffalo 2 panas; for minor quadrupeds ¼ pana and for precious stones, &c., 5 p. c. of their value.*

Whatever of the property of his own subjects, the king brings from forests or countries of enemies shall be handed over to its owner. Whatever of the property of his subjects stolen by thieves the king cannot recover, shall be made good by the State. If the king is unable to recover such a thing, he shall allow any person who volunteers, to fetch it. Otherwise he will pay an equivalent compensation to the sufferer.†

Ownership in properties continues thou the owner is away from the place whe they lie. But the owner who neglects question the enjoyment of his moveabl by another for 10 years successively los his right therein. The aged and th minors, the diseased and the distressed, th sojourners abroad and those who hav forsaken their country for good are exem from this rule. The exemption al applies to cases where the assertion title is prevented by absence due to politic disturbances.

The period of prescription does not ru the case of open and sealed deposi treasure-trove, women, articles belongi to the priests and the State.*

* *Cf.* Yajn. II, 171—177.

† अस्वामिविक्रयः, P. 190.—A parallel to the liability of the state for compensation to the injured party for loss of the sort mentioned above is to be found in Manu VIII, 40, Yajn II, 275. 37; Narada II, 17. It is interesting to note that a similar provision has also been incorporated in the Manu Kyay Dhamma of the Burmese law, "if cattle have been stolen, the inhabitants of that district were held liable to which the f marks of the stolen cattle are traced"—Richardso Trasl. IV, 3, P. 117.

* अस्वामिविक्रयः स्वस्वामिसम्बन्ध, p. 190 *ff.* *Cf.* Ma VIII, 145—149,

CASTE IN INDIAN ECONOMICS

Family; Caste or Samaj.

WE have pointed out in an article in this Review in June that the family and not the individual is the unit of the Indian economic organisation. In India the family is the natural sphere for the working out of the struggle for living. There has also developed the idea of a larger unity in society on the basis of kinship or community of blood and origin. Thus along the lines of the family, the conception of the caste, *Samaj* or race has sprung up. The caste or *Samaj* not only determines the area within which marriage can take place, but defines to some extent the proper and characteristic occupation of its members.*

* The aboriginal element in the population of Bengal, *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. LXXV, p. 237. According to Nesfield, the communion of profession is the foundation of caste. He does not admit of any other origin: he deliberately excludes all influence of religion and race. Risley, however, is in direct contradiction with Nesfield. The race, according to him, is the generative principle. The "nasal index" is the formula for the proportion of the nose: this is the most certain criterion of race and he sets down as a b of the organisation of the castes in the East In that the social rank of a man varies in the inverse r of the size of his nose!

The dynamics of caste; Absorption of aboriginal races into Hindu castes.

The conception of caste as the social un is essentially a dynamic one. Inspite of it origin in the racial idea, the unit is prosely tising, constantly growing by accretion. is always drawing new people within i own fold and giving them some characte istic customs and institutions it ensures t them a well-defined rank and place i society. The introduction of new blo into the caste saves it from the deterior tion of the stock following from endoga within the *Samaj* continued for severa generations. It has been shown by the la three censuses that the Hindus proper a well as the outcast races are strong affected, in their physical characteristics a well as social institutions, by intercour with numerous indigenous and aborigin

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tribes. Indeed the descendants of aborigines now in connection with Hindus are ten times in excess of those who have remained loyal to their original tribes. The effect produced on the Hindus themselves has been of a very levelling character and, as nearly all the castes have to some extent allied themselves with renegade aborigines, they have to that extent lost their Hindu purity and genuineness; thus their blood has been diluted to a great extent! Thus the enormous class of Vaisyas and Sudras which constitute nearly five-sixths of the entire population of the country and are the chief source of its economic well-being though showing in the main the preponderance of Hindu traits and characteristics exhibit here and there unmistakeable signs of aboriginal alliances, especially in certain castes, or clans, or families. This process of assimilation of the Hindu castes with the aborigines continues to the present day. Some aborigines are entering within the limits of recognised castes, while others are forming new castes at the lower end of the social ladder.* Aboriginal warriors have assumed the name of Kshatriyas and have been allowed that proud name; while aboriginal priests are up to the present day assuming the name of Brahmans as one by one their tribes enter within the pale of Hinduism. A patriarchal and sacerdotal organisation thus replaces the old totemistic or matriarchal system. The Gupe (?), the Brahmin, the Gotra and its Rishi are all introduced to effect this social transformation. Exogamy and endogamy are now regulated by *Gotra* instead of by totem, and, besides there is the general tendency of what Risley calls very inappropriately, 'hypergamy,' the tendency to marry the girl into the higher caste or status. This bears comparison with the sanctions for अनुलोम and against प्रतिलोम in the Hindu *Smritis*.

The process of Hinduisation, slow and gradual: introduction of the Dravidian element in arts and industries.

Thus the aborginal races are gradually adopting the civilisation and social structure of the Hindus. The aboriginal castes who have been brought in contact with Hindu castes since a longer period, like the Chandāls, the Bāgdis, the Meleyās, the Khoyrās, the Lohārs, &c., have Brahmans of their own just like the Hindu castes of Kaibartas or Goālās; while the Hāris, the Bāuris and other castes who are lowest in the scale of semi-Hinduised aboriginals have no recognised Brahmans, Purohits or Pandits, and perform their religious and social ceremonies themselves without the aid of hired priests. Again, castes in which the process of Hinduisation is more advance are classed as *Nabasākha* or the new branch. Besides the Kayasthas or Vaidyas, they constitute the Kāmār and the Kumār, the Teli and the Tāmuli, the Kānsāri and the Sānkhāri, the Tānti, the Nāpit, the Sadgop, the Moyrā, and the Gandhabanik. Each of these castes have Brahmans of their own, called Barna-Brahmans, or Brahmans belonging to particular castes, who perform religious ceremonies. These castes are all considered purer than the castes mentioned above. Their water will be taken by high-caste men, but not that touched by the former.*

It may be observed in connection with this intermixture of Hindu castes with the semi-aboriginals that a large portion of the Hindu's decorative, artistic and manual skill, *i.e.*, delicacy of touch and manipulation of finger movements, is due to the introduction of the Dravidian element, characterised by a high degree of natural endowment in these respects. Thus the Hindus popularly characterised by the exclusiveness and strictness of caste prejudices have

* "Caste is the frame of the whole Brahminical organisation. It is in order to come within the pale of Brahmanism that the aboriginal populations constitute themselves in caste and accept the strict regulations of caste and the phenomenon goes back high into the past." *Senart des Castes dans L'Inde, vide Indian Antiquary*, May, 1912.

* This tendency of assimilation is most strong in Bengal for two reasons. First, the small colonies of ancient Aryan emigrants settling amongst Kolharian and Dravidian peoples intermarried with the latter. Secondly, the prevalence of Buddhism for centuries, which encouraged such intermixture. Perhaps the strength of Buddhism in Bengal was derived in part from the non-Aryan element in the population. Even now the traces of Buddhism that are found in Bengal are to be seen among the lower semi-aboriginal castes like the Bagdis, the Haris, the Sarakis, &c. The "depressed classes" of Bengal are mostly the survivals of the now-forgotten Buddhism. They are *now* depressed because they have lost the memory of their glorious achievements in the past history of Bengal: it was *they* who preached the ideals of Buddhism in Tibet, China and Japan, who carved the magnificent temples of Borobodur in Java, and who cultivated trade relations with Ceylon, Siam and Cambodia.

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notwithstanding shewn a catholicity and wonderful power of assimilation with such important effects on the social and industrial history of the country.* This significant movement in Indian Sociology has, however, received a considerable check of late through the proselytising activities of Christian missions.

Economic movement within an industrial Caste: Division of caste according to ascending groups: (*a*) Artisans, (*b*) Middlemen, (*c*) General Traders: New Castes formed in the higher strata.

Again, even within the caste there is much scope for advancement. Instances are quite common in which certain members of a caste have risen to a higher status due to wealth and ability, leading to the subdivision of the caste into groups. Indeed, there is always visible an upward economic movement in a prospering community. Thus it comes to divide itself according to the following groups ascending in order in the social scale: (*a*) handicraftsmen, (*b*) middlemen of the trade, (*c*) middlemen of other trades. As the community is thus divided according to the separation of the occupation, in every step in the ascending scale there is a ramification of castes and occupations. In the upper strata the original fluidity is lost and the caste and status tend to become more or less stereotyped. Thus the higher sub-group ceases to consort with the lower in eating and marrying, and gradually by an inevitable course of development is differentiated into a new caste till even the common origin is sometimes forgotten.

Illustrations.

The Suvarnabanik is quite distinct from the *Suvarnakar*, the former being the traders and the latter artisans, goldsmiths, and it is remarkable that members of the Baniya caste engaging in the profession of goldsmiths are styled *Sankara* or mixed bani and excommunicated from the socie of their brethren. The *Saha*, which is th most enterprising and prosperous com munity in Bengal, comprising a larg number of the cloth merchants, salt-trader wood-dealers and bankers, is quite distinc from the *Sunri* who is the distiller (artisan or the wine-merchant. The *Tili* deriv their origin from the oil-pressing communit They are now engaged in trade and mone lending and have come to constitute a cas distinct from the *Kolu*. Among the fishin castes when a man has saved some mone his first idea is to give up fishing and be come a fishmonger. The middlemen called *nikaris*, or *gunris* now constitute a distinct caste higher in status than th ordinary fishing castes.* In Dacca, the San *khari* or the shell-cutting caste is divide into two sub-castes: (*a*) Bara-Bhagiya o Bikrampur Sankhari, (*b*) Chhota Bhagiya o Sonargaon Sankhari. The latter are a com paratively small group, constituted of mo expert master artisans, who work at polish ing shells which they purchase rough cut- a departure from traditional usage whic accounts for their separation from the ma body of this caste. In other districts, owin possibly to the smallness of the caste n similar groups have been formed. Recentl a certain portion of the Dacca Sankhar have become traders, writers, timber an cloth merchants and claim on that accoun to be superior in social rank to those wh manufacture shell bracelets.† This is a interesting example of a caste in the cours of formation.

Perhaps the characteristic and mo remarkable example of the upward eco nomic movement and consequent soci differentiation is to be seen among th weaving community of Calcutta. The are several grades such as the Basāks, th Dakshinkul and the Madhyamkul *tanti* The Basaks generally are now engage in trade and usury. The *Dakshinkuls* to about 50 years ago were active trade with the English cloth and silk merchan as well as general agents and importer The Madhyamkuls still practise the hereditary craft. Originally the weave

* It is significant that the process described above is one of growth by general absorption, adoption and assimilation and not by conscious integration and differentiation which can only be fostered under the stress of political forces in building up a national state. As it has been well remarked, "the history of religions presents us no stronger phenomenon than the *tacit* process of proselytism by which Hinduism is absorbing within itself millions of the less civilised tribes of India".

* Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal,

† *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 221.

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settling in Govindapur and Sutanati prospered in connection with the English on account of their trade in the textiles and dye-stuffs, and, according to the general movement indicated above, gradually rose in the social scale and becoming middlemen and importers dissociated themselves more or less from their humble brethren of the craft. These middlemen formed themselves into *Dakshinkuls* and the general traders differentiated themselves into the *Basak* community. With this economic differentiation there has been a corresponding social one with the result that the Basaks, the Dakshinkuls and the Madhyamkuls do not intermarry though originally they came from the same stock. For these historical reasons these classes of the weaving community are to be found only in the centres of European cotton trade like Calcutta, Howrah, Hughly, Chandernagore and Serampore.

Similar differentiation in an agricultural caste.

In the case of agricultural communities this upward movement comprises the following stages, ascending in order in social status: (*a*) the cultivator, (*b*) the cultivator who also employs labour, (*c*) the mahājan or money-lender with or without agricultural occupation, (*d*) the landholder.*

Effects of this movement on industry and population, caste gives scope for ability. Illustration from the case of the Chamars.

The upward economic movement, both in the agricultural as well as the industrial castes is the cause of the vigorous vitality and fruitfulness of those classes among the population. If we always bear in mind the fact that almost all the industrial castes follow more or less the agricultural occupation, we can easily see the wide choice of employments and modes of living among them. In each of these employments there are, as we have already pointed out, distinct grades of occupation to which the caste-man can rise by degrees through diligence and ability. There is, again, the stimulus to labour due to the fact that the higher grade of work implies improved social status. Thus there is continuous scope for enterprise and rise in the social scale through diligence and ability. Indeed a trade or profession tends to become stereotyped and too rigidly followed from father to son for generations without any improvement, only when the caste loses its vigorous life, its enterprise, initiative and inventive faculty. Where, on the other hand, the caste shows life and vigour, the trade is not followed in the same way by the family for generations, but there is more or less of a wide choice of employments and of distinct grades of profession to which every man can rise by his labour and skill. The Chāmārs afford an excellent specimen of a caste of this type, being noted for their internal prosperity and consequent growth beyond that of other castes. The hereditary occupation of these people is the manipulation of leather, as dealers in hides, tanners, shoe-makers, harness-makers and the like. Their caste has seven divisions each of which undertakes a separate branch of the general trade, while in order to give full scope to each so that one may not intrude on the province of another, they maintain no mutual intercourse in the smallest degree and permit no intermarriages or any social or festive union. There is also scope for an improvement from one grade to another, a Chāmār by his ability can rise from the lowest to the highest profession of the industry. Again, the caste has been much too wise to restrict its labour merely to the pursuits of ancestors. Many Chāmārs have become servants, grooms, day-labourers and coolies; and a very large number have taken to agriculture. Throughout a large portion of Northern India, extensive tracts are entirely cultivated by this caste. As cultivators they are laborious and fairly intelligent. Thousands of villages are in their hands, in most of which they are only tenants; yet in not a few they are in the position of landholders.* Like the Chāmārs many other low castes also have a wide choice of occupations. Thus, as the Rev. Sherring has pointed out—

"They have been free to choose various employments which their families have followed from generation to generation with such regularity and strictness

* The hunting and fighting tribes are gradually lifted up to the status of Kshatriyas and Rajputs as well as landholders.

* M. M. Sherring: The Unity of the Hindu Race, the Calcutta Review, Vol LXXI, p. 216.

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that many castes are known by their occupations. From this division of labour which doubtless has its serious drawbacks arising from the circumstance that a trade or profession is too rigidly followed from father to son, leaving at last little scope for enterprise and the exercise of the inventive faculty, the great internal prosperity and extraordinary numerical increase of the Sudras and castes below them have, nevertheless chiefly resulted."*

Evils of Caste. Illustrations.

Indeed, the evil of caste, sociologically speaking, only arises when the fluidity is lost and the caste in the higher strata frames strict rules forbidding intermarriage with the lower sections, and, industrially speaking, when the caste becoming strict and stereotyped checks the upward economic movement from the lower to the higher subgroups. Thus it sometimes happens that a branch of the handicraft has come to constitute a separate caste and does not permit a rise from the lower to the higher branches of the occupation. The occupation embraces a whole crowd of distinct castes or classes each of which enforces unmeaning distinctions with a rigidity that kills all originality and initiative. Thus in the United Provinces amongst the workers in metal, the *Kasera* forms a distinct caste from the Thatera. The Kasera's specialty lies in mixing the softer metals, zinc, copper and tin and moulding the alloy into various shapes, such as cups, bowls, plates, &c. The Thatera's art consists in engraving and polishing the utensils which the Kasera supplies.† No *Thatera* can rise to the *Kasera* group and there is no intermarriage between the two sections.

Thus the occupations become isolated and the isolation leads to narrowness and consequent stagnation. Among the oil-pressers there are two sub-castes which have originated from an industrial improvement. The *Ghana*, *Ghani* or *Gachua* Telis work an oil mill of primitive pattern. The machine has no hole for the removal of the oil which has to be soaked up with a bit of rag tied on to a stick. The *Kolus* use a m with a hole to let out the oil.* The sta of the latter is very low. The former not adopt the improvement, thus the mo ingenious craftsmen pay the penalty f their intelligence. In Dacca, the *Ba Bhagiya* Kumhars or potters have separate into two divisions, the first descended fro Tilak Pal only make black utensils, the s cond sprung from Madhav Pal only mak red.† The distinction is unmeaning, neve theless it is enforced with rigidity. Simila examples of cases marked off into distinc grades or classes by almost impassable barr ers can also be cited. The distinctio which they emphasise serve only to impe economic progress and should not be tole rated by a healthy industrial community.

Mohammedan occupation castes.

Among the Mohammedans there are occ pation castes like those of *darzis* (tailor *bhistis* (water-carriers), drummers, wir drawers, &c., but these are not so rig as among the Hindus. Unlike t Hindus, the Mohammedans are not bou by strict regulations in the matter food. But though under the democrat constitution of Islam theoretically a men are equal, there are grades of soci rank recognised among them. Th higher class which claims descent from t prophet from some of his followers consid themselves superior to those sprung fro Hindu converts. But these latter ha brought with them some of the rules caste, and many of the inferior agricultur and artisan groups are often as strictly end gamous as Hindu castes. Thus the *Julah* of Bengal, who are the most important fun tional group amongst the Mohammeda form a strict and regular caste organisat after the fashion of the Hindus. The mo ment from the lower to the higher rank society is, however, much easier among Mohammedans than among the Hin castes, and is tersely described in the w known saying: "The year before las was a *jolaha*; last year a Sheikh (or respe able Mohammedan); this year, if the pri rise, I will become a Sayyied (or desce dant of the Prophet)"; though the process

* Where this diversity of occupation is not found, the population cannot grow. Thus the Rajput tribe is restricted in its pursuits, so that many of its members are unable to obtain a livelihood for themselves but lead an indolent life as dependants on their wealthier brethren. The increase of the tribe is in consequence seriously affected.

† W. Crooke: Tribes and Castes of the United Provinces.

* Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. p. 307.

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promotion, as Mr. Gait has pointed out, is not quite so rapid in reality as it is in the proverb. The advantage of an easy rise in the social scale is indeed the chief cause of the success of the Mohammedan Pirs in securing converts for Islam. In the Panjab and in Eastern Bengal, among the lower Hindu castes a man engaged in an occupation which renders him contemptible in the eyes of his neighbours, such as the currier or sweeper, when he aspires to rise in social rank, adopts Islam and starts one of the minor industries which require little training. Thence the progress to a higher life and improved social standing is not difficult.*

Caste Management: Punchayet.

The management of a caste is in the hands of the *punchayet* and its chief who is called by different names, Sardar, Mathbar, Pradhān, or Mandal. The Punchayet takes cognizance of all breaches of caste custom in respect of religion, morality or trade. Thus in respect of industrial matters, no member of a caste is allowed to engage in any occupation which is looked upon as degrading; a Jolāh for instance, may not mend shoes, nor may a Kolu serve as a washerman, nor a Dhunia act as a midwife. In some cases a caste will not even allow its members to engage in avocations which are considered more honourable than its own traditional occupation. No member of a caste may endeavour to oust another from any employment he has obtained by offering to do the work for a lower wage or otherwise.† The Punchayet sometimes frames regulations with regard to manufacture and use of raw materials. The weavers' punchayet, for instance, in some parts of the country prohibited for several years the use of the artificial dyes and excommunicated artisans who dyed cloths in these colours. Among the Bhāskars or ivory-carvers of Murshidabad, no artisan can carve the figure of Krishna. If an artisan manufactures or sells the figure of their God, he incurs the displeasure of the Punchayet. The Punchayet also organises trade strikes. Where the trade includes men of very different castes, as for instance, darzis or tailors and cabmen in larger cities, the Punchayet is much stronger. In such cases, the Punchayet shows remarkable features of similarity with the European trades unions, enforcing strict trade regulations in the interests of the caste, and presenting a united front against a common danger, or grave trade peril.

* *Vide* W. Crooke, Northern India, p. 130.

† Gait: Census of India, 1901, Vol. VI. Part I, p. 440. *Vide* also Mukundi Lal's article on Trade guilds in India, Modern Review, 1911.

Caste and the Social ideal.

We conclude with a few general observations on the importance of caste in the life of the artisans. The caste represents a social ideal. To the artisans the caste is only the family writ large. The caste man is the member of a larger unit. A member of the caste even if he is an orphan is not helpless, for the caste will feed and protect him and train him in his craft till he can earn his livelihood. And the caste provides an excellent system of training at the minimum of cost. Particular crafts being confined to the same caste, trade secrets are preserved and dexterity as well quickness of perception are acquired most easily. Again, the boy has an instinctive leaning towards the hereditary craft and begins with a fund of technical insight and education which it would otherwise require years to acquire. The caste gives the individual other advantages besides his industrial training. It is the caste on which he depends for help at the time of a death in the family. The caste men are really his friends in need, as they also celebrate together a marriage or other occasions of rejoicing. To the caste also the individual looks forward for justice in case of injuries received and the caste has the power of enforcing it by the sanction of certain penalties and above all by the power of final exclusion from the social group. Indeed, the real reason why the people still cling to the institution of caste-dinners and other forms of lavish expenditure at the risk of bringing poverty and indebtedness upon themselves is to be sought in the influence of the social ideal. This social ideal has begun to be superseded by the individualistic ideal of the West but it still remains the ideal of the great bulk of our *people*, though it is sometimes, unhappily, an ideal of poverty of the individual and the family.

Radha Kamal Mukerjee.

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MALARIA AND MOSQUITOES

THE object in view in submitting this paper is to show whether complete eradication of this disease is possible or not.

Before we take up the discussion of the means of control it will be worthwhile to say a few words about the endemic nature of the disease and the causes of its spreading.

First, the spread of malaria must depend upon something wherein the malaria germs live in a virulent condition and breed and wherefrom the carriers may get them. This something is, as far as is known, a human victim of the disease. So there cannot be an endemic malaria in a locality unless there was a malarial patient nearby.

Secondly, we are to see the agents that carry the germs and spread them from a sick to a healthy man. This side of the question also did not escape the notice of scientists of the day. It has been authentically demonstrated by many students in that line that mosquitoes, though not the only, yet are the main agents for the transmission of the malaria germs. Happily all mosquitoes that hum round us in marshy places are not so dangerous. The females of a kind of mosquitoes known as Anopheles are mainly responsible for this danger of man.

It is a well-known proven fact that mosquitoes do not breed in any other place but in water. Anopheles also do not violate their racial rules or habits, and breed in shallow fresh water. Direct sunshine is not so agreeable to the eggs, so they always select shady places to lay their eggs in. The larvæ hatch out of the eggs in water and the pupæ from the larvæ. The larvæ and the pupæ need oxydizing their bodies, so their bodies are furnished with breathing apparatus. In the larva condition they have a kind of tubes called syphones at the posterior ends of the bodies. Occasionally they come up to the surface of the water they live in, to have their supply of fresh air without which they cannot live. Again the emerged out adults have th distinctive peculiarities as not to fly mo than a thousand (1000 yds.) yards off fro the place of their birth.

Now that we have gathered some know ledge about the source of the germs, th carriers and their nature, we can wis think of the means to get rid of them.

Here a question may arise as to whethe infected anopheles can migrate from on locality to another through the medium railway trains, steamers and other means transportation? There is every possibili for such migrations, but there is nothing be hopeless about it as a little caution the way of disinfecting the train, &c., the part of the companies will safeguard a succesful way.

To begin the control work over an are we must first of all have an expert. If th area be too big for one we must hav several of them and conveniently divide th area into several districts each of whic ought to be kept under one of them. Of course it is by all means desirable an necessary to have one man, well-experience in the work, to watch over or supervise th whole work.

How to get the money to hire the experts.

Some educated people in the locality, wh understand the seriousness of the situatio will have to impress on the public th importance of controlling the disease whic is causing the death of so many and sucki the vitality of the rest. To the lande people or the real estate men they will hav to show in particulars how their properti fail to yield the desirable profits owing t the prevalence of malaria; how th produce of their lands fail to meet th proper estimation in the market. To th proprietors of factories or to those who hav men to work for them, they must show ho they do not get from their helps, who ha been weakened by the malaria parasite

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which suck their vitality, enough work for their money. To the sick it must be shown by simple reasoning and proper demonstration how he got the disease from the mosquito bites and how the germs are acting up his blood. The young minds of the school children, which are always ready to receive new knowledges, must be well educated with the proper and simple knowledge, about the relation of the mosquitoes with malaria and the seriousness of the disease, by lectures, demonstrations and other means. With constant agitation the public must also be enlightened to this effect. With a thus enlightened public one could not but succeed in raising the necessary funds. Monthly subscriptions from those personally interested, private donations from rich men, organizing "Tag days" and by some other means money may be easily collected.

It will not be out of place, to mention here, how one single "Tag day" in a small country town like Oroville in California, yielded $ 400 (nearly Rs. 1300) to the fund of the local Antimalarial war conducted by Prof. W. B. Herms of the University of California, during the summer of 1910.

If a permanent campaign over an area be necessary, it will not be by any means too much to influence the local or central government to levy a slight tax to supply the necessary fund.

Now supposing that we have the necessary funds which is very little when we think about the benefit to be derived out of that money, as Prof. Herms needed only $900 to $1400 (Rs. 2,800 to Rs. 4,300) for controlling the disease in Oroville (Calif.), an area of ten square miles, we will discuss the means of control.

What will be the duties of the experts:

(1) First, they must acquaint themselves well with the rich, influencial and educated people of the locality. With their help they must make a good survey of the district to get a thorough knowledge of the creeks and crevices of the places. Good and illustrated maps may help them much in their studies; so those should be procured.

(2) Secondly, with their hand lenses or with other instruments, if it is impossible to do that without the help of any instrument, examine all the possible breeding places, etc., all shady and shallow watery places. Mark the places having mosquito brood with red flags or anything for a noticeable distinction. Red flags were used for that purpose by Prof. Herms in Auborn (Calif.) and other places. Red under sunlight is a very noticeable and striking color always indicating danger.

(3) Thirdly, they must establish a small, and temporary laboratory in the place; gather therein different kinds of mosquitoes, to familiarise the public with the knowledge of the varieties of mosquitoes and to show clearly the distinctive features of the anopheles. Therein they should make the mosquitoes breed in some bottles, etc., to show the people the life history of the insect; as practical demonstrations are always more effective than mere lectures.

(4) Fourthly, they must be very regular in writing up the reports of their works and must keep a constant watch over the variations in the conditions of the district.

(5) Fifthly, they must procure copies of the articles about the campaign, published in the local papers and those of the neighbouring districts. Sometime print some copies of the most favorably written ones and hang them in different public places.

(6) The sixth duty is the practical application of the preventive measures, which though the main function of the experts, is not so difficult. Of course different measures are applicable for different localities, seasons and climates.

(7) As the seventh they must always try to keep up the spirit of the public by occasional lectures, articles in the local papers; visiting the sick people etc., etc.

(8) Lastly or before the actual work is begun the expert should have an account of the number of infected children so that at the close of the campaign or some time after the start of the work a re-counting may indicate the efficacy of the undertaking.

Details and reasons.

The reasons why the experts should have a thorough knowledge of the creeks and crevices of the locality are very simple as without some such knowledge they may let go some breeding places unnoticed and thereby spoil the benefit of the works

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altogether. If the mosquitoes, the adults of which cannot be very easily done with, find out one breeding place, they will multiply again to the discredit of the experts. All their energy to control will be of no avail if they fail to procure a thorough knowledge of the locality.

The duty No. 2 is that of examining the breeding places. In the whole controlling work nothing has so much need of an expert as this. If the man in charge is of an unsuspecting nature, what to say of ignorance, he may miss many breeding places. Professor Herms has experienced the folly of being too credulous on the part of some of his experts in the Oroville district (Calif.). A portion of a bank of an irrigation canal broke or was broken, the water ran over the adjoining fields and after a few days, to the utter surprise of the experts that field was found to be a breeding place. Sometimes too much irrigation water is supplied to localities; the water there does not dry up soon enough and consequently turn up congenial for mosquito breeding. So a thorough examination of all the waters, in cans, barrels, tanks, irrigations or anywhere else, is very necessary.

Duty No. 3 not requiring much explanation I will come to the 4th one which says about writing up the reports and watch over the variations of conditions in the district. Keeping a clear record of the work shows the experience of the expert. From the records only, the public and the central authority can understand how and how much of the work has been done, if they want to do that before or after the completion of the work. The public cannot trust the experts if these records are not kept clear and good in shape. Much of the success of such campaigns depends upon keeping good and timely records. Good records of a successful campaign not only satisfy the promoters of the same and the people of the locality, but also encourage the sufferers in other places to undertake such work. So the expert must be very careful about the records. They have to watch over the changes in the condition of the districts also, as variations in temperature, atmosphere and seasons affect the breeding of mosquitoes. A shower of rain may spoil or save much work and so on.

Duties No. 5 and 7 need no explanation, while it is very necessary to add a few words more to illustrate the duty No. 7 which is the practical application of the preventive measures. This may look very easy to the shallow thinker but as the measure must be different according to the difference of condition enough complexity is evolved to make it a difficult task.

Permanent remedy, that is to fill up all the holes or low places so that water may not stand there to serve as breeding places for the mosquitoes, if possible, should always be encouraged. This though it may seem to be very expensive in the beginning will, in the long run, prove to be the most economical remedy. In the Penryn district (Calif.) there were some ditchlike low places along the railroads. Rain and other water used to stand there serving the mosquitoes as breeding places. The railway authorities were requested to fill those waters and were explained the economy of a permanent remedy; they preferred the latter and filled up those places.

There may be big watery places with enough deep water to prevent a permanent remedy. People may need that water for cattle feed and other purposes. In cases like that a permanent remedy is neither possible nor desirable. So there we have to take the help of some chemicals, oil, or the natural enemies of the mosquitoes. If the water is useful for the cattle or is too bushy for the oils, the natural enemies of the mosquitoes are to be had recourse to.

The principal enemy of the mosquitoes when in the larvæ and pupal stage, are some kinds of fishes and carnivorous insects though in the barrel or can water they are safe from these enemies. So this is said about the permanent pools, as the fishes and the carnivorous insects being slow breeders are found in such pools only. Before I go into further details about these natural enemies I take the experience of Dr. C. W. Stiles :—

"Dr. C. W. Stiles informs Mr. L. O. Howard (U.S. that during the summer of 1889, when working with C. H. Hurst they collected at Leipsic a large number of mosquito larvæ and pupæ, and that many of these died in the laboratory. Upon opening one of the bodies which was quite distended, he found a specimen of mermis, one of the hair worms or hair snakes coiled up in the body cavity. Examination of other dead larvæ or pupæ disclosed the fact that nearly every one was parasitized by the same species of mermis. He showed the worms to Prof. Rudolph

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Leuckart, who informed him that he had repeatedly found the same nematode in former years, and that he observed that in years when mosquitoes are numerous the worm is very scarce. This led him to believe that the parasite was not an unimportant factor in destroying mosquitoes near Liepsic. Later Dr. Stiles found the same worm taken from other breeding places and it was quite noticeable that the parasitized insects were weaker in their movements than those that were not infected with worms."

There are many other worms or germs but by far the most effective natural enemies of the mosquito larvæ and pupæ are the fishes. Almost all the small carnivorous fishes which inhabit swamp pools and still water will feed upon mosquito larvæ. Nearly all of the *Minnows*, specially those forms known as *Top-Minnows*, of the Genera *Fundulas* and *Gambusia*, feed abundantly upon insects found near the surface of canals and other similar places and although not at all specific in their choice of the early stages of the mosquitoes eat them perhaps with even more avidity than other aquatic insects, especially such as are hard-shelled. Then, too, the voracious little creatures known as *Stickle-backs* and especially the forms known as *Gasterosteus Aculentus* and *C. bispinosus* have this beneficial habits. *Stickle-backs*, however, are by no means confined to insects for food, but will feed upon other animals including good sized *Tadpoles*. But Mr. W. P. Seal of the Aquarium Supply Company of Delair, N. I. (U. S.) recommends the so-called *Top Minnows* of the genus *Gambusia*. He says these are the only fishes he knows which will kill the Notonecta (the water boatman), but they do this only when other food is scarce and when the bugs are small. As destroyers of eggs and larvæ adults as well of those insects which infest and mutilate aquatic plants and lay their eggs in water, Mr. Seal finds these *Top-Minnows* vastly superior to any other fishes. Dr. H. F. Moore, of the United States Commission of fish and fisheries says that the *Top-Minnows* scientifically known as *Gambusia affinis*, are abundant in sluggish waters, fresh or brackish, almost everywhere south of the Ohio river; they have been found to live on or feed on the insect larvæ and pupæ. Later on Mr. Seal prescribes the common little *Sunfish* or "Pumpkin seed" as a good fish to introduce into fishless ponds. It grows large, of course, but is very prolific and the young do not make a very great growth in a year, so that the young of each year remain comparatively small, say from three-fourths of an inch to a half inch, until the young of the following year are ready for business, which would be by July 1st. The *Top-Minnows*, he says, being soft-rayed fish, become the easy prey of larger fishes introduced into the same water, but the *Sunfish* being protected by spine-rayed fins enjoys greater freedom from molestation. The *Sunfish*, he says, abounds in every pond and stream where fishes are plentiful, excepting cold mountain streams. The common *Sunfish*, as he says, is the most voracious of the small fishes. It has a larger mouth than the *Top-minnow* and is wholly carnivorous, whereas the *Top minnows* are omnivorous. Every aquarium dealer in any large city will be able to supply *Sunfishes*.

There are other aquatic vertibrates, besides the fishes, which destroy mosquito larvæ. Mr. Albert Koebele says that he imported some western *Salamander* (Diemyctylus Torosus Esch) from California into the Hawaiian Islands and liberated them in the upper part of the *Mikiki* stream in the hope of reducing the large number of mosquitoes breeding everywhere in small pools and taro fields. He kept two of these *Salamanders* for several weeks in an open tank, and they devoured and kept the water free from the mosquito larvæ that bred therein. He says—

"It is to be greatly desired that this valuable batrachean will increase to such number as to be able to help us keep in check the most troublesome insects on this island."

Then there are many predatory insects which feed upon mosquitoes. The late Dr. R. H. Lamborn of N. Y. and Philadelphia, was so impressed with the voracity of the *Dragon-flies* (Odonada) that he offered a series of prizes for the three best essays regarding the methods of destroying mosquitoes and houseflies, especially designating the Dragon-fly for careful investigation. The prizes were awarded and the successful essays were published in an entertaining volume entitled "Dragon-flies *vs.* Mosqutoes. The Lamborn prize essays."

The Dragon-fly larvæ feed upon the mosquito larvæ and as winged adults they capture mosquitoes on the wings; but the Lamborn prize essays could not solve the problem of breeding them on a large scale

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for mosquito extermination and in fact the insect enemies of the mosquitoes are hard to be handled.

Some of the aquatic beetle larvæ and some of the predatory water bugs undoubtedly destroy hundreds of mosquito larvæ. There are some natural enemies of the adult mosquitoes also but it is not worthwhile to discuss about them in this paper.

The help of these natural enemies of the mosquitoes are to be sought for only if the pools are too deep to be dried up or if they cannot be advantageously treated with insecticides.

So the next method will be the abolition of breeding places by drainage. If the pools are not so very deep and yet the use of insecticides may easily be avoided, it will be always desirable to have good drainage to allow the water to run out and keep the place dry. There may happen cases where the farmers do not want to have a permanent remedy over some shallow pools which they claim to be useful for their agricultural purposes; use of insecticides may be useless and too expensive on those pools. To dry those places by means of drainage, to keep good drainage always ready for the outflow of water and not to allow rain water, etc., stand in these places will be the best possible means there.

There are various kinds of insecticides experimented upon in many different places. So before we dare prescribe any we must discuss the efficacy of the various insecticides. The insecticides used for this purpose, *i.e.*, controlling mosquitoes, must be divided into classes according to the way they work, as (1) those that are direct poison to the wrigglers and pupæ, and (2) those that cause suffocation to the larvæ and the pupæ who have to come to the surface of the water to have a fresh supply of air.

I will begin with the direct poison and finish the discussion with the suffocators, which are by far the most effective and desirable.

Many direct poisons were tried by Prof. Smith during his New Jersey (U.S.) campaign but he could not approve the efficacy of any, so a mention of them here will be useless. Prof. W. B. Herms of U.C. seems to be in favor of the use of nicotin. During the second term of the College year 1909-1910 several experiments were carried on in the Entomological laboratory under the direction of the said professor. Nicotine-Sulphate or Sulpher Nicotine of 40% strength was tried in various dilutions. Its vapour, and residue, etc., all were tried and to the great satisfaction of the students and the Professor Nicotine proved to be a satisfactory poison. 7·5% dilution was found to be the best successful one.

In favor of Nicotin it may be said that though it is not so cheap now yet there is every possibility of its being so in the near future; it does not volatilize out, neither is it much heavier than water to settle down at the bottom of the pools and it is an effective insecticide. Yet it cannot compete with the suffocating oils. Prof. Herms in his Penryn (Calif.) campaign found that Nicotin needs 5 to 7 hours to kill the wrigglers while suffocating oils will kill them in a much shorter time than that, namely in 2 or 3 hours. So as far as it is known the suffocating means is the best. The means of suffocating is that of oiling the water in the pools to make a compact film on the surface and thereby prevent the wriggler and the pupæ to breathe. This oiling has another function also: the pregnant females when they come near the water, cannot suffer the oil and necessarily die there. Manywhere private persons tried this oiling method, conscious or unconscious of its efficacy, on the neighbouring pools, and were satisfied with the results. Mosquitoes do not fly off very far from their breeding places, so by this oiling they could prevent the growth of mosquitoes in the locality.

Of all the oils tried up to this time *Kerosene* has proved to be the best one. It was tried good many times and for good many years to the satisfaction of the appliers. Some people, even scientists, did not seem to be much in favor of Kerosene. Even Major Ross, the English expert, seemed at first rather sceptical as to the value of Kerosene but returned from his West African expedition fully convinced of its value and since that time the use of petroleum oils has gradually become the standard treatment for mosquito breeding pools. For example, Fermi and Lumbo, the Italian

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investigators, think that one man with one day's teaching, could rid a good-sized city very largely of mosquitoes by repeating ten to twelve times, through a summer of seven months, the application of petroleum to the breeding places. Mr. W. I. Matheson, in the summer of 1900, attained very successful results by treating an area of several square miles on the north shore of Long Island with Kerosene combined with some drainage work. The army regulations in Cuba provide for the treatment of the breeding places with Kerosene and the results are reported to have been admirable. The city of Winchester Va., during the summer of 1900, was treated with Kerosene under an ordinance of the city council, with such a good result that in the spring of 1901 the city council passed a further regulation providing a penalty for the non-treatment of breeding places.

Thus far I have written to show what has been done in the other parts of this country (U. S. A.) and that of the world. But to the Californians who have witnessed the wonderful results attained by Prof. W. B. Herms in 1910, by the use of Kerosene, during his anti-mosquito campaigns in the district of Auborn, Oroville and Bakersfield, there is nothing to be said to emphasize the importance of Kerosene in this connection; they have seen Prof. Kellog's work in Stanford and that of Prof. Quailes in Berkeley.

Now in choosing the grade of the oils three factors are to be considered. First, it should spread rapidly, second, it should not evaporate too rapidly, and third, it should not make clogs.

The heavier grades of oils will not spread rapidly or readily over the surface of the water, but will cling together in spots and the coatings will be unnecessarily thick. The mosquitoes will freely breed in the places or openings between the clogs. Mr. W. C. Kerr, who conducted the extensive experiments in Stantin Island tried several kinds of oils and found to be best adapted a low grade of oil known as "fuel oil" supplied by the Standard Oil Company. Of the oils which he tried, some contained too much residuum of a thick nature which appeared as a precipitate and could scarcely be pumped; some were too thick in chilly weather and could not be pumped at all, while some were limp, easily handled, made a good uniform coating on the ponds and were very effective. So long as the oil flows readily and is cheap enough, the end is gained, provided it is not too light, does not evaporate too readily and is not driven or washed off by wind or rain. Mr. Matheson in his North Shore experiments, arrived at the same conclusion, and found the "light fuel oil" of the Standard Oil Company to be the best for this purpose. Prof. Herms in his experiments in Auborn, etc., had the same experience and found the Standard Oil Company's "Backersfield oil" the best. He advises to use light oil mixed with some crude oil, as that will prevent the evaporation and clogging and may help the oil to stand against the wind.

How many times a month or so a certain pool should be oiled depends entirely upon the local conditions—the idea being to keep the surface continually under an oil film for the whole breeding period of the mosquitoes, *i.e.* the spring and summer. Generally oiling twice a month ought to be enough, provided it is not blown out by the wind or washed off by rain.

Kerosene may be applied simply by pouring it on the surface of the water when it will spread by itself or be spread rapidly by light winds, or it may be spread through a spraying nozzle. The spreading method was used successfully on Stantin Island by Mr. Kerr and his associates. The labourers employed were furnished with *bucket pumps* and were able to throw the spray into the ponds to a considerable distance from the shore. Though the use of the spraying nozzle was not so much admired by Mr. L. O. Howard, the entomologist of the U. S. Government, yet successful use of it by many people in many parts of the country speaks for it. Finally Prof. Herms of U. C., whose name has been mentioned so many times in this paper, used spraying nozzles in his last campaign and is very pleased with the work.

I here take the privilege of reproducing a part of the letter written by Major-Surgeon I. R. Kean of the U. S. army in Cuba, to the Adjutant General of the department, on the 13th of October, 1900—

"The evidence is now perfectly conclusive that malaria, as well as *filarial* infections, are carried by the insect, and there are reasons to suspect that it may be connected with the transmission of *yellow fever* also.

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Every consideration of prudence and comfort demands therefore, the protection from them, of the commands at all posts. It is believed that this can be done with a very slight expenditure of time and trouble, by the enforcement on Post-commanders of two precautions, namely :—1. The enforcement of the use of Mosquito *bars* in all barracks and especially in all hospitals. 2. The destruction of the larvæ of the young mosquitoes, commonly known as "Wiggle tails or Wigglers" by the use of petroleum on the water where they breed.

The mosquitoes do not fly far and seek shelter when the wind blows. So it is usually the case that every community breeds its own supply of mosquitoes, in water-barrels, fire-brackets, or undrained puddle, post-holes, etc. An application of one ounce of kerosene to each fifteen square feet of water, once a month, will destroy not only the young, but the adult who come to lay their eggs."

Mr. L. O. Howard writes :—

"After a number of years' experience in fighting mosquitoes, I have come to the conclusion that there is no reason why any community should submit to the mosquito plague.

..... It became more and more obvious that any neighbourhood, if it cares to take the trouble and go to the expense, may place its mosquito denizens *hors du combat*..... In some instances individual effort is all that is necessary, in other united action on the part of the residents of a given neighbourhood or a given community is needed."

So in conclusion, I should say that to control malaria in a district, we must put the *patients* under quarantine and kill the carriers, *i.e.*, the Anopheles mosquitoes.

BERKELEY, CALIF. S. N. GUHA.

PASSAGE TO INDIA

"HE hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." These are the words of a Jew addressing himself to Greeks. We can feel in them that passion for the One which beats in all Jewish religious utterance,—in every religious utterance of man. This world is one, thou and thy brother art one, God and the soul are one,—are not these sayings summings up of all human reverence and piety? He who can pronounce the word One wisely,—is he not acknowledged as a seer all the world over,—from farthest East to farthest West?

Paul, the Christian apostle, from whose discourse to the Athenians the saying comes, had begun from his childhood to pronounce the word One. At first he pronounced it after the narrowest Jewish fashion. There was but one Chosen People, there was but one sacred writing, there was but one hope and faith, and all who did not participate in these things or presumed to participate in other things than these, were to be proceeded against with threatenings and slaughter. Let them be imprisoned or stoned or crucified for the sake of the One, in whose sight allegiance to any other One was disloyalty. Paul, carefully brought up as a Hebrew of the Hebrews, became a persecutor in his early manhood, and went on with zeal in this narrow way until he was overtaken by the change which is spoken of so mysteriously in the story of his life,—the change wrought by means of the vision that shone upon him as he journeyed towards Damascus,—the vision that caused him to fall to the earth and struck him blind for the space of three days. Thereafter Paul began to pronounce the word One after another fashion. He who had been all-exclusive now became all-inclusive. It was not so much a new faith that Paul had adopted as a new interpretation of faith, set among the surroundings of the intellectual and religious life of Athens. Paul is sensitive to every sign of difference that marks off the Greek from the Hebrew, but these signs of difference instead of inflaming his scorn and his anger, as once they would have done, serve now to add point and intensity to his declaration that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

The symbol of this unity for Paul was still to be a common religious faith,—a faith to which all the world was to be converted. We can hardly appreciate Paul, we can hardly perceive the heroic outlines of the man in him, if we have failed to realise the gigantic dimensions of the task to which he set himself. That task was no less a task than the conversion of the entire world to Paul's conceptions of things

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human and divine. It was Paul's unquestioning conviction that by sufficiency of daring and sufficiency of labour he could travel over the whole habitable earth and change the minds of all men, not by persecution but by persuasion, to the acceptance of the light as he saw the light. It was a sublime dream, only possible to human infancy. Paul knew little of the world beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, and ignorant as he was and as most men were of the true extent of the "face of the earth," Paul was still more ignorant of the strength of national and religious traditions, of the resisting power both of ingrained prejudice and genuine piety, of the obstacles which are ineradicable in human nature to the acceptance of one common religious symbol, or religious mode of expression. Little could Paul foresee the differences which were to set in and divide Christians from Christians. Still less could he have foreseen the increasing power of forms of faith which were other than Jewish or Christian forms of faith, the respect they would win as time went on from all intelligent men, the recognition that would be granted to them side by side with Christianity. Had Paul known anything profoundly of the religious wisdom of India, he might have seen another vision, and been stricken to the ground again, and endowed with still another interpretation of religious unity.

The grandeur of the stature of Paul nevertheless makes its impression upon us in the light of the gigantic task to which he braced himself,—the task of persuading all the world that the differences that separated and estranged men from men were as nothing in comparison with the "one blood" which bound all races and traditions of men together. Paul with his zeal for unity is a figure of ever-enduring significance. The symbol of unity which he offered to the world has been rejected, but Paul himself can never be rejected. Today, both East and West, as far as they have been affected by the progress of enlightenment, can join in rendering honour to Paul's apostleship,—while scanning earnestly the present-day difficulties and problems to which that apostleship is a promise of solution. We are still offended by the divisions of mankind as Paul was offended by them. We are still impatient to see them obliterated as Paul was impatient. Whosoever has felt the hunger of the West for the East, whosoever has felt the hunger of the East for the West, has known the stirrings of promise and prophecy in his own bosom.

That hunger of the West for the East and of the East for the West is part of the hunger which draws all men towards the One. It is a hunger of which, for discerning men, everything about us reminds us: for it finds its symbols not only in religious things but in common things which are sometimes supposed to have but a far-away relation to religion. Let me remind you of the religious significance which one of the greatest poets and religious teachers of the modern West—Walt Whitman—discovers in so material a thing as the Suez Canal. Walt Whitman read in the newspapers the account of the ceremonies with which the opening of the Suez Canal was accompanied. On the desert sands of Egypt, to watch the passing of the first procession of ships, was collected together a motley crowd,—Arabs, Egyptians, Turks, Frenchmen, Germans, Austrians, Americans, Englishmen, royal personages, diplomatic and naval and military personages, tourists. There was a fantastic display of etiquette and vanity on the part of the crowned heads, there were dinners and balls and military displays. There was little serious apprehension of the significance of the opening day on the part of any person present, although there was plenty of speech-making. In the distance, however, the imagination of the American poet was seized and stimulated by the fact of the shortening of the passage to India,—seized and stimulated as by the presence of a profound spiritual fact in the drawing of so various communities and civilisations of men nearer together. Are not physical facts a representation however rude of spiritual fact? Is there any circumstance or tendency of our exterior life which does not follow the law of our interior life and give us a hint of the soul?

The opening of the passage to India is a spiritual fact for Walt Whitman. His imagination is kindled by the rapture which is exercised over every intelligent Western spirit by the mystery and enchantment of the East. The love of his own country thrills him in the poem he dedicated to the

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opening day, and he is thrilled no less by the love of India, which he had never seen,—her lore, her fables, her burning suns, her immemorial past, her patient peoples, her contemplative habits. Passage to India is to the poet a powerful reminder of the oneness of blood which underlies all human differences, of the oneness of spirit which it is the privilege of poetry and of insight to perceive. He thinks of the earliest voyagers and discoverers adding as it were land to land,—he thinks particularly, as an American citizen, of Christopher Columbus,—and he regards all these men as agents in the work of binding all the world together,—unconscious servants and instruments of the hunger for the One. Passage to India is passage to the soul. In the poet's own words, it is "passage to more than India."

For the dull mind there are material things and material things only. For the dull mind there is the Suez Canal and the tall ship: for the apprehensive mind there is passage to India, and passage to more than India. For the dull spirit there is trade, there are strange races of men, strange tongues, strange religions. For the apprehensive spirit all of these things are symbols of something much greater than they. All speak of the one blood, the one life, the one effort, the one goal. Forth from the West goes that which is more than the West to meet from the East that which is more than the East,—and the preparation for this meeting is being contrived with the aid of steamships and railways and canals, and the activities of men who are able to think of little more than steamships and railways and canals. Absorbed in its work among the things of the hand and the brain, the West has had little power to conceive of the spiritual kingdom which over-rules the kingdom of the hand and the brain.

The materialism of the West today is no contradiction, no refutation, of the spirituality and idealism of the highest mind of the East. In order that men should gain by and by fulness of sight, it is necessary that they should be contented with half sight for a while. It has been a necessity laid upon the Western world that it should isolate the individual mind both from the sense of its close relation to the Oversoul, and from the sense of its close relation with its brother. Here in England it is th accepted religion among men that I am and thou art thou, and over there, distinc from us both, stands God, and that ther are but certain laws of chivalry or con venience or policy or duty to remind us o the existence of each other. The mystica saying of Jesus "I and the Father are one is not understood among us. The sociol gical saying of Jesus "Thou shalt love th neighbour as thyself" is interpreted as a sentimental ideal or a metaphor. The ide we have of a nation is the idea of infinitel separated atoms of men associating them selves together for mutual convenience by the external bond called patriotism. The word freedom with us means each man's following of his own will with the minimum of interference or quarrel with God or hi neighbours. The sense of the organic, th sense of the common soul has all but for saken us. In short the world for us is th Many rather than the One, because fo centuries our task has led us to thrust th idea of the One away from us. Neverthele the idea cannot be thrust away, excep from human acknowledgment, and that f a time only. And the fact that it can b thrust away for a few centuries from th path of a people following the law o material or scientific and political develop ment, is a sign not of the wilfulness of man nor of the stupidity of things, but of th many-sidedness of human evolution. It i a law of life that this people and that grow ing for the time being one-sided and incur ring the risk of destruction, thereby, human society in the long run is forwarded. I would be sceptical to doubt but that th future of mankind on earth will be th fairer and the fuller for all the mingle pride and degradation, ambition, an drudgery, borne by the Western peopl since the birth of modern science and th era of the Industrial Revolution,—but that the soul reaches its distant ends ever through the denial of the soul, through th estrangement endured in Europe an America from nearly all but the mere rumo of the social sense and the sense of th infinite. For the sake of a higher unit than any ever before realised except in th highest thoughts of men, half the worl has broken itself into atoms, and suffer all the pain of isolation from the knowled

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of the arms that hold up man and keep even the sparrow when it falls to the ground. The fierce competitive struggle of the commercial nations, a struggle not only of nation against nation, but of individual against individual, the new and ugliest form of poverty that has been created by the struggle, the sweated wage, the suffering inflicted upon childhood and womanhood in the midst of plenty, and added to all these things, the pain that now-a-days religion can little alleviate, the pain of ignorance of the soul, of man's origin and destiny,—all these pains if we have the sensibility to be conscious of them, should not embitter us in the West against our age: should rather provoke our sympathies, as pains borne for the future, pains by which a day to come will yet benefit. The first experimenters in new developments of life, new arts and knowledges,—and such are we today,—must necessarily bear many things in order that later comers into life may enter into a debt to their forerunners.

It would be possible for me to dwell upon many signs which seem to show that here in the West the minds of men are turning already with a new intensity to the One, that there is a promise upon the horizon of a profounder belief in society and a profounder religion. So many of our social and industrial institutions are now being put to the question, so long has the official religion of the churches lingered in a state bordering upon death, so tired have we become of the temper of agnosticism, that the time is ripe for the emergence of reconstructive thoughts and acts; and these thoughts and acts are clearly visible to those to whom the Time Spirit is murmuring. It may be that I have over-emphasised the religious poverty of the epoch at the end of which we appear now to stand; it may be that I have under-estimated the satisfaction men have been able to take even under the reign of commercialism and materialism in the things of the spirit. The lives that men live are always richer than their faith or their doubt, and than cramping conditions would seem to allow. And there are signs about us at the present time that both life and thought are struggling consciously towards higher levels. It is not for me here and now to speak further of these signs, excepting the one with which I began: the sign given by the apostle Paul. The passion that dwelt in Paul for the one blood of which the Oversoul hath made all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth is an ever-enduring sign of the spirit, and a sign that rarely has come nearer to us than it has come in our own age. Walt Whitman has read the sign in the shortening of the passage to India. He has welcomed the opproach to India as an approach to "more than India," as an approach to the soul. And this word is not an idle word. What is more significant today than the yearning of the West towards the East and the yearning of the East towards the West: the value that the West is setting upon Eastern speculation, the value that the East is setting upon Western politics and science and industry? What is more significant today than the harmony that is being discovered, the approximation which is taking place, between the profoundest thought of ancient India and the profoundest thought of modern Europe? If it should be discovered that one thought, one faith, one conviction about human things and divine things is entertained by deep-sighted men in the East and deep-sighted men in the West, by deep-sighted men of the past and deep sighted men of the present, how much strength would be added to our belief in the possibility of reaching the truth, how much nearer to us would be drawn the things of the spirit!

And this discovery has been made! The profoundest thought of the West reflected in Kant and Fichte and Schopenhauer has been found in full accordance with the fundamental thought of the East,—with all that wisdom which from immemorial ages has proclaimed that the soul is one with all things round it, that I and my neighbour are one man, that the brotherhood of mankind is more than brotherhood, that the soul and the Oversoul are one soul.

Upon all high-minded men today, upon all lovers of the good and the true, rests the obligation of clearing the path towards the One by means of sincere work with the intellect. It is intellect that is to set us free from the imperfect works of the intellect. It is by intellect that we shall restore our society and our faith. It is by

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intellect that the East and the West will be joined together. It is by the highest mind of the West,—by Kant and Schopenhauer and Walt Whitman, and not by its inferior mind, that we must interpret the West; as it is by the highest mind of the East, by that which is more than India, that we must interpret and understand India.

P. E. RICHARDS.

Note.—This address was delivered to the Brahmo Samaj in London.

THE ARYANS OF INDIA

AS various groups of people speaking Aryan languages differ from one another ethnically, the ethnologists fail to determine the physical characteristics of the pre-historic culture group which superimposed its culture upon diverse races of the world. Virchow offered a challenge to the scholars to answer, as to how the Aryans looked, whether they were long-headed, or broad-headed, whether their complexion was dark or white, or whether they had blue eyes and blonde hair of the European ideal. Now that the Aryan languages are spoken by many groups of people, having no ethnic relationship with one another, all that can be said is that the Aryan culture spread over a vast extent of Asiatic and European countries, though the blood of the Aryans might or might not have been mixed with that of the recipients of the culture. To explain the linguistic unity of the peoples ethnically distinct, it has been formulated by A. H. Keane and other eminent scholars that the Aryans never formed a distinct and well-defined ethnic group, but only disseminated their culture by coming in contact with the several races of mankind.

I must also note here that the term 'Arya' does not occur in the language of those European groups which speak Aryan tongues. Strictly speaking the term 'Aryan' is applicable only to the Hindus and the Persians in whose traditions only the word occurs. The extension of the term by the philologists to all the groups of people speaking Aryan tongues, has been due to the theory of Max Muller, which has been wholly discarded by the anthropologists.

How or when and where was it that those to whom the Vedas are ascribed and who described themselves as Aryas, got their language and religion? If any culture group ethnically distinct from the Europeans could impress upon some European groups the indelible marks of their language and religion, it could be possible for such a group to exercise similar influence upon a section of Indian people. The questions therefore arise:—

(1) Did the Vedic fathers come to India from elsewhere? or

(2) Is the Aryan culture a borrowed garment which a section of the Indian people wears, or is it a garment of that particular community's own weaving in India?

The Vedic documents do not favour the view that the authors of the Vedic mantras came to India from elsewhere. Prof. Macdonell has shown that the Vedas do not show that the Aryans of India had any knowledge whatsoever of the world outside. It is very curious indeed that if the Aryans really came from elesewhere, they did not retain any tradition of their early movements; for, the preservation of such tradition has been found to be the special trait of all the ancient nations. Again, Prof. E. W. Hopkins has very rightly observed (J. A. O. S., Vol. XIX) that the majorty of the Vedic hymns bear evidence of their having been composed in the region farther east than the Punjab.* How can it then be asserted that the Aryans of India came from elesewhere by crossing the Indus which was then regarded as a sea? There is nothing in the whole of the Vedic litera-

* Pandit Umes Chandra Gupta Vidyaratna has wrongly interpreted Rigveda, I, 30, 9 and III, 55, 12 to prove that the Aryans came from elsewhere to India. References to the old home do not mean any home outside India (*vide* the Commentary of Sayana on those Riks).

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ture to suggest that the Aryans of India did ever cross the Indus or did at any time live on the other side of it. I may repeat it here again that those who wanted to come to India, even towards the close of the pre-historic times or during the early period of the historic age, could only proceed so far as the shores of the flooded Central Asian depression. India was in those days almost as an island; for, the plains of Beluchistan and of Burma, were being washed by the seas. Even in later times when the Indus appeared to the Indians as a sea because of its vast expanse of waters no race or tribe would try to come into India, unless specially pressed by some compelling circumstances.

If it is considered that the Aryans came through some mountain passes, in that case also it is wonderful, that coming upon the attractive land of Kashmere, the Aryans did not halt there to form their earliest colony. It is a notorious fact that the earliest records of the Aryans do not show that the Aryans had any knowledge of Kashmere. That the Aryan settlement in Kashmere is of far later date, cannot be denied. The post-Vedic literature of India shows a good deal of acquaintance with foreign lands. The far-off *Kailasa* was regarded as the seat of the Pauranika Mahadeva, but the Vedic literature is ignorant of geographical names outside India. The connection of the Indian Aryans with the Iranians, I shall discuss afterwards.

The linguistic evidence which is adduced in favour of the proposition that the Aryans proceeded to people the world in successive swarms proves unmistakably that the Aryans before their dispersion attained much culture. For, most of the words in common possession of different races are words indicative of culture. It must be admitted that the Aryans who attained such culture, must have formed the very primitive notion of cardinal points before they dispersed from their cradle land. How can this be possible then that the words to signify cardinal points are not the common stock words of all the groups of people who speak Aryan tongues? The words 'uttara,' 'daksina,' 'purva' and 'paschima' are wholly peculiar to the language of the Indian Aryans. It cannot certainly be said that the great culture group of the Aryans could not form the notion of cardinal points before they came to India; nor can it be imagined that the words of their primitive notion were changed by them, when they settled in India. I think, it will be conceded that from the names given by the people to the four directions, we may obtain some information either of some important physical aspect of their country or of some memorable movements of those people. We learn it in the ancient history of Egypt how the surroundings of the Nile valley conditioned and determined the ideas and notions of its inhabitants. Regarding the notions of cardinal points of the Nile dweller, Dr. Breasted writes in his 'History of Egypt': "The river, the dominant feature of his valley, determined his notion of direction; his words for north and south were downstream and upstream." This shows that at the time of forming primitive notions, the Egyptians were in their own valley. Ethnologists are also unanimous in giving support to this proposition.

Let me now consider the words indicating directions as were and are being used in India. These words being in the Aryan language, no borrowing can be imputed to the Aryans. There is a suggestion that the words denoting directions had their origin with reference to the sun. 'Purva' (first) and 'paschima' (last) may be explained by the rising and the setting of the sun, but the names for the two other directions are not in harmony with the idea connected with the movements of the sun. It is not possible that the words of primary notions were formed differently with reference to different unconnected conditions. Conceding even the point that the directions were determined with reference to the sun, it cannot be explained why the names of directions derived from the movements of the sun-god, are not common to all the languages of the world.

'Uttara,' which is the word for north, means 'upper' or 'higher'. 'Udichi', the synonym of 'uttara', conveys also the idea of 'up' or 'high'. To the north of India lies the Himalayas, which must have proved a barrier to the Aryans from whatsoever side they might have come. If it be supposed that in the course of their migration the Aryans came to the foot of the Himalayas, they could call that direction by the name

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'up' or 'high'. But if the Aryans came into India from the Central Asia, the direction in which the Himalayas lay, could not be called 'North'.

The ethnologists give us the fact that at the foot of the Himalayas to the north-east, there was a centre of extensive pre-historic culture. If we imagine that proceeding from the southern direction,—from the original home of the human species—a community came to the north-eastern region of India, and after developing their pre-historic culture in that region proceeded towards the west, where lay before them the newly formed lands of great fertility, we can explain the names of all the directions with reference to the then physical features of India. When a swarm of people came to the spot of the aforesaid neolithic culture, by advancing from the south, the impassable Himalayas must have proved to be significantly high or 'uttara'.

Daksina or Daksa (south) derived from the root Daks (to grow)+inan*—The original meaning of the word is associated with Daks (to grow). The meaning 'right' is later in origin, and is derived from the secondary meaning 'skill'. It can be seen that the word 'Daksina' to signify 'right' is associated with only a few words, and in some cases the meaning 'skill' is predominant, as in the use of it in the compound 'Daksina-hasta'. The word 'Daksina' alone does not signify right side. Let me refer to the early Vedic use of the word Daksa. The Vedic goddess Aditi (very rightly interpreted by Max Muller, consistently with the meaning given by Yaska and Sayana, as the visible infinite,—the boundless expanse of of the earth) is the daughter of Daksa. The Adityas (including Daksa, the father of Aditi) are again said in the Vedas to be the sons of Aditi, who is 'Adinā devamātā" according to Yaska. Is it because that according to Grammar the word 'Aditya' can be derived from 'Aditi' that this confusion was made? Or, have we to accept the philosophical explanation given by Roth (Muir's Sanskrit Text, Vol. V) that the Aditi (eternity or the eternal) is the element which sustains, and is sustained by the Adityas? What is to be noted specially here is that Aditi and Daksa were closely related to each other. When according to the physical conditions of India in the pre-historic and the early historic times, the people could not proceed beyond the north-western limits of India, and the Himalayas offered a barrier to the north, the people who actually developed neolithic culture at the foot of the Eastern Himalayas, had to resist successfully the aggression of other hordes constantly pouring in from the south. The south was then the only direction which was vast and which teemed with population. This south could therefore be best described by a word which meant *the father of* Aditi, *the visible infinite*. It was therefore the word 'Daksa' or Daksina that came to signify the southern direction. The visible infinite, or the impalpable or abstract idea of space lay to the south, while the Himalayas lay to the north to signify the idea 'up' or 'high'.

Dr. Schrader was in a puzzle when he found that though the Aryans of India regarded the omens on the left to signify good luck, it was the omens to the Daksina side which were considered lucky in the Rigveda (cf. Rigveda, II, 42 & 43). If he could consider it to be correct that the Indians migrated from east to west during the historic period, the puzzle would have been solved. I quote the exact words of Dr. O. Schrader:

"This view contains several improbabilities. I will insist only on one. The Indians, who *on no theory migrated from east to west,* and who did retain the primitive way of taking their bearings (cf. The Dekkan-daksina), ought, if J. Grimm's view were right, at all events to have remained faithful to the old view that omens on the left betokened good-luck. But in the Rigveda it is the right side which is considered lucky." (*Prehistoric Antiquities* p. 254).

As according to the old theory Dr. Schrader had to make the Risi stand facing the east in his migratory movement, he was forced to interpret the word "Daksina" by its secondary meaning "right," while conscious, as his language indicates, that the southern direction was meant.

I may remark in passing that the secondary meaning of "Daksa" (skilful is current in European languages (Greek—Dexios, Latin—Dexter), while the primitive meaning "South" is found in Sanskrit "Daksina" and Zend "Dashina."

Púrva or Prâchi and Paschima or Pratichi—are the names for the east and the west

* Daksa and Daksina mean south, and also convey the secondary meaning 'right side'; *e.g.*, Vamato Janaki yasya daksabhage cha Laksanah.

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Púrva also means "first," "prior formed" and "past." It is opposite to "Nútana" or new. Compare the use "Púrvebhih" in contrast with "Nútanaih" in the second Rik of the very first Sukta of the Rigveda. Paschima (Paschādbhavah = born last, from paschā + dimac) has the radical meaning 'after.' It conveys west as well as what is last in time or space. Prāchi (from Prāk, first) also means 'east.' The word 'Paschima' means 'old' and the name of Manu, the father of men, is Prāchetasah. The word 'Pratichi' means 'west' in contrast with 'prāchi.' We know that the seat of prehistoric culture in Northern India was to the east and nowhere to the western side of the northern section of India. If the pre-historic men of Northern India are the progenitors of the Vedic seers of the historic times, they could easily name the directions east and west according to their later migratory movements.

If we refer to the oldest *mantras* of the Vedas, we find that the god Indra is the oldest god of the Aryans of India. This god was not accepted by the Iranians and he is not found as a god amongst the European groups speaking Aryan languages. This old Indra of the Indian Aryans got the name 'Prāchipati.' The significance of the mention of the god in the "Tel-el-Amarna" inscriptions will be discussed in connection with the proposition of the spread of Aryan culture.

Even if it be conceded that the directions were named with reference to the movements of the sun, though in that case 'uttara' cannot be explained, it is significant to note that the words signifying the primitive notions of the Hindus are not in the stock of other groups of people with whom the Hindus are sought to be associated.

I owe it to the pointing out by Pandit Umeschandra Gupta Vidyaratna (Vangabhasa, Vol. II, p. 12) that there is a saying in the Krisna-yajur-veda to the following effect :

> Prachina vamsam karoti devamanusya
> diso vyabhajanta,
> Prachim deva daksinam pitarah pratichim
> manusya udichim rudroh.

Here we get a very old tradition which states that the "pitarah" or the earliest human ancestors came from the southern directions : the eastern region, where higher culture being evolved acquaintance was made with gods, was the direction of the gods, and that the modern men, who were mere 'manusyāh,' came to enjoy the west, while the dreadful Rudras ruled the high and inaccessible north. That this tradition fully supports my theory, need hardly be pointed out.

Taking all the facts into consideration, it becomes highly probable that the people, who became advanced in culture in pre-historic times in Northern India, became the Vedic seers in the historic period. I shall adduce other evidences in connection with other subjects under discussion to show that the Aryans of India belonged to India in pre-historic times. For the present I may only say that the theory I have started is consistent with the history of the evolution and dispersion of men, consistent with the evidence we obtain of the pre-historic culture in India, and that there is nothing in the Vedas which can stand against it.

I have stated it above that the Indra Prāchipati was the oldest god of the Indian Aryans. This statement can be very successfully proved : (1) Those Suktas of the Rigveda which have been pronounced to be the oldest by the scholars after judging them by the test of language and metre, recognise India as a principal god ; (2) Indra appropriates the largest number of Suktas of the Rigveda ; (3) Dr. Bloomfield has rightly remarked as follows in his "Religion of the Veda" in connection with the *soma* sacrifice and *jyotistoma* :

> "The gods of the Vedic pantheon are all interested in these ceremonies ; each has a fairly definite share in them. *Indra*, the god who figures more frequently than any other, has part in all three pressings [of *soma* drink] ; but the midday pressing belongs to him exclusively."

(4) It has also been remarked by Dr. Bloomfield (*ibid*, p. 89) that Indra has always figured as the principal god and that while all other gods are rather impalpable and uncertain in outline, "on a pinch we could imagine a statue of the most material of the Vedic gods, Indra." The gods who are inpalpable in nature and can be easily detected as representatives of natural forces or elements, are creations of higher and consequently later aesthetic conception ; (5) Indra was always regarded as the king of gods (devarāja) even after his overthrow by

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Krisna-Visnu ; (6) In the early Buddhistic period we find no other god so much revered as the "Sakka" of the oldest tradition.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

IN GERMAN PRISONS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY K. K. ATHAVALE.

From Halle to Luckau.

TOWARDS the middle of March we suddenly learnt that all the remaining prisoners at Halle (we still totalled nearly three hundred inmates) would be shortly transferred to the prison at Luckau-en-Lusace, a little town of 4000 inhabitants.

The departure from Halle was fixed for the 28th of March. The Governor was to personally direct the transport operations. He called me into his office and told me that he was happy to inform me that after an understanding with his colleague at Luckau, I could continue my translations for the house of G. L. and Co. "And now," he added, "you know, don't you, that the prisoners would be chained two and two together for the purpose of this journey? If presently you give me your parole not to escape, you will accompany the convoy without any fetters." I accepted with thanks, as it was but right.

The 25th of March had already dawned. All work has stopped in the prison. In the cells the prisoners read, or caught cold, in the great halls, half empty, they talked together, laughed, and amused themselves freely.

They were again so impatient of change, of air and space, that they were all rejoicing at the prospect of a fine trip. There were amongst them miserable wretches who had been in prison since thirty years, some for 25 years, others for 20, 15, 12, and ten years together, who had therefore lost all idea or count of the outside world. And they were going to renew their aquaintance with the winged dream of the railroad and the express, which was still better.

The 28th of March at last. At five o'clock in the morning the bell was rung for the last time. It was clear already. Hot coffee was hurriedly distributed and a pound of brown bread and four ounces of sausage and bacon apiece. A moment after they marshalled the prisoners in the court, at first the big ones, in order to couple them two and two together by means of strong chains. This sinister operation was finished when as yet the morning had not far advanced; the few men who like myself wore no chains were placed alongside the fettered pairs. All those whose sentence would shortly expire and who were therefore not likely to make any attempt to escape were not put in irons. With brief adieux, and a harangue from the Governor, the prisoners two by two tumbled down the stone stairs to the joyful clatter of their fetters. Ten well-padded tilted carts without windows are stationed here. The men disappear into them in a twinkling. A great number of the warders escort the convoy. Proud to exhibit their Sunday uniform, carbines shouldered, revolvers in belts, these guardians of ours were gesticulating, bustling, crying, shouting and showing off their zeal as usual. In our closed carts we traverse the town without having obtained a glimpse of its aspect. The express destined to bear us away on our journey is there, ready standing at the platform. The embarkation is effected in a few minutes. Then the engine gives out a sharp whistle, and the train moves. The town of Halle with its steeples and tall commonplace buildings disappears in the distant horizon like a bad dream. We are rolling towards an unknown, though undoubtedly similar, destination, across the fields of the province of Saxony, still looking grey and dismal owing to the ravages of winter.

* * *

Here I have been installed in my new cell for 20 long months. As to its external decoration: imagine a spacious square court

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innocent of pavements foul and broken, and surrounded on all sides by tall, grey or red coloured, five-storeyed buildings. The court is, however, enlivened in summer by its pretty English garden. They had given me a cell on the ground floor in my character of writer and specially-appointed translator of the house. The flank of the dormitories was faced by a new construction, a blazing prison building, with imposing frontage, tall, solemn, and denuded of all styles; in short, the last word in the Prussian penitentiarial architecture. It is, nevertheless, a trim and neat house. Its corridors are waxed, covered by a thick carpet, and flooded with light! The cells are spacious with shining wooden floors, and provided with steam heater, gas light, and inodorous closets—in a word all the desirable comforts. The reverse of this picture—if I might dare to express myself thus—are the unpolished windows of the small lodges. The poor wretches who live in them never see a cloud or a swallow, never a strip of the sky or anything at all. Happily for me I was not assigned a domicile in the sumptuous palace of crime! It is not as if the hermit cell which has fallen to my lot is very gay; oh, no, not at all; but its window panes are of transparent glass and it tubed 30 metres, which is not to be despised, considering that at Halle there was a time when I had to live in a dog-hole which had not even a third of its area. The waxed floor shone like a mirror, and gave to the retreat a stamp of warmth which was further accentuated by a great canopy of brown earthen ware. The next day I resumed my translations but in very bad circumstances. I was deprived of my desk, and the cell was so sombre, alas! that I had to write on a very small table sitting on my bed. It was only after a long time that the administration was pleased to give me a desk.

The corridor where I lived was very dark, as was to be expected in a prison, and had only 20 cells, of which 12 alone were inhabited by old acquaintances from Halle, a select company. All of them chewed tobacco, pretending that the juice of the nicotine had the power to stimulate them, to excite them, like haschich, and to paint their gloomy prison life with a glow of pink. Whence do they procure the tobacco? One day I saw the sentry in front of my window distributing it to prisoners in the court, oh! very discreetly, of course! He held his left hand behind his back, and watched the clouds passing in the sky—that is the signal agreed upon. The prisoners passed in turn behind his back, pretending to look for some lost object, and received the quid which the soldier held in his hand. The solidarity of this little world of ours, and the fraternity of the lowly!

When an escape takes place, the clarion sounds the alarm in the town, and the entire detachment take up arms and go in pursuit of the fugitive whom they always bring back to captivity. When the prisoners escape in open day-light, they usually hide themselves in the barns and lofts of the houses in the neighbourhood in order to wait for the nightfall; but the pursuers did not take long to turn them out. During the 20 months of my sojourn at Luckau, there were seven attempts at escape, none of which succeeded.

The warders are often changed. They are mostly young men of the place, as shoe-makers, carters, tin-men, lock-smiths and rustics, engaged by the administration for want of other candidates, but chiefly in virtue of the official principle that the town should be able to live on its house of correction. Their phlegmatic and rather gentle natures amply explain the frequency of the attempts at evasion.

It was Sunday, outside—chiefly outside—a Sunday in the spring, a day full of sunshine, laughter, and *tol de rol*. A party of itinerant musicians have come to sing themselves hoarse under the windows of the Governor. Subsequently the municipal choral band perambulated the town, playing their entire repertoire during the march.

Six o'clock in the evening. I am in bed. The first floor above my cell begins to be lively. They are prisoners of the great dormitories who are having their evening gossip. These dormitories are vast halls with well-waxed wooden floor, very proper, very well lighted, running entirely on the two sides of a corridor paved with flat stones, and provided with great wash-stands of zinc, with which they communicated by a series of vaulted passages without symmetrical doors. Each hall contains two

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ranges of railed cages, facing each other, and separated from one another by a partition of unbroken sheet iron, which all round the crib is trellised in iron wire. In each cage, there is a very spruce camp bed. It was in these cages that the prisoners who worked together slept. After the last evening bell, they bugled out their evening song and then they were locked in these linked alcoves, after which they were abandoned to themselves. Every dormitory is divided into sections each having its senior or monitor responsible for order, albeit himself a prisoner. These seniors or monitors comprehend their roll quite differently from that intended by the administration. They keep themselves on the watch, and as soon as there is a sign of some stir, or grating of a key hole, or the gentle opening of a door denoting the approach of a round, they tap three times on the wood of the floor and instantly the most perfect calm succeeds to the hubbub. Sonorous snores admirably simulated from nature, are heard everywhere.

Ten o'clock in the evening. On the public road in front of the prison the clarion player of the little garrison sounds the extinction of fires. It is the signal I am waiting for to turn over on my right side and try to induce sleep.

In July I had again a visit from my mother and sister. The Governor received them in a charming manner and permitted them to visit me four days in succession for nearly an hour every day. The new petition they happened to make for obtaining my release, nevertheless, obtained no better success than the preceding ones. The Governor promised that in the following summer when I would complete three quarters of my sentence, he would recommend to the Government my provisional release under paragraph 23 of the Penal Code, which effectively authorises the provisional enlargement of a prisoner of faultless behaviour and without judicial antecedents. From now until that time I will live on that hope.

The time had arrived when friend Duss, the sculptor of Metz would be released. He was in prison for two years and he had borne his captivity most valiantly in the world. The day before the preceding day of his liberation he was put in solitary confinement in one of the cells called departing prisoners' cells. It is one of most curious customs prevailing in Prussian Penetentiary system—forty-eig hours before the hour of his release prisoner is interned in a special cell provide with only a bed, where he is left complete to himself deprived of all reading, amu ment, or work. The administration th believes to incite the prisoner to a supre self-examination, and thus to preserve h from a relapse by the odious recollecti of the last hours passed in prison. Now t cell where the good fellow, Duss, pass his last odious hours, was next to mine, a by the window, I was able to hear h singing a romance of Dolmet's. Th morning of his release he requested pe mission to bid me adieu and to present m two copies of an illustrated review Lorraine, which was graciously accorde "Go, adieu! my old and dear friend Dus or rather good-bye, if the gods permit."

At about this time there took place most unheard of thing, that of a recalci rant released prisoner, who had to b driven out by main force. His case whi made us all laugh with inordinate merr ment deserves to be mentioned here.

Degenhard, a butcher by trade, who w sentenced to four year's hard labour f cutting and maiming, had been positive fascinated by the comfort prevailing in th prison. He finished by finding himse perfectly happy in his captivity and h categorically declared to the Chief Warde on the day of his liberation, his determina tion not to go.

After having tried in vain to reason wit him, the Governor ordered four sturd warders to drive him out. They tore hi off form the bed to which he had clung i despair and flung him brutally out of th main door.

Now there was at Lackau an old clothes dealer, a Jew named Solom Schnapper, who purchased for making ru all the old cast-off clothing of the priso and who never restrained himself fro reselling to village bumpkins, such priso clothes as were not much worn out by us The obstinate Degenhard who was force to dress himself in his civil habiliments o his expulsion went straight to Schnapp and obtained from him a complete conv

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outfit, thanks to which he contrived to have himself brought back to prison the same day. As he begged from the peasants, the latter fascinated by the prospect of the reward, had him arrested taking him for an escaped prisoner. The whole administration, including the Governor, broke out into laughter on seeing him back again. But an hour after he was re-expelled. This time he was escorted to the station by the warder Richter, who personally saw that he was on board the train bound for Brandebourg. This happened about noon.

It was two o'clock in the afternoon, and the Governor found himself still at table with his children, when a clamour reached them from the heart of the public place, exciting the curiosity of one of his daughters, who rushed to the window and cried out :—

"Look! Look there! the whole town is apparently going in the direction of the prison, to which they are leading somebody."

The Governor rose to see for himself what it was. Horror! It was again Degenhard. A special police commissary had arrested him at a certain station, because all the passengers travelling by the train insisted on saying that he was an escaped convict. The prison administration at Luckau had been obliged to let Degenhard have the cast-off uniform he purchased from Schnapper, since he had paid for it with his last coin and they were constrained to dress him over the prison duds in his civil costume. Now Degenhard feeling warm in the compartment, simply divested himself of his external habiliments, and his fellow-travellers taking fright had him arrested.

The Governor this time took the radical measure which he should have taken before. He re-imbursed Degenhard from his pocket for the uniform bought from the old clothesman, and simply confiscated the cause of the trouble, the uniform in question. After which he had him reconducted to the railway station and re-embarked by the first train leaving for Berlin, which at last, took him away for good.

The Spring—for the fifth time since my incarceration in prison—had succeeded Winter, and I awaited, full of hope, the 9th of June of the year 1901, a memorable date, on which I was going to have authority to address a request to the Government for provisional release. The 9th of June duly arrived and my request was sent to the proper authority, but alas! the Procureur General replied at the end of a few weeks, declining to entertain my petition without giving any reason for his action. I was not however left long in doubt about the reason. In reducing me to despair they counted once more on extracting a confession from me. I became, in fact, a few days after, the object of renewed soundings, (by order), an attempt which obtained from me the same measure of success its predecessors had.

I pass over the chagrin of my mother and sister, who had both come express to Luckau with the certainty of being able to bear me away with them.

The year 1901 was so cold and wet in Lusace that it was necessary to heat my cell even to the end of July. My health broke down. An attack of bronchitis, which I had contracted in the preceding winter, suddenly reappeared in March. It gradually became so much worse that in July I spat blood, and became visibly thin and weak. The Governor and the Doctor of the prison both thought that it was time I was given my liberty. It was decided that I should submit a memorial to the Emperor in person, praying for remission of the balance of my sentence on account of my bad health.

At the end of a month the Procureur General of the empire replied acknowledging receipt of my memorial, and expressing his readiness to recommend it in high place on the following conditions :—

I was to pay all the cost of my process, about three thousand francs.

I was to pay the cost of my long detention at the rate of a franc a day which would probably work out to a couple of thousand francs.

I must deposit cash security of five thousand marks, or, in round numbers, six thousand francs, in case it pleased Government not to liberate me completely, but to relax the confinement provisionally by assigning me a town in Germany for residence under Police surveillance upto the expiration of my sentence.

I subscribed to all these conditions and began to hope again. This time everybody was of opinion that I had as good as gained my cause, for there was no example of the

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Government pronouncing against the advice of the Procureur. The Governor even permitted me to grow my hair and beard in the expectation of my leaving the prison at an early date.

August and September passed in weary waiting. In the middle of October my anguish became insupportable—it was impossible for me to work or do anything whatever. I passed entire days watching with straining ears. When I heard any steps in the corridor I grew faint with expectation. The Hausvater had even got out my civil effects—everything was ready for my departure.

October passed. Always nothing. We begin November, now, and the uncertainty poisons my days and nights to such an extent that I pray with all my might for the occurrence of a catastrophe, even the worst that could happen.

Matters were in this condition when on the 5th of November at about 11 o'clock in the morning, the chief warder entered my cell unexpectedly.

Well? I asked breathlessly.

There is a letter from Berlin, but I do not know what it contains.

And he took me to the Governor. The altered countenance of the latter did not betoken anything good. "This letter from the Minister of the Interior," he told me, "orders me to hand you over to two officers of the capital he is sending to me. They have orders to transport you to the House of Correction of Moabit-Berlin, where your health will be the object of a supplementary examination. You leave my establishment definitely."

On hearing this I was struck down, for God knows I would have given much to remain at Luckau, where I was the friend of everyone. Moabit-Berlin was an unknown place, another house of correction with perhaps all the vexations and indignations of the commencement. It now only remained for me to bid good-bye to the Governor and thank him for all the kindness he had shown me.

"All is not yet lost," he told me. "The doctor of Moabit could not possibly have a different opinion to our doctor's. We will see".

It was about two o'clock in the afternoon that my escort, the big chief warder, and convict-keeper Kruger of the model prison of Moabit-Berlin, came to remove me. A prisoner wheeled my baggage on a little cart accompanied by Warder Meyer.

It is twenty months since I crossed the threshold of this house, with a broken heart. I recross it now, sadder than when I arrived. Who would have believed it? The day was fine with the slightly pensive beauty of autumn. The two men of the escort allowed me to walk in front, they calmly followed a little out of breath. In the street, in the road leading from the prison to the station, a few rare passers-by were met with. The trees bordering the road had strewn the land with leaves of a red-gilt hue which appeared to smile in death. There is the red brick station yard. A whistle is heard at a distance. It is the Berlin train which is thundering into the station. We take our seats in a reserved saloon. A second whistle, and gradually the little town of Luckau Lusace, dominated by its forbidding house of correction drops from view in the horizon.

MR. GOKHALE'S RESOLUTION ON INDENTURED LABOUR

"This motion, the Council may rest assured, will be brought forward again and again, till we carry it to a successful issue. It affects our national self-respect, and, therefore, the sooner the Government recognise the necessity of accepting it, the better it will be for all parties." *The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, on March 4, 1912.*

IT is as gratifying to note the unanimous stand made by the non official members of the Viceroy's Council—both Hindoos and Musalmans voting as one man—as it is painful to reflect that our Government being not a representative Government, can disregard and defy our people and press, and avoid the displeasure of the Colonial Office. Even *The Stateman* of Calcutta has declared the utter absurdity of the continuance of the system of indentured and re-indentured labour away from the homes of emigrants

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after its abolition in India, on account of its evils and abuses, which could be more efficiently checked at home than in the distant colonies on whom the Government of India exercises no control. Knowing, as we do, the sentiments of the Hon. Syed Ali Imam and even of the Hon. Mr. Clark (who is a disciple of Mr. Lloyd-George) on such questions, we are very sorry to see that Government officials are unable to exercise their private conscience freely and independently. The Hon. Syed Ali Imam must have felt for the first time how unenviable it is to have to vote alone with the official members against the united voice of his own co-religionists and countrymen. It must be considerations like the above that led to the resignation of Mr. S. P. Sinha, whose individual conscience refused to be overridden by the official conscience.

But let us see if even Mr. Clark and his colleague Mr. Fremantle had satisfied themselves before defending the system as they have done. Speaking of Mr. Bateson, the courageous Magistrate who had served in Mauritius, Mr. Fremantle says (*vide* P. 303 of the Gazette of India) that Lord Sanderson's Committee were of opinion that

"He did not take a proper view of his duties, or else he would have been able to do very much more good, as no doubt he wanted to do, to the Indian indentured cooly."

Again Mr. Clark (see P. 319 *Ibid*) says

"The Committee in their comment on this evidence considered that Mr. Bateson had taken too narrow a view of his duties, and that he might very well have made more efforts to assist the coolies, and I think this is a conclusion with which everybody must agree."

With all due respect to the Hon. Mr. Clark and all due deference to the Hon. Mr. Fremantle (who as a member of Lord Sanderson's Committee ought to have taken greater care), we say that both have made a great mistake about Mr. Bateson. As a matter of fact, Mr. Bateson did take *a more proper view of his duties* and even *a wider view of his duties* than his *confreres* in Mauritius, and the result was that the non-official members of the Council of the Government representing the planting interest in that Colony and the local yellow press followed up their opposition to and protest against his appointment by such tactics (*vide* Sir Charles Bruce's "The Broad-stone of Empire") as led the honest and just Englishman to leave that God-forsaken Colony in disgust. Apparently, Messrs. Fremantle and Clark have not had enough time to read properly paragraphs 199 and 202 of the Report of Lord Sanderson's Committee from which they profess to quote; for it is paragraph 202 which speaks of *Mr. Trutter, the Protector of Immigrants*, and not of Mr. Bateson, the Magistrate), and says

"The Protector takes 'too narrow' and formal a 'view' of his powers and 'duties' in arguing that in order to justify such rejection (*i.e.*, rejecting a requisition for fresh indentured immigrants) he must bring *proof* of persistent *illegal ill-treatment*."

Whilst paragraph 199 speaking of Mr. Bateson says

"We gathered that Mr. Bateson took that (*i.e.*, the proper) view of his duties, and the Protector of Immigrants seemed to think that other magistrates would as a rule follow the same course."

It can easily be seen from the foregoing that Messrs. Clark and Fremantle have unwittingly been unjust to Mr. Bateson by hastily misapplying to him expressions or remarks which really held good of Mr. Trotter only, whose statement about "other magistrates as a rule following the same course" (as that of Mr. Bateson) is entirely the reverse of the truth. This same Mr. Trotter and a magistrate called Mr. Dempster have written remarkable letters to each other and to the Colonial Secretary, from which it will be apparent how anxious Mr. Dempster was to do his duty towards Indian indentured labourers and how unpalatable Mr. Dempster's love of justice was to the "Protector". Messrs. Clark and Fremantle will do well to request the Government of Mauritius to furnish copies of the correspondence from the leaves of the Letter-Book at the Stipendiary Court of the district of Pamplemousses. The Hon. Mr. Fremantle has, in fact, admitted to the present writer, in February of last year, that it was high time that old Mr. Trotter should retire and be replaced by some younger person of more liberal views and a keener sense of duty with energy enough to do his work efficiently. In his evidence before the Committee (before Mr. Fremantle), as well as before the Mauritius Royal Commission of 1909, this "Protector" of unfortunate Indians declared that Indian children should not be educated, because, after education they refused to be "coolies" like their fathers and grandfathers.

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Coming to the Hon. Mr. Clark's reply to Mr. Gokhale, let us pause where he says—

"Surely everyone knows that the reason why Indian labour was required for the Colonies was that, as soon as the negro was emancipated, he refused to work at all under any conditions, and, therefore, to say that he objects to work under the indenture system, which was not then in force, seems to me a most extraordinary piece of logic" (*vide* P. 313 of the Gazette of India, 1912).

We most respectfully submit that the above statement of the case by Mr. Clark is itself more extraordinary in fact than Mr. Gokhale's plain mention of historical events, which Mr. Clark is pleased to describe as "a most extraordinary piece of logic." Does Mr. Clark mean that no negro ever consented to do agricultural work under any condition whatsoever? If so, he is greatly mistaken: for a great many negroes have shown their readiness to work as free men and for proper wages in all colonies, and in fact many are doing work on plantations as free labourers and a considerable number (though a small proportion) are actually serving "contracts," at least in Mauritius, about which I am positive. As regards Trinidad, let us refer to a recent telegram reporting that a certain member of the House of Commons asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if the Colonial Office were sanctioning a further cargo of indentured men and women against the opposition of the Workingmen's Association, represented by two members of the Trinidad Legislative Council, to the immigration of Indians. Mr. Richards and Mr. C. P. David of Trinidad want to safeguard the interests of emancipated negroes or their descendants who are fully willing to work as free men. (*Vide* Cd. 5192, para. 269 and look up the references on the margin). The fact, therefore, that many negroes in Mauritius and elsewhere work as free labourers, and a very small, though considerable, number actually serve indentures, proves Mr. Gokhale's statement that Indians are under this system obliged to do the work to which the majority of negroes object to be bound.

Again, on P. 319 of the Gazette of India, we see that Mr. Clark enters into a tournament of vital statistics with Mr. Gokhale, and argues for the indenture system by stating that "the death-rate is lower among the indentured immigrants (in the colonies) than in the United Provinces" (the home of the coolies). But, surely, Mr. Clark does not forget that the death-rate in the United Provinces refers to a natural population of young and old men, women and children, existing spontaneously in their villages, whilst the death-rate of Indians indentured to serve in the colonies relates to specially selected young, healthy and full-grown able-bodied men, with a small proportion of women per cent. and a still smaller proportion of chidren, on sugar estates or other plantations; and, therefore, Mr. Clark's argument from comparative death-rates is not so strong as he wants to make it.

Now turning to P. 315 of the Gazette of India, Mr. Clark admits that "Labour under penal provision has become an anachronism in India itself, *under the direct control of the Indian Government.*" As regards Ceylon and the Straits Settlements, "the system there is practically dead."..."In the Malay States, where great mortality had occurred, they have actually stopped it altogether."... "Recruitment has also stopped for Mauritius"..."Indentured labour for Natal, I need hardly remind the Hon. Member (Mr. Gokhale)," says Mr. Clark, "who took so deep an interest in the matter, was put an end to from July of last year." Why, then, does the Hon. Mr. Clark attempt to defend the continuance of the system in the case of the remaining colonies, *viz.*, Trinidad, Fiji, Jamaica and British Guiana? On P. 316 Mr. Clark says:—

"It is perfectly true that the terms of the contract do not explain to the coolie the fact that if he does not carry out his contract or for other offences (like refusins to go to hospital when ill, breach of discipline, etc.) he is to incur imprisonment or fine."

And yet strangely enough he argues on the same page that—

"The coolie has signed a contract...and it is only reasonable that he has to work well, and that he means to carry out his contract; and if he refuses...he is not likely to be surprised at finding himself *punished.*"

But punished with what? Does Mr. Clark believe that in the case of an indentured labourer who is supposed, rightly or wrongly, to have failed to carry out his part of the "contract" in a foreign colony, whose language he does not understand and whose people he does not know, helpless in the matter of evidence to support his case and without the money to obtain legal assist-

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ance or even to bear the bare costs of a case, wretched, ill-fed and ill-clad, no punishment, whatever its severity, should surprise him? Are we going back to the times when a larceny of two penny worth of sweets by a boy of 14 earned the death-sentence in England? Surely the coolies are shocked, as the Indian members of the Viceroy's Council representing the whole people of India are shocked, at criminal penalties attaching to mere breaches of contracts or offences which do not amount to any more than torts of a very trivial nature.

Referring to re-indentures, on P. 320 Mr. Clark is candid enough to admit that he cannot urge any excuse at all in its favour, and yet, instead of recommending its total abolition, as he logically is bound to do, he approves of re-indentures limited to twelve months, and says "that measures should be taken to abolish the practice within a reasonable time." But why talk of "re-indentures limited to twelve months" and of "abolition within a reasonable time," when the united voice of the Indian people demands immediate redress of this chronic grievance and Mr. Clark cannot urge anything in its favour? Surely Mr. Clark does not want to sacrifice the liberties of our men and women to suit the commercial interests of colonial planters, for, as the Hon. Malik Umar Hayat Khan has said (speaking on this subject), "Our Government must be on our side, because otherwise it will not be our Government."

MANILAL M. DOCTOR.

THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA

(BY DR. RAM LAL SIRCAR, AN EYE-WITNESS.)

THE REVOLUTION BEGINS IN THE YUNAN PROVINCE.

ALL Asia has been roused to activity by the Japanese victory over Russia. As a consequence, one vast spirit of change was surging through the length and breadth of China. As a consequence of the same Abdul Hamid had to abdicate the throne of Turkey and the Shah of Persia was banished. The so-called "Indian unrest" is ascribed by Englishmen to the same cause. But no one, not even the people who were living there, could for a moment dream that the new spirit in China would develop into a *Revolution* culminating in the establishment of the Chinese Republic.

Last April, when I proposed bringing over my family from Rangoon, a certain friend and his wife gently whispered to me to desist for the time, as some trouble was expected. I asked "What trouble"? To which he replied after some hesitation, "The people will rebel against the Government." I could not then think that it was possible, but all the same my mind was agitated. Five or six months quietly passed away without anything happening anywhere.

Occasionally when I came across Chinese soldiers and officers, I could gather from their conversation, that they mere inimically inclined to the Manchus and their officials. They would often tell me that China was going to the dogs because the Manchus were weak rulers, that the Pekin Government granted whatever concession the foreigners asked, that the officials were selfish and corrupt and never cared for the welfare of the people—their whole concern being to fill their pockets with the people's money. The Central Government took no account of what their officials were doing in the provinces. They were satisfied if the revenue was anyhow wrung out of the poor peasants. The red-buttoned Mandarins (Hung Tsingē) were the worst sinners in that respect. This sort of conversation clearly showed the workings of the popular mind.

On the other hand the Mandarins, corrupt though they were, were busy devising means to spread general education and to

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make the Government popular. Last year, the royal troops were seen constantly practising European methods of warfare, while the Mandarins, corrupt though they were, were busy educating the people in the arts of representative government and fn spreading popular education. Through the efforts of the magistrate of Tengyueh many girls' schools were established. As a matter of fact there were girls' school in every village not to speak of schools for boys. It was a difficult task indeed to successfully introduce female education among the conservative Chinese. Every girl between eight and seventeen years of age is sent to school as a rule. Above that age she is taught at home. Their education is not confined to the study of books but the evils of some of their social customs add manners are brought home to them. Efforts were being made to destroy in women the absurd taste for "the small foot". The Chinese have been thus able to accomplish in a few years what we have not been able to do in a hundred and fifty years of British rule.

Everyone knows the pitiable condition in which our girls' schools at present are. In places where there are such schools the number of girls above the age of twelve is very small indeed.

Last year the inauguration of the representative House of Parliament was celebrated for three days. On the first day the president explained to the representatives the objects of the assembly. On the second day all the boys from the various schools were assembled. From each village boys came in groups carrying the national flag accompanied by the band playing the national anthem. When all the boys had assembled the aims and objects and the advantages of representative government were explained to them and the love of representative institutions was thus instilled in their tender minds. On the third day the girls were invited to join in the celebration. They came arrayed like the boys on the day before, each group carrying a national flag. It was a sight calculated to gladden the heart of every man believing in the progress of the human race.

I was present in the last of these celebrations. Mr. Wen and other members shewed me over the lecture hall and the offices of the Education Department. On my expressing a desire to photograph the assembly Mr. Wen gladly gave me permission to select a position. By the way, Mr. Wen is something of a photographer himself. The photographs of the assemblage of boys and girls, reproduced here, were taken by Mr. Wen. These, however, are not the best specimens of his art.

Mr. Wen was for eight years the Secretary to the Chinese Legation in America (United States.) He can speak and write English with fluency and ease. Once during a conversation when we were discussing Chinese politics he remarked, "We want to establish a government on the English model. We will have a king, but his powers will be circumscribed by a parliament which will govern the country." The Chinese Government was advancing towards this ideal but no one knew that Sun Yat Sen was determined to see the American type of democracy established in China.

Towards the end of September (1911) and the beginning of October many alarming reports reached us from the various provinces. But the news from Tching-tu in the Si-Chuan province gave rise to serious bodings. There the revolutionary troops had a serious fight with the royal troops in which both parties lost heavily. These rebellions were ascribed to the Government's action in selling away the Si-Chuan Railways to England. The people firmly resented this action and afterwards rebelled. We did not, however, give much importance to those reports, as some sort of rebellion or disorder had become chronic in the province. It had become a matter of every day occurrence.

On the night of the 27th October the 9 o'clock gun was fired as usual and everything was calm and quiet for a while. At about ten we heard repeated reports as of guns proceeding from the west of the city. But we mistook them for the crack of fireworks. But soon afterwards we again heard reports this time from the S. W. of the city. In the midst of this consternation a soldier who was attending on another in the hospital came and informed me that Col. Chhao had been killed by the revolutionaries. The man stood trembling with fear when reports were again heard from within the

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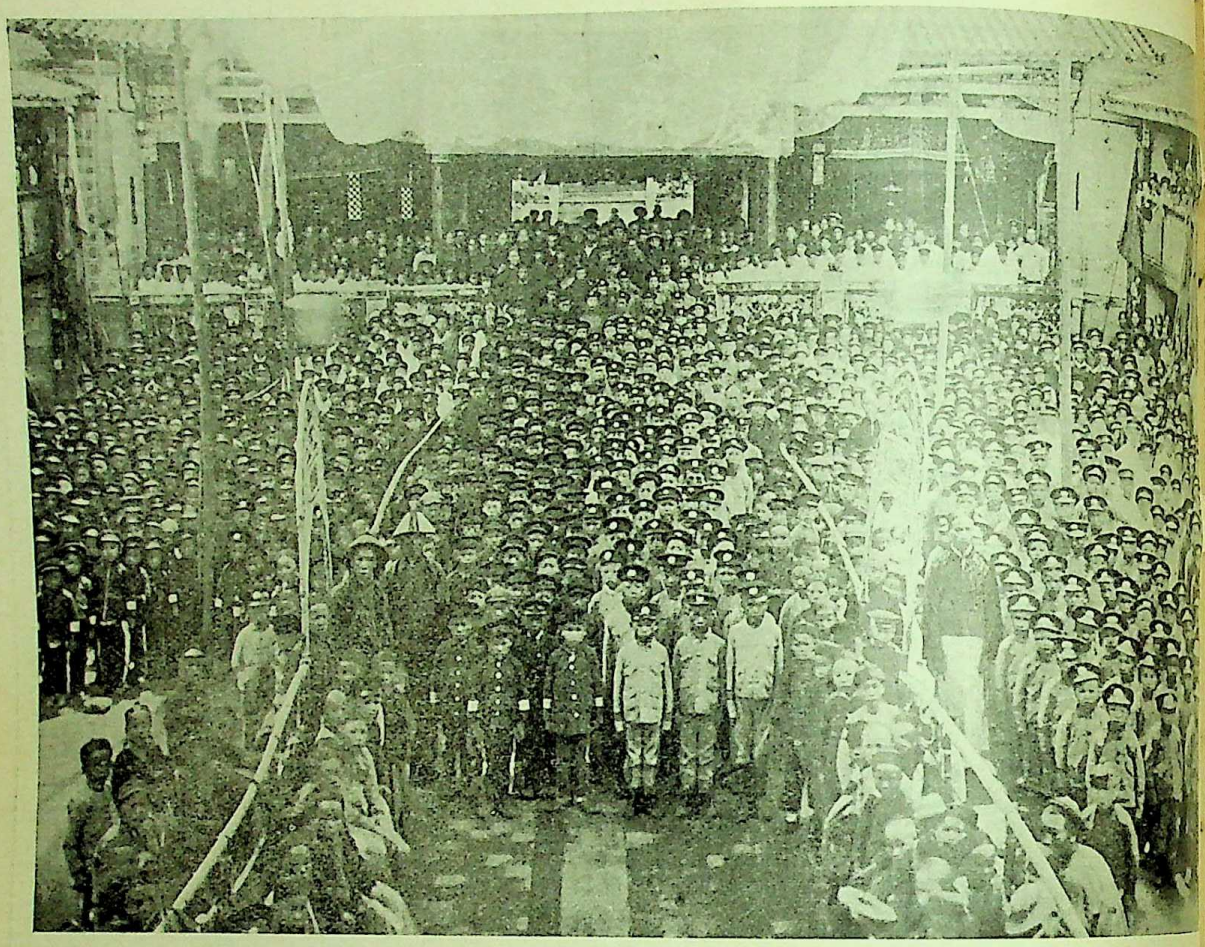


1. The Girl students of the schools at Tengyueh, going in a procession to join in the celebration of the opening of the representative House of Parliament. [Photo. by Mr. Wen].

city walls. We were then seated round the fire after our evening meal. We left the fire-side and opened the main gate to see what was passing outside. We saw streams of men and women moving swiftly through the darkness. All were fleeing to the villages. Some with children on their backs and bundles of loads and beddings on

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2. The boy students of the schools at Tengyueh in new uniform, going in a procession to join in the celebration of the opening of the representative House of Parliament. [Photo. by Mr. Wen].

their shoulders were running with break-neck speed. The women with babies on their backs were also moving swiftly, their wooden shoes making a light 'tick' 'tick' on the metalled road. All was dead silence, no one was uttering a word. The men who were living around us followed the example of the men in the streets, except our land-lord, who was living next door to us. We would open our door now and then, ask a question or two of some passer-by and then shut the doors again. In the meantime we were informed that Colonel Chang, the officer in command of the reformed troops, had been killed by his men on his refusal to make overtures to the revolutionaries. The Colonel was the type of a gentleman and his death is lamented by all.

Soon after this incident the royal troops joined hands with the revolutionaries and attacked the Government offices. The city began to echo with the discharge of hundreds of rifles.

The night was pitch dark, there was no noise, no hurry and bustle, everyone was seeking safety in flight.

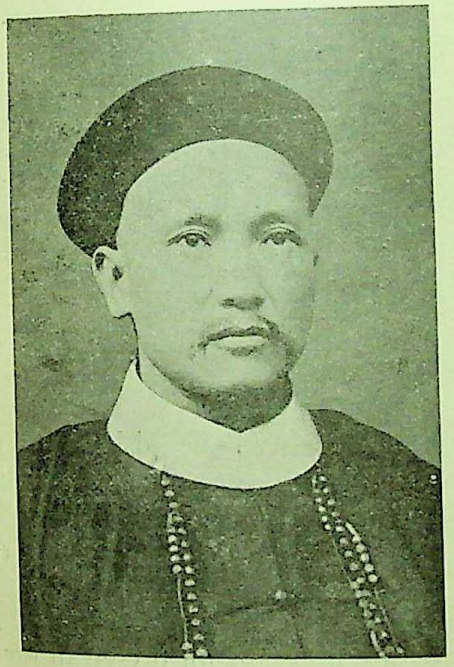
The silence of this terrible night was at times being disturbed only by the crack of rifles and the sound of the bugle. One of my Chinese servants did not wait for my permission to run away to the villages with his old mother and wives. A second man also left my house to look after the safety of his family. Another, who was a foreigner to the part of the country I was in, was obliged to remain where he was but he was sobbing with fear. We were living outside the walled city by the side of the Eastern gate in the portion assigned to the foreigners. But the click of the rifle was being heard on all sides of us and we betook ourselves to devise means for self-defence.

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A little description here of the house I was occupying would help the readers to understand the situation.

As you enter the outer door facing the street, you see the dispensary and the hospital on your left and a small yard just facing them, on both sides of which there are stables. At the other end of it there is a block which stretches lengthwise across it. The block has three rooms; the middle one is used as sitting room, while of the two side-rooms one is used as a ward for dental diseases, the other being used as a kitchen. As you proceed through this kitchen you are brought into another yard on one side of which there is a bath-room, while another block of buildings stretches lengthwise at the extreme end. This is my dwelling house. It has a sitting-room in the middle, while one of the side-rooms is partitioned into two portions, one portion being my dwelling-room, while the other is used as a store-room for photographic requisites. The other side-room is similarly partitioned, one portion being used as a sleeping room, while the other is my office. The middle portion of this house is two-storied. Proceeding through the central-room you are led into another open yard which is my flower garden, facing which is another high wall. A small door through this wall leads you into my kitchen-garden, which is surrounded by an outer wall. There is a back-door through this wall allowing ingress and egress. It should be remembered that in China all houses are walled, there being no *naked houses* as you find in India. The walls are generally made of unburnt brick, there being only one door which if closed cuts off communication with the world outside.



3. Mr. Wen, the District Magistrate of Tengyueh, who escaped on the night of the 27th October, through the north gate disguised as a beggar. [Photo. by Dr. Sarkar].



4. Colonel Chang, officer in charge of the arsenal. The Revolutionaries after beheading him cut out his heart, under the popular belief that the hearts of wicked men can heal up wounds and cuts. [Photo by Dr. Sarkar].

When things had come to this pass our Consul was absent. The commissioner and his assistant, who occupied a house on the same street as myself, were present, but no trace of them could be found. In the meantime report reached us that Colonel Chang had been shot dead by the rebels and his offices looted. They afterwards killed the commissioner (Taotai) and the magistrate (Ting) and looted their offices. I felt much grieved at their loss.

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5. Some of the revolutionary soldiers, ranging from old men to mere boys, with turbans as their newly adopted head-dress. [Photo. by Dr. Sarkar].

Soon afterwards they released the prisoners in the Jail and set fire to the buildings. They were soon reduced to ashes and the report became current that the rebels would loot the Government offices and then fall upon private property. But I did not lose self-possession, neither did my son-in-law, Nitish Chandra Ray, who was then with me. A Panjabi tailor began sobbing with fear and the Chinese were all terrified. Some women, too, had taken shelter in our house and we told them not to fear, for we would defend them and fight till the end. I had two breach-loading guns, a sword and a khukri. One of the guns I kept with myself, while the other I made over to my son-in-law. The sword and the khukri were respectively made over to the Panjabi tailor and my Chinese servant. I admonished them to stand firm in time of danger. If the enemy were to attack us they would break open the main gate and by the time they reached the inner yard I would make sign for the party to retreat through the door leading from the flower garden into the the kitchen garden and thence they were to make their exit by the back door. When they had secured their exit I would keep firing and retreat at the same time. In a word I would look out for myself in the best way I could, after I had secured their retreat. Any attempt to present a combined opposition was sure to result in the death of all. If the enemy attacked us from behind (by the back door) we would scale the wall with the help of a ladder and get into the bamboo groves in the next house. Having thus matured our plan of defence we seated ourselves round the fire in my room—all the five or six men eagerly listening to the slightest sound outside. The three front doors and the three back doors were all locked and bolted. I would sometimes go to the front door and sometimes to the back door

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to ascertain what was passing outside. Now and then I opened the back door to see whether people were passing that way. Once when so engaged a bullet came and hit the wall. Instantly I retired within the walls. For the Chinese soldiery are mad when they are rebellious, caring naught for their own lives or for the lives of others. They want money to satisfy their greed and they will do anything to get money. Many a ragamuffin had joined the rebels simply with the object of looting.



6. A soldier with his throat cut and his attending friend. [Photo. by Dr. Sarkar].

As I have already informed the readers, I had two breach-loading rifles but of what use are they in the face of the modern rifle with which the rebels were armed ? Still they were better than nothing at all. It is better to die fighting than to accept death lying down. To lose self-possession in times of danger spells certain death and loss of fortune. Patience, courage, firmness and presence of mind are sovereign virtues in times of danger. Given these a man can smile at danger. If you despair when an enemy attacks you, you are lost. Besides if you try to defend yourself you may save yourself and even if there is no way out of danger you are not absolutely hopeless so long as you live. To die fighting is manly and even an enemy respects the foe who dies fighting. Weighing all this in my mind I took all the necessary precautions and remained firm. No one knew what would come next and no one hoped that the night would safely dawn.

At about two in the night some soldiers headed by one or two mounted officers knocked at our door. How we then felt can be better imagined than described. I too was a little agitated. My people told the men outside that they dared not open the door. On our persistent refusal to open the door even after repeated knocks the men outside informed us that they were our friends and had come to protect us. Having said this they proceeded in the direction of the consul and the commissioner's residence. The crack of rifles was by this time only occasionally heard.



7. The Bazaar of Tengyueh. [Photo. by Dr. Sarkar].

The soldier who first brought the news of the outbreak had become quite mad. He went on saying that the men who knocked at the doors had killed his officer and had come to kill him knowing that he was hiding there. I could not console him. At last I told him that if any one attacked him, I would come to his rescue and would fight his opponent, thus giving him time to secure his escape ; that so long as I lived no one would be able to injure him. Immediately afterwards a noise was heard on the walls. The man went into fits of fear again and cried out, "There they come, to

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kill me!" I went out and saw that a cat had taken a jump from one wall to another. The man spent the whole night in this sort of hysterics.

We were constantly coming out to see if it was dawn and thought to ourselves that the morning star would never rise. The stars had hid themselves as if with the fear of the rebels.



8. Mr. Chang Wen Kwan, the leader of the revolutionary party at Tengyueh, in European dress. [Photo. by Dr. Sarkar].

When some time had passed in this sort of consternation the morning star at last appeared on the horizon and gradually the streaks of early day-light dawned on the city of Tengyueh and hope revived in our troubled hearts. Our eyes became heavy with sleep and we fell fast asleep.



9. Mr. Chang Wen Kwan, in native dress. [Photo. by Dr. Sarkar].

A little while after this I was informed, that the customs comissioner, Mr. Howell, and his assistant, Mr. Jolly, together with the newly arrived engineer, Mr. Grove, had

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10. Mr. Chang Wen Kwan's bodyguard [Photo by Dr. Sarkar].

fled on the previous night and that no trace of them could be found. I was mortified a little at the thought that Mr. Howell did not inform me anything about his intentions. The customs office was half a mile from my place. Two gentlemen and a lady were living there. Mr. and Mrs. Creig (the lady) were much terrified and proposed to leave the place. But the other gentleman, Mr. Nisbett, who was a Scotch Highlander, and had served for many years in the navy, was a brave man and persuaded them to stay on. But for his persuasions they would certainly have fled from the place. I could also have sought my safety in flight. But I never entertained this idea for a moment, for the simple reason that I was an Indian and a Bengali and my flight would have been ascribed to cowardice.

I was further informed that the rebels had on the previous night robbed from the Comissioner's office some two or three lacs of rupees, which were mostly the collections of customs duties. Some had taken so much silver (coins) with them that they could not fly with it. The Taotai had fled and though Mr. Wen was reported to have been killed by the rebels he was afterwards found alive. Many other persons were killed in the Comissioner's office and when Colonel Chang was shot dead by the rebels his wife fled leaving her one year old son behind. The rebels took pity on the boy and spared his life and he was adopted by Mr. Fong, a friend of Colonel Chang, as his son. The Taotai was dropped down a wall 30ft. high with a rope tied to his waist and was thus saved. Mr. Wen escaped from the city through the northern gate by assuming the clothes of a beggar. At about 8 o' clock in the morning I was informed by a man that a certain "foreigner" wanted to see me. I came out and saw a dark-coloured man with a hat and an overcoat, a Burmese "Lungi" and a pair of worn out shoes, for his apparel. On enquiry I came to know that his name was Apal Swami, nicknamed John. He knew a bit of English and could speak Burmese and Hindustani

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pretty accurately. He told me the following story :—

He had come with Mr. Grove, the engineer, from Burmah and was stopping at the Consul's residence. When the rebellion broke out at 10 o' clock on the previous night Comissioner Howell, his assistant and his master (the engineer) had fled from the consulate in the company of two or three Chinese servants. When they had gone a little way a shot was fired and they were so much frightened that some among them actually stumbled down on the ground. When they had reached the hills leaving the city behind, he (John) thought to himself that if the rebels got any clue about them they would kill them. So to save himself he gradually fell behind the company in the darkness. The Sahibs searched for him but in vain. He was new to the country and its whereabouts were quite unknown to him. So he had to wear out the severity of the cold night by the side of a tomb. Unable to find out the way to the city he had roamed far and wide till he had reached it. There he enquired in Burmese about the three Sahibs and was pointed out my house. By the way, the Sahibs had fled on being informed that the rebels would kill them after looting the offices. I gave the man tea and toast to refresh himself with and some clothes to put on and told him not to be nervous, for should he fail to find out his master he could count upon my help.

The rebels had on the other hand proclaimed that the people had nothing to fear from the rebellion, that trade would not be obstructed and that foreigners would not be molested. But they were determined to do away with the Manchu dynasty. They had ruled for 268 years, but that was their last. They would do away with their officials and would introduce representative government.

I had a previous acquaintance with Mr. Chang Wen Kwan, leader of the revolutionaries, but I took no notice of him before, as I thought he was an ordinary man. He had neither money nor power to command respect. What gave him this prominence then? It is difficult indeed to judge of a man's capabilities till the occasion reveals the man. There can be no question that the man is courageous, firm and patriotic.

We became anxious at the total want of information about the three missing Sahibs. At about noon a servant from those gentlemen came to take away their horses. Mr. Nisbett sent them a letter, together with another from the revolutionary leader, telling them that they had nothing to fear and



11. The Mother of Sardar Chang Wen Kwan, who is said to have moulded the political ideas and principles of her son. She is an intelligent and brave lady. [Photographed by Dr. R. L. Sarkar].

that they could safely return to Tengyueh. The man departed with the horse and the letters. I took this opportunity to inform Mr. Grove about Apal Swamy. On the next day (*i.e.*, 29th October, the revolution having begun on the 27th October) at

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about 4 in the afternoon they returned to Tengyuch. During the night of their flight they had hid themselves in a cave and had suffered much from the intense cold. Then they sought repose in a village six miles off, near the hot springs.



12. Tengyueh Customs Office. [Photo by Dr. Sarkar].

All this struck such terror in the minds of the people as cannot be described. The people thought that the Manchu officials had been either made captives or had fled and that the revolutionaries would take the reins of government in their own hands. The rebels had looted the offices last night and to-night they were expected to come down upon the city. Those therefore who had not fled on the previous night took to flight in the morning. Merchants were busy removing their merchandise on the back of mules. The rumour spread that the plunder and slaughter to-night would be more violent than those of the night previous. Everybody looked terrorstruck. A certain Chinese friend advised me to leave Tengyueh and to take shelter in an adjoining village. He added further that the Consul, who was the guardian of the foreigners, was absent, the Commissioner had fled, and that therefore I could never be advised to stay. I replied that I would not budge but would send away my son-in law to some place of safety. Depending on fate and courage I stayed on but with much trepidation. I told Mr. Nisebett that the night was a specially dangerous one. The rebel leader was requested to arrange for guards for our house. The promise was given but no one turned up. Having finished our dinner we took the same precaution as on the night previous and anxiously awaited developments.

The mere report of a gun was enough to make us tremble. I could not preserve my equanimity and blamed myself for my rashness. Apal Swamy sobbed with fear, and the thought that he would die far from his wife and children proved too much for him. "What would be their lot if I were to die!" he would often ejaculate. Tajdin (the Panjabi tailor) also wept with fear. The troublous night was thus spent without anything of note happening anywhere. All this redounds to the organising capacity of the revolutionary leader. He had placed armed watches on all the streets and had issued strict orders, that any one found outside after the nine o'clock gun was fired, would be shot down. This had prevented bad characters from straying out.

The elder brother of Mr. Hun, who was clerk to the Consul, had his head broken by the rebels on the night previous. I was called to attend on him inside the fort, where the rebels were roaming about like mad dogs. I was advised by some to refrain from going there. But I could not resist the call of duty. When I reached Mr. Hun's house I saw just in front the body of a young Chinaman cut to pieces by the rebels. It can easily be guessed that I had undertaken a risky work. But I returned safely after doing the needful for Mr. Hun's hrother.

On the other hand telegraphic communication was cut off. The rebels had looted the telegraph office and had broken the instruments. No one outside Tengyueh had any inkling of the state of aflairs there. I wrote a letter to my agent at Bhamo briefly recounting the events of the last few days, asking him to inform the *Rangoon Gazette* by wire of the state of affairs. On the day following the return of the Commissioner, I requested him to send a message to the Burmah Government after consulting with the rebel leader. Major Chang, the leader, consented to send it lest an international quarrel should be stirred up. I informed the Sahibs that the previous night had been one of peculiar anxiety; to which the Commissioner said that I could pass my nights at his place. But I thanked him and told him that I was not afraid. Mr. Jolly also invited me to sleep in his

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house. But I told him that he could not offer me shelter when he himself had fled on the previous occasion. Thinking any further stay here unsafe passports were obtained for Mr. and Mrs. Creig, my son-in-law and the Punjabi tailor, Mr. Grove, the



13. A Chinese beggar. [Photo. by Dr. Sarkar].

Engineer and Apal Swamy, and they were booked for Burmah on the 1st November. On the second November while I was attending to my work in the dispensary, Rev. Mr. Fraser came in and asked me to accompany them to Bhamo. I said I could not start at a moment's notice; to which he replied that he was leaving all work behind. But I said that our works were of different natures altogether. His business was to preach while mine was to treat patients. I had several well-to-do patients in hand who had already paid me. How could I think of flight before returning them their money? The name of the 'foreigner' would be brought to contempt. He then left the place for the Customs House asking me to follow him thither.

Immediately I rode to the Customs House and asked for Mr. Howell's advice. He said, "You better come chop chop." There was no other alternative left me and I returned home, took a few biscuits and my overcoat and road back to the Customs House. There Mr. Chang and other rebel leaders persuaded Mr. Howell to desist from flight as they guaranteed safety to foreigners. The departure was for the time postponed.

On the 3rd November Mr. Howell informed me that they were leaving Tengyueh on the next day and asked me to be ready at six in the morning. I asked him what I was to do with the medicines and other valuables. He told me to bury the valuables under ground and if anything was lost I would be compensated. I came back home, did as advised and got myself ready. I advanced one month's wages to a servant and kept him in charge of my house. When it was scarcely dawn Messrs. Howell and Jolly were ready at my gate.

(*To be continued*).

Translated by—

NIKHILNATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A., LL.B.

WITH THE FIVE FINGERS

THE inceptive idea of drawing and painting is based upon a strong foundation of conventionalism. For, the very conception of delineating an expression of sentiment in the limited compass of a picture is an obvious convention. And such conventionality is generally found to be centred in the legitimate ideals of a national art.

The representation of the appearance of things in true art is not the adulterated and imitated reproduction of what the artist *sees*, but a noble interpretation of what the artist *feels* at the sight. Truth of

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resemblance or colour does not cover the whole field of art. Genuine and honest art aims to express something, not merely to copy. There must be a creative impulse of the artist underlying his work. This suggestiveness and expression of feeling form the nucleus of a wide and far-reaching art.

The vital characteristic of pure art is the expression of thought and not the exposition of form. A mere representation of an object or an imitation of an effect of nature is not art. Precision in drawing, knowledge of form, truth in proportion and construction only cannot make any art estimable. Freedom of conception, originality of thought and the subtle sense of suggestive expression are the intrinsic merits of real art. Methods as to defining the form might differ, but it does not matter so long as the desired expression through the definition is clearly suggested.

Art is a form of expression, like speech or writing; but it is more concise. This brevity sometimes makes it difficult of comprehension. The better part of all the fine arts is entirely left to the imagination, which when realised leads one to make a correct estimate of their underlying sentiments. Poetry is more of a suggestive than a descriptive art. The greatness of real poetry is felt in the mind by the appreciation of the composition. Likewise, music has an effective charm. True music goes deep into the hearts of its appreciators and leaves there an impression of tenderness or other feeling whose charm and uplifting effects are realised but cannot precisely be described. Lastly, we come to painting which has suggestive representation as its object. This representation is never complete, but it helps us to understand the sentiments of the artist conveyed in his work. Besides what is apparent in drawing or painting, the real artist has something himself to say. The finding out of that something is the true appreciation of art.

If we consider art as a form of expression, it naturally follows that universality in art and art-ideals is not possible; there cannot be any universal language which would be understood by all all over the world. Art-traditions and art-ideals are differently interpreted and understood in different countries. The methods to represent the forms of art must therefore be different in different countries.

Drawing and painting are mediums through which the artist wishes to convey his own ideas. The work that he produces

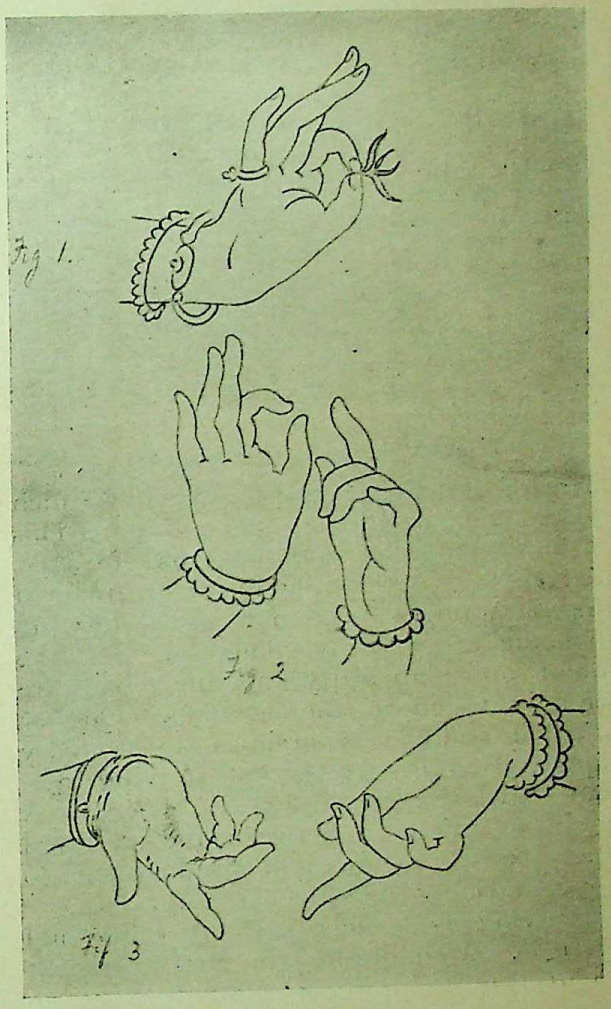


Plate I.

or leaves behind him is the representation of what he felt and had tried to express. Works of art not only remind us of the achievements made by the artists but they also remind us of the artists themselves. Their works help us to gain an insight into their ideals and sentiments which are suggested in their work.

Drawing forms the backbone of painting. It is the foundation on which the identity of an object or feeling is based and makes a direct appeal to our imagination. To learn how to draw is not difficult; there are things which can very easily be taught and

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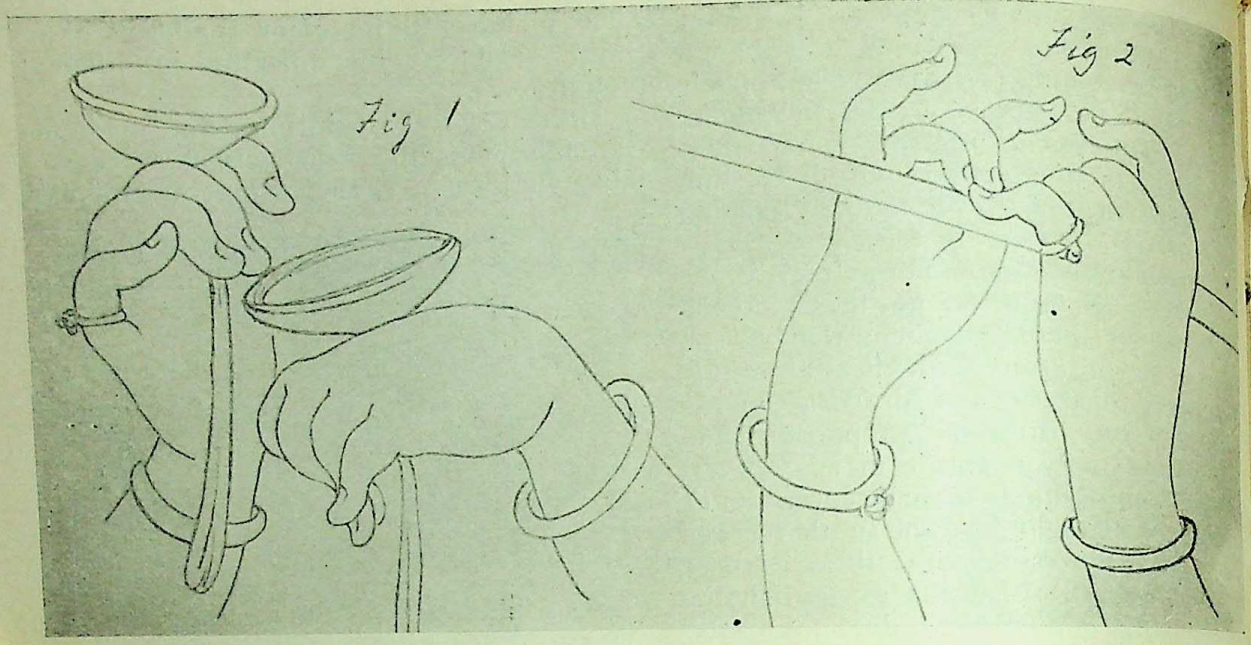


Plate II.

learnt. But there is a limit beyond which this teaching and learning cannot go. This becomes tangible when one has to draw *well* to keep harmony with the greatness of the conception. It is in a good drawing that the artist really comes in. Both the talent and capability of an artist are strongly tested in the drawing. Quality of colour and fineness in finish are secondary things. Colour-sense is not so vital and important as expression-sense. There is a world of difference between the artist and the colourist. Genius and acquirement do not come under the same category.

Drawing is a question of individual eyesight. An unfinished drawing or sketch might appear quite meaningless to an untrained and indifferent observer; but to the artist or one who is capable of realising the intention of the artist, it would be quite expressive. But in the case of a good drawing no such difficulty would appear even to the indifferent observer.

Search for form of expression is the main goal of the artist, and when that is reached his quest is done. Styles of expression differ, more specially when the ideals of art differ. Different countries have different art-ideals and have different styles of representing them. In Europe alone there are several different styles of painting. The Persian schools are characterised by a marked individuality. Japanese art is prompted by its own ideals. India too has had her own styles and ideals in art. But there has been a set-back and unless efforts are made now to revive them they may disappear for ever.

One may ask the often repeated question, why should we take any definite manner or style as an example? Why should we adopt the former old ways which have been long forgotten? The answer to this is obvious and quite simple. Methods to represent art are different in every country. The adoption of a foreign influence will make us forget our own ideals. Individuality in art is greatness. It should not be left in neglected isolation but maintained and developed by the legitimate art-ideals of the country.

Such characteristic individuality, depth of sentiment and feeling in drawing and painting are found in the works of the old masters of our country. It is unfortunate that very little is known about their work outside a limited circle of those who have a regard for the past. The extant treasures of Indian painting are not very numerous and are not very frequently met with. But in whatever has been saved from the oblivion of time, and the waste of neglect and vandalism, we still have specimens of Indian painting which may claim the highest place in the art-history of the world. The drawings of these paintings are wom

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out and obliterated; their colours have faded; yet they bear eloquent testimony to the far-reaching and genuine inspiration which produced such work. It is many centuries that these pictures were limned, but looking at them even now, we are not only reminded of the greatness of the actual work but also of the talent, patience and industry of those master-artists. They are dead but not forgotten; their art lives to-day to teach us the motif of Indian art. The future possibility of Indian art depends upon its revival on the same lines as suggested by these master-pieces. The few drawings chosen for illustration will express their quality and claim to recognition in the world of art-culture. They are all from the frescoes on the walls of the Ajanta caves, ranging roughly speaking from the 6th to 7th century after Christ. Very little is required by way of explanation, for the mere outlines are quite expressive and speak for themselves.

Plate I:—A few drawings of hands in different positions are shown here. At the very first sight one is instinctively prompted to admire the lightness and boldness with which they are drawn. The outlines of the fingers are charming, generalised and free from any discordant or unnecessary detail. Fig. 1 is the hand of a girl holding a lily. What a sense of delicacy is suggested! The two hands in fig. 2 form a *mudra* or symbolic expression. A feeling of despair and uncertainty is expressed in fig. 3.

Plate II:—Movement and repose are suggested in the drawings of this plate. In fig. 1 the hands shown are those of a girl playing the *karatál* or cymbal, an instrument composed of two metal cups used in keeping *tál* or time in Indian music. A feeling of regulative chiming and an expression of methodical softness are indicated clearly in the drawing. Fig. 2. represents the hands of a flute player. Here a fine and sensitive movement of the fingers is vividly shown with wonderful truth. It almost seems as if the liquid tunes of the flute are actually passing out of the keys and the player is playing ravishing music.

Plate III:—It shows a girl in a pensive mood. The beautiful hand resting delicately upon the chin has the desired effect of expressing thoughtfulness.

Plate IV:- It represents a dandy's hand holding a flower. The entire figure, of which it is a part, is perfectly charming. Dressed in the then fashionable costume the dandy is holding a flower in his right hand. A beautiful armlet is also shown in the drawing. The pose of the arm and the graceful drawing of the five fingers show an



Plate III.

effect of studied fineness worthy of a beau or a dandy.

Plate V:—Fig. 1 represents Buddha's hand with a beggar's bowl. The drawing is simple but has a peculiar beauty of its own. Another drawing, fig. 2, is shown along with it. It is the hand of a girl offer-

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ing a cup of some drink to her lover. The difference in technique between the two is quite apparent. Buddha's hand is bold, calm in expression and sincere. The girl's hand is timid and characterised by a sense of softness and feminine expression.



Plate IV.

Plate VI:—Little need be said concerning the two lovely drawings. Both of them are chosen to illustrate a lover's arms. In fig. 1, the arm and shoulder of the loved one are fully shown but the lover's finger-tips alone are visible. It speaks of the insight of observation and perspective that the artist had. The beautiful finger-tips are delicately shown with such advantage as to give expression to a loving caress by the lover. In Fig. 2, the arms of both the lover and the beloved are shown. The whole composition is extermely delicate and fanciful. The lover is holding his beloved's arm lightly; a delightful softness of touch is indicated by his fingers. There is a remarkable sense of reliance and trust quite apparent in the slender hand of the beloved.

Plate VII:—Here a *bhakta's* (devotee's) folded hands are represented. No details of the original composition are given. Nothing but the hands are shown; yet nothing seems to be wanting in it to give it a complete effect. The fragment is a complete construction. A *bhakta* folds both his hands before Lord Buddha in reverence, love and obedience. He thinks himself blessed in the presence of the Lord. *Bhakti*, passionate adoration and self-less love, spring out from his heart and he falls at the feet of the Lord. This is what the folded hands mean.

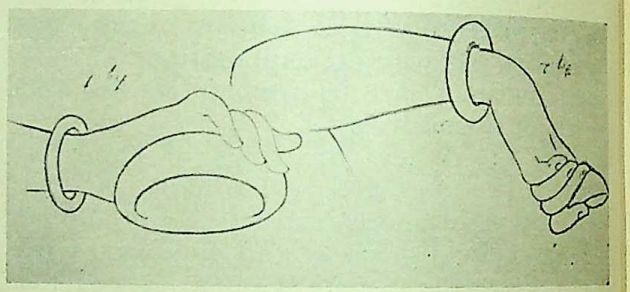


Plate V.

It hardly occurs to many of us now that the human feet, like the human hands, are a thing of beauty and may be represented in art with advantage. In these days of modern civilisation leather boots and shoes do not allow us to see beautiful feet. Naked feet are quite outrageous to the Western eye; this view of the proprieties is shared by many of our anglicised countrymen also. Consequently, we find that the representation of the feet does not appeal very much to the public now. But, when we look at the work of the old masters of our country, we find that they took a great delight in drawing human feet. They were equally familiar with the human feet and the human hands. To them the drawing of a foot was as important as the drawing of a hand. The drawing reproduced here will show their great powers of observation which enabled them to make such perfect drawings.

Plate VIII:—A foot of a girl kneeling before a king is shown in fig. 1. A considerable amount of support and exertion is

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vividly expressed in it. The double outline at the base of the foot indicates the *alaktak* or red paint mark, usually made on the feet of married girls. In fig. 2 is shown the foot of the same dandy whose hand appearsin plate IV. The outline, more or less, is humanistic and gives an expression of studied fineness characteristic of a dandy. Fig. 3 represents the feet of a seated queen. The drawing is delicate and the attitude easy. Its very contour suggests a sense of femininity. The next drawing, fig. 4, shows a moving foot of a girl. The outline is bold and effective. The definition of motion is rendered with great simplicity and truth.

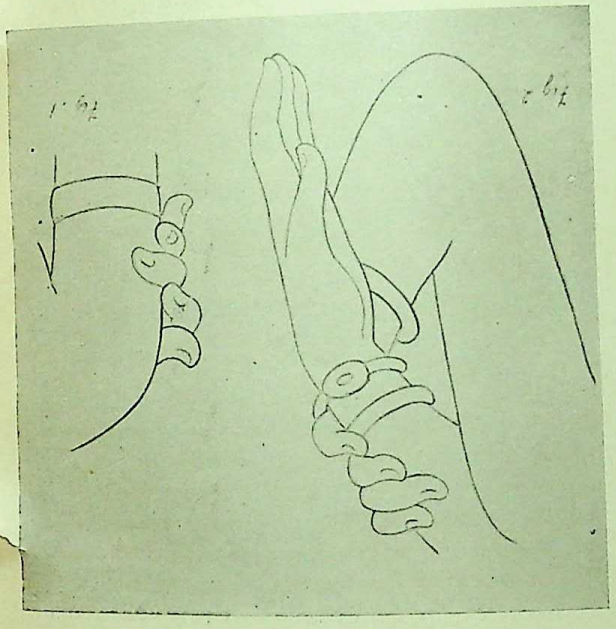


Plate VI.

Plate IX :—It shows the drawing of the feet of a colossal figure of Buddha. The feet are represented resting over a full-blown pink sacred lotus, the symbol of divine birth and perfection. The delicate foliage, though conventional, is exquisitely drawn. It affords some idea of the power of the old artists as designers and their intimate knowledge of plant form.

Plate X :—The drawing of a woman dancing is represented here. It forms a part of a large composition of a music party, giving a performance before a prince, most probably Prince Siddhartha, who afterwards became Gautama Buddha. The woman dancing is represented as dancing in a big hall surrounded by a number of musicians. Though dancing, she is not necessarily immodest ; her eyes are downcast. She has a modest look and is dancing in rapt ecstasy like a true dancer. A rhythmic flow vividly suggestive of a swift yet graceful movement is shown with great success. The curve of the slender wrist, the playful action of the arms, and the mysterious and wonderful drawing of the fingers express most admirably the



Plate VII.

characteristic action of the danseuse. Her whole body has three different bends, one at the neck, the second at the waist and the third at the feet, thus showing a *tri-bhanga* or thrice-bended pose—one of the most difficult and beautiful poses in Indian dancing. But the most wonderful part in the whole construction is the marvellous truth of action and expression shown in the drawing of the hands, the fingers of one of which have unfortunately worn away, as it appears in the illustration. And even though the whole thing is irrecoverably destroyed in part, the extant fragment helps us considerably in conceiving its intention and effect. The drawing of the worn away fingers can not be replaced but we can easily imagine that equally wonderful expressiveness of feeling, as depicted by the existing fingers, must have been shown by them also. And we can say without the least hesitation that the whole construction was a wonderful achievement in art.

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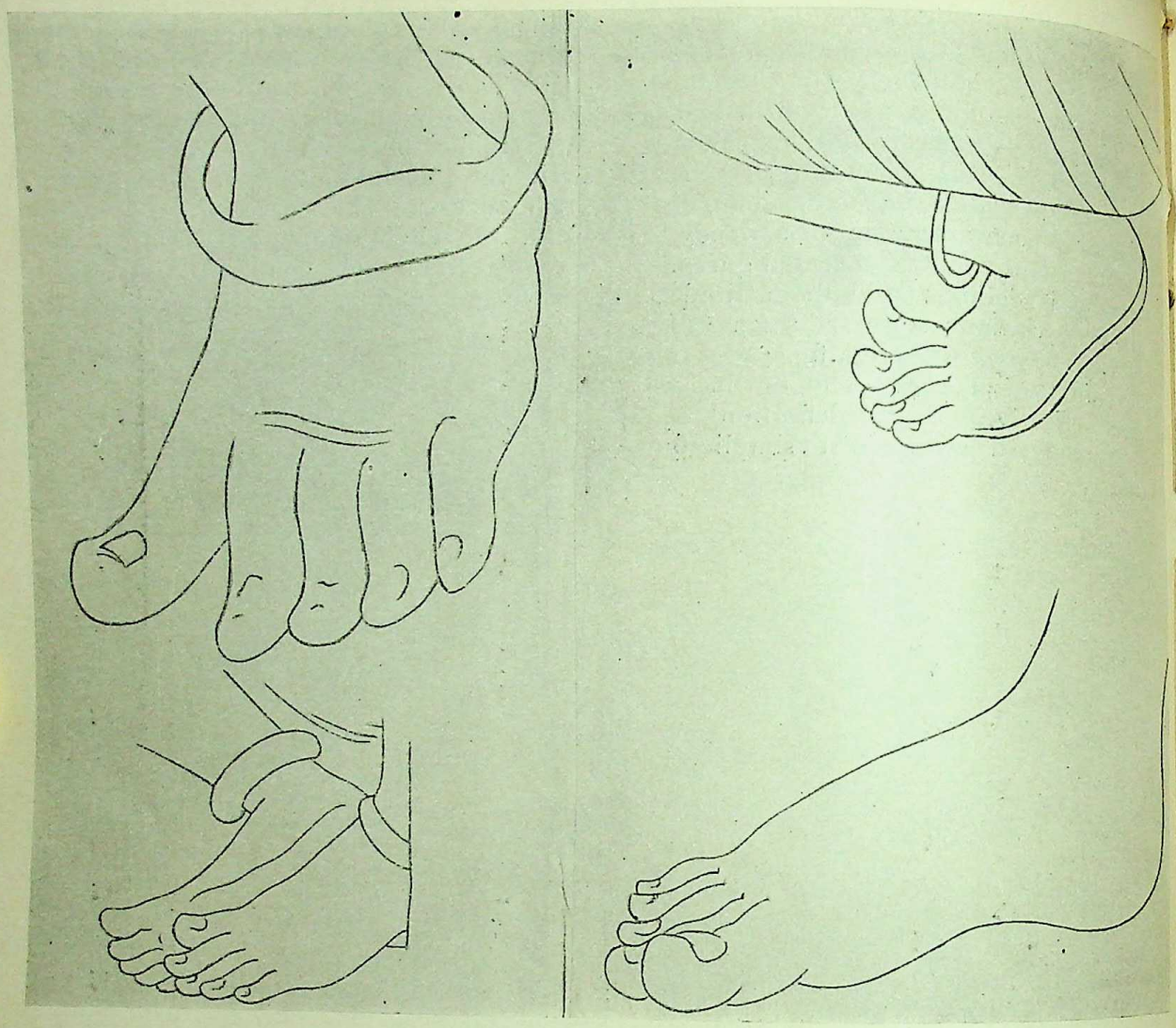


Plate VIII.

The spirit of the drawings of hands and feet reproduced here is free and delightful. There is a peculiar enjoyment and charm in these drawings of Indian masters. A sense of beauteousness, sensitiveness and sublimity mark their construction. It must not be supposed that the reproduced illustrations are a few of the master-pieces carefully selected from the paintings at Ajanta. On the other hand they are but a few of the drawings which I have. Any number of far more beautiful drawings of hands and feet and large compositions have been already copied directly from the cave walls. Exquisitely drawn hands and feet are quite common on the Ajanta walls, and one who has the opportunity of seeing them finds it difficult to classify the drawings according to their respective merit. Of course, all the drawings are not equally good ; it requires a little insight to recognise their proper merits. Yet, it can be safely said, that the very worst drawings found in these caves are full of such characteristic quality that they would be admired by true artists and art-lovers of every country. It is to be admitted that they are, more or less, generalised in construction. But they have all without a single exception, a definite intention, truth of action, boldness and free playfulness. Each drawing, either of a hand or of a foot, is a triumphant achievement in the history of art ; each finger is drawn with such fine appreciation of beauty that it gives it a spirit of transcendental character.

These drawings remind us of the wonderful achievements of the Indian artists who

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Plate X.

breathed such a heroic spirit into the Indian nation and the motif of Indian drawing based upon national ideals, which once made Indian art so great and far-famed. It was not merely the dexterity of those artists which made their work so great, but, it was the Indian national ideal which prompted and helped them to produce such works. And to-day when we are seriously thinking as to how Indian art may be

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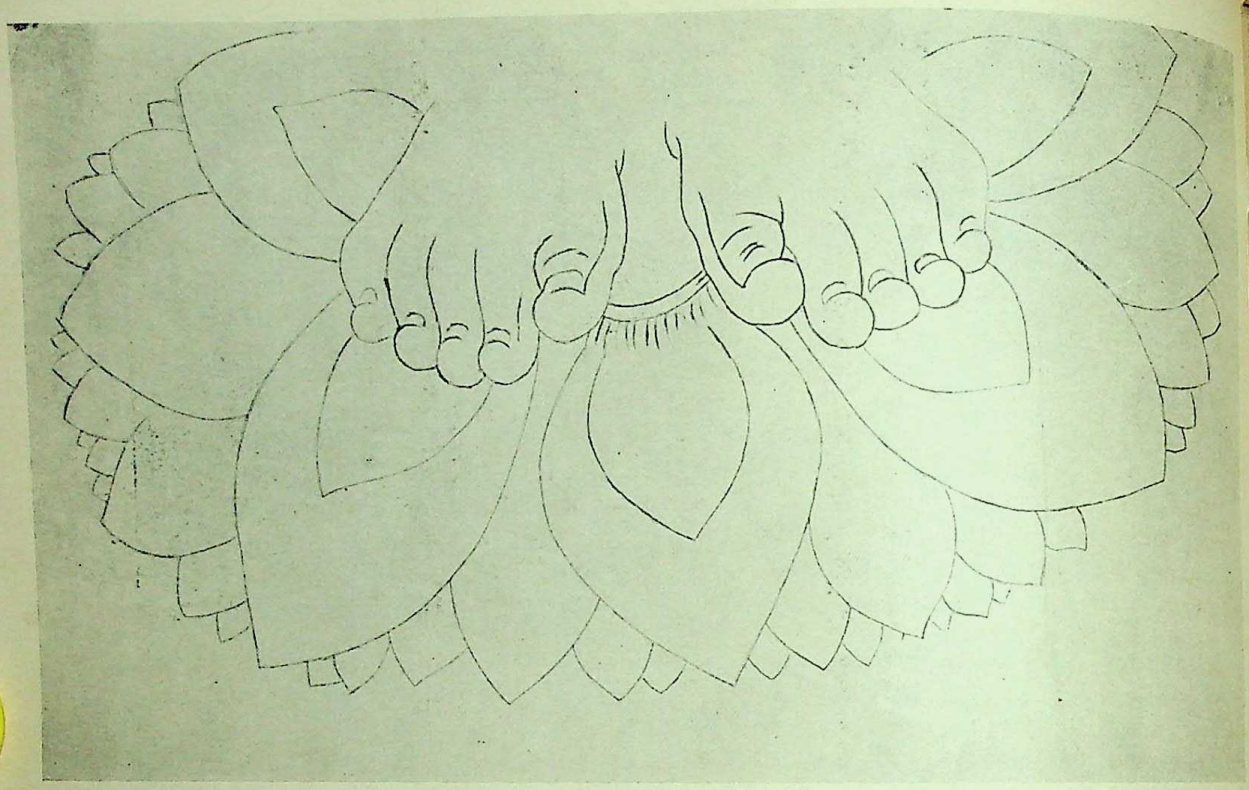


Plate XI.

revived and gain its former place in the art-world, it is essential that we should revive our national ideals which once were and still should be the basis of an independent and self-feeding art.

It may be said that art dies with age, no dead art has ever been revitalised. True; but it is not so with India. Her art is not yet dead but living though in a moribund state. It is true that no art of the past can be resuscitated fully. It is true, India cannot produce artists like the master-artists whose works are to be seen in the Ajanta caves. But if we, the art-students of the present age, appreciate their works, and remember always the national traditions and ideals which brought about such results, we may produce such things, though after much trial and patience, as may be in keeping with the work of our old masters. We should not copy their work, but should try to get inspiration from them, so that, we too might be able to leave behind us something not quite unworthy of the country in which we are born, not quite unworthy of the nation which claims us. But, if the culture of art is developed so as to meet the exotic taste of the present, the revival of Indian art on its former traditional basis will be beyond the shadow of the hope of realisation.

The reconstruction of a dilapidated building is only possible if its former plan is found. The broken bricks and the loose fragments of plaster do not help the architect to recover the lost construction. It is the plan that is absolutely necessary. Our national tradition is the plan. The revival of a forgotten and neglected art is only possible if the former dogmas, canons, and, above all, the traditional ideals of that art are fully resuscitated. The reconstruction of a national art is to be based upon the revived ideals of the nation. The will is to come first and the way will follow of itself. Have we got that national will yet?

SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA.

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KASHMIR AND THE KASHMIRIS

V

The Pandits. (*a*)

ONE thing very remarkable about the Pandits of Kashmir is this that they have retained all their religious ceremonies and rites intact amidst such uncongenial and iconoclastic environments. The rites, ceremonies and other religious practices and customs of the people are as a rule always affected and modified by new settlers and particularly by the ruling and predominating influence. In Upper India there are some traces of Muhammadan influence in our Hindu polity and as a rule the Hindus of North India are generally more liberal, and less particular in preserving Hindu rites and outward caste-marks, such as sandal paste or ash paste on the forehead and keeping of big *Sikha* (sacred tuft of hair), whereas these symbols are carefully preserved by the Hindus of the South, where there has been so little of Muhammadan influence. But in Kashmir the case is different and speaks volumes in favour of the steadfastness of the Hindus of Kashmir that a handful of them living amidst an overwhelming majority (90%) of Muhammadans for the last hundred years and having been ruled by bigoted Muhammadan rulers for nearly four hundred years and again ruled since by indifferent Hindu rulers, have yet preserved the Hindu rites and ceremonies, together with outward sacred marks including the Hindu headdress and the non-use of trousers. If the visitor goes into the streets of Srinagar, of which the population is overwhelmingly Muhammadan, he will come across some fine, fair and handsome men bearing on their forehead sandal paste and *roli* (red powder mark), with Hindu *pagri* (a sort of turban) on the head and necklace of sacred beads round their necks. It is so easy to pick up a Hindu, in Kashmir, at a glance, in a medley of people. In the early morning the town, particularly those parts where Pandits preponderate, such as *Havakadal*, etc., seems to be the habitat of Hindus only—men and women going to or coming from the river and the temples. From the houses come the melodious sounds of *Ved path* and Sanscrit scriptural readings mingled with the sound of sacred bells, conches and the smell of the *dhup*. As the sun rises higher, the Pandits sink down (hide) as it were. In the busy streets, shops, marts, and market places you see the dirty-looking dull Muhammadan shop-keepers and smiths —the sound of the sacred bell of the Hindu having been replaced by the noise of the hammer of the smith.

Now I give a brief account of the various religious ceremonies and rites and institutions of the Hindus (the *Pandits*).

The Advent of the Child into the Family.

When the parents of the would-be mother come to know of their daughter's interesting condition, they welcome the news with rejoicing and congratulate themselves as well as their daughter on the good fortune of her becoming a mother and of winning honour and respect in her father-in-law's house by virtue of her motherhood.

In the 5th or 7th month, the parents of the would-be mother send to their daughter a particular kind of dowry which consists of apparel, ornaments and milk. It is this last thing which plays the most important part in this present. The parents supply milk to the would-be mother for her child as it were ; and this ceremony is called after this presentation of symbolical or auspicious milk—*Dvad-yun* द्वद यु न।

The child is welcomed with great rejoicing and festivity by its father's people and they distribute walnuts among their relatives —these having been sent by the mother's parents for the occasion. On the 5th day balls of sesame, (तिल लड्डु) which they call तुई, are distributed likewise.

On the 7th day the child is bathed and the father dresses himself in new apparel. On this occasion they feed the women of their caste.

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Sutak (सूतक), which amongst us is generally observed for 22, or sometimes more days, among the *Pandits* lasts only for 10 days. So the period of ceremonial impurity comes to an end among them, earlier; perhaps it is because of the coldness of the climate that they do not wish to keep the new mother confined in a sort of secluded dungeon for a considerably longer period, as we the men of hotter regions detain new mothers in unhealthy ill-ventilated secluded corners to catch the particular female diseases which make many of our mothers, as a rule, so sickly and kills them before they attain middle age. On this occasion, when they presume that the mother is ceremonially pure enough to be touched, they feed their relations and distribute ज़र्दा rice cooked with saffron (केशर)। On the 11th day कालनेच (नामकरण) 'name-giving' ceremony is celebrated; on this occasion a name is given to the child; to sanctify it some worship is performed consisting of होम (*hom* यज्ञ sacrifice) and chanting of auspicious and religious *mantras;* and also a feast is given to relatives.

The fourth and the last ceremony of this order is called जड़काशे *jarkashe*, which literally means cutting (काशे) of hairs (जड़). The age of the male child, when he is supposed to be fit for this *haircutting* ceremony, varies from 1 to 5 years. On this occasion too *Hom* होम (यज्ञ sacrifice) and other sorts of religious rites are performed to sanctify the boy. He is also clad in new apparel and given new ornaments. In the case of a girl, this ceremony consists of giving her new clothes and ornaments, but the hair, instead of being cropped, begins to be "plaited in an artistic way" and as the hair of the girl grows long it falls behind her back in so many plaits, their ends being joined and shortness made up for with artificial plaits that are joined to the hairs. The head of the boy, whose hair is cropped in an irregular way and is left in about 5 tufts on his head, looks ugly. The poor boy's head is almost disfigured. And the boy on the whole stands at a great disadvantage with a girl in point of beauty. In Kashmir, as a rule, little boys are almost quite ugly things to look at, while girls of corresponding age are things of beauty and feast the eyes of the onlookers.

The initiation of the boy into brahmanhood.

As is the case with the orthodox *brah-mins* all over India, they regard the boy worthy of being taught the *Vedas*, and holy enough to be taken into the brotherhood of the *brahmins* from 8 years upward, so among *Pandits* too the *Upanayan* ceremony takes place between the ages of 5 to 12 years. This is the greatest occasion in a *brahmin* boy's life, when he is invested with the



The Pandit bridegroom in full dress.

sacred thread and taught the *sandhya mantra*, which he is expected to repeat, if not also at mid-day, at least at or a little before sunrise and at or a little after sunset.

Great preparations are made for this

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The Boy bridegroom and the Girl bride of the Kashmiri Pandits.

sacred occasion. Two or three days before the actual ceremony begins the whole house is washed and cleansed, and invitations are issued, and the singing of auspicious songs is commenced by women, the mangla mukhis मङ्गला मुखी. Out of the three special days, on the first day, the hands (the palm and tips of fingers and nails) are dyed with मेहदी, the dye-herb, on the second day दीवगौन, the worship of the family goddess takes place. The *brahmchari* is clad in the new clothes that he is presented with by his mother's relatives. And the people invited (chiefly the relatives of the family) present half a rupee each to the father of the *brahmchari*. This presentation of money to the father is called उरवल. On the 3rd day a sacrifice यज्ञ is performed on a miniature scale which corresponds to the sacrifices of the olden days, and the sacred thread यज्ञोपवीत is given to the boy, which he wears over his clothes for sometime. Then the *brahmchari* goes round, among those present, to beg his traditional alms भिचा. Some of them present him with ornaments, others give him money. The former decorate his body and the latter goes to the pocket of *Guru maharaj*—the hereditary preceptor who gives him the thread and the *sandhya-mantra*.

It is from this time that the secular or religious education of the boy begins. The learning and reading of the Vedas was substituted by the learning of secular and religious Sanskrit books and Astrology, etc., and now this is being replaced by *bread-education*.

The Marriage Ceremony.

The period of *brahmcharya* as a matter of fact exists only in name. The boy hardly gets breathing time, in most cases. After the putting on of the sacred thread, he is bound by his parents to a girl and thus the responsibilities of a *grihastha*, householder, are placed on his shoulders before he is able even to discharge the duties of a student (*brahmchari*).

As in the case of the *upanayan* ceremony, the cleaning of the house, the singing of auspicious songs by women, &c., are commenced 2 or 3 days earlier. Likewise मेंहदी ceremony of dying of hands and उरवल, presenting of half a rupee each by the invited guests (relatives) to the father of the bridegroom, follows in succession. Then on the third day the बरात, the marriage procession, proceeds to the bride's house. In the town of Srinagar every part of it being accessible by river the procession travels on water in boats. Even in these boats "a dancing girl" goes on singing and dancing in the boat. While the people of the bride and

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The People are seated out in a field in rows to take part in a marriage feast of Kashmiri Pandits.

the spectators watch, and show eagerness to receive the marriage procession approaching them by the water of the river Jhelam." In the muffassil the marriage procession travels on small hill-ponies—every processionist riding on a pony, his own or borrowed from a friend.

At this stage I wish to tell a very interesting story of the *four bride-grooms* or the Court of brides, which, to my great regret, has already grown out of fashion and obsolete. Instead of one bride-groom, even so late as only a decade ago and in some places till now, each marriage procession would contain four bride-grooms!

(1) The principal or the real bride-groom called the दुलहा or महाराज.

(2) The *small bride-groom*, called पुत्त महाराज and dressed exactly like the bridegroom-in-chief, accompanied him, with the purpose, that if by some accident the real bridegroom died, the duplicate groom would fill his place. This पुत्त महाराज, in olden times, was quite a serious affair. Therefore a younger brother of the bridegroom or a close friend or relative was selected for this unpleasant office, so that in the case of a mishap, for which they so keenly wished to supply safe-guards, he could actually fill the gap. But later on it became only a customary and formal affair, so much so that now even a son of a widower bride-groom is sometimes selected to represent the 'small' or duplicate groom, as if the son were to take the place of his father (the bride-groom) if something happened to him. Fortunately no instance of this unpleasant nature has been known to necessitate the unreasonable succession.

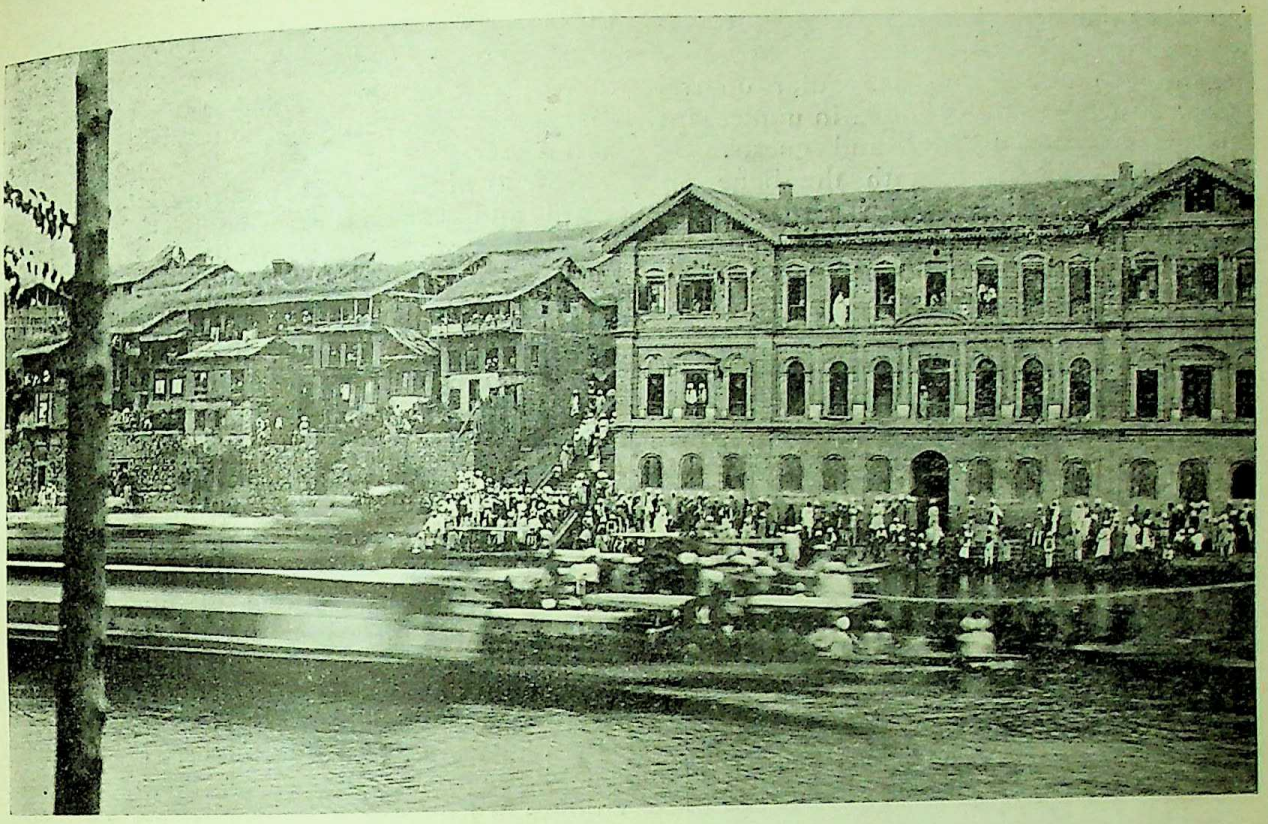
(3) The third one plays the part of a Courtier and an attendant upon the groom, and is always dressed in as good an attire. He is called शागाजी Shāgāji.

(4) The fourth मोर्छ्ंल वरदार *morchhalbardar* (the bearer of the peacock fan) waves the fan of peacock feathers over the bride-groom's head. He too has a gaudy dress.

The dress of the bridegroom दुलहा consists of जामा चोगा (cloak) डेकाटिक (golden front ornament on the forehead, over the *pagri*, (turban) and कुलङ्ग (the crest of the bird of that name—*kulang*) for the head-dress of the

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The People of the bride and the spectators watch and show eagerness to receive the marriage procession approaching them by the water of the river Jhelum.

groom. These are the essential and the auspicious paraphernalia of the bridegroom, the rest of the dress varies according to time, circumstances and means of the groom's family.

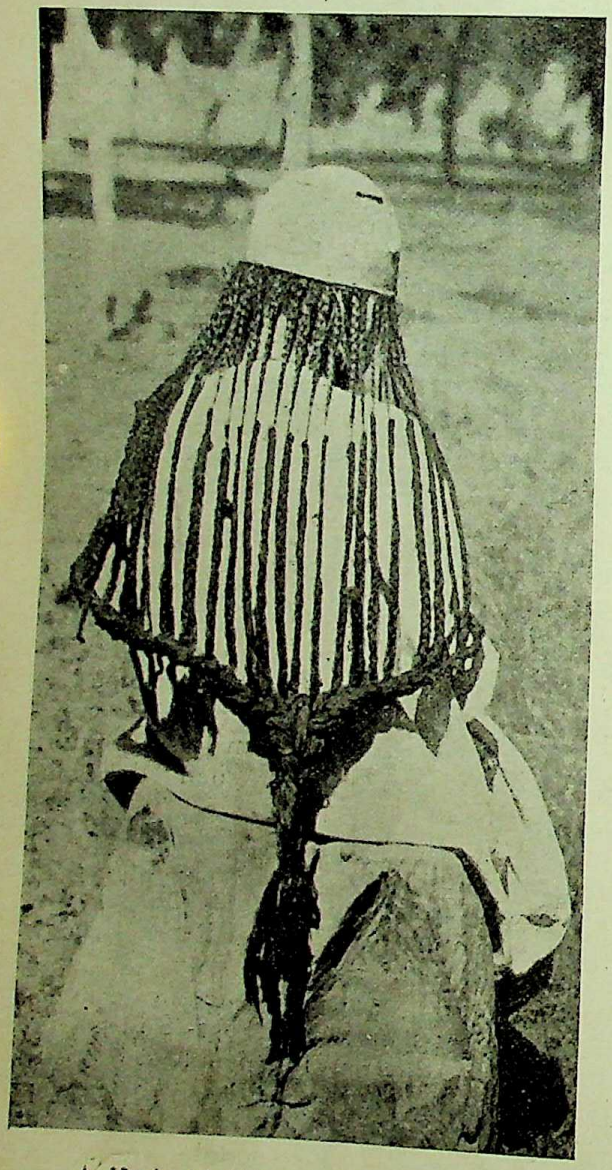
When the bridegroom's party reaches the bride's village, the women sing auspicious songs and the bride's people come out to welcome the procession. On arriving at the door of the bride's house, the groom's father and his priest join in a worship पूजा. This entrance ceremony is called द्वारपूजा. This is followed by कलस पूजा, the worshipping of the auspicious brass pot of water. The people of the bridegroom's party are comfortably housed and are served with tea immediately after their arrival. The bridegroom's party is fed by the bride's people. As to the food preparations, for this feast, rice, of course, being the stapple food of the people, is prepared, in various ways and in addition to or to take with rice soups, curries and vegetables are prepared in various ways and in a delicious manner. Ordinarily the people take only rice with a single green vegetable; but on such occasions they demonstrate their skill in preparing delicious curries and soups, etc. One can hardly believe that the same people who are contented with mere green vegetables to take with rice can also prepare and have a fondness for such delicious curries.

The Pandits are very fond of meat (mutton) and they prepare it very well. There was a time (only half a dozen years ago) when about a hundred sheep and goats had to be killed for a single marriage feast. And no marriage was ever solemnised without this great slaughter of goats and sheep. The only attraction for people to go to join the marriage processions even without being invited, was this meat. They are so fond of meat! "The people are seated out in a field in rows to take part in a marriage-feast", as is shown in the accompanying illustration. I also had once the pleasure to be one of the number so fed. Every one used to look at the share of his neighbour rather than on his own. He was always eager to know if his neighbour was not given more meat than he. And if he

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found or fancied that his neighbour was favoured with more mutton, he at once began to murmur aud a regular quarrel arose, which generally ended in unpleasant relations between the host and guests. So in order to do away with the bone of contention and save the girl's people from the extravagant expense on meat, the far-sighted and wise Pandits have decided to



A Kashmiri Girl with hair plaited in an artistic fashion.

give up this custom of slaughter of goats on such occasions; and the Pandits have peacefully swallowed the pill of a reform. And the practice of providing with mutton has been altogether given up. This reform has considerably decreased the number of those who used to join marriage processions so keenly for the sake of meat. And it will not be out of place to mention here that none was ever contented with less than half a seer.

Now at night—I am speaking of what I heard and saw as one belonging to the marriage procession in a village of Pandits in the valley—a party of rustics, the Muhammadan peasants, entered the room of the guests. Two of them played skillfully on two very peculiar kind of drums. And the whole party sang folk-songs in a chorus. The songs ranged from love songs to heroic, devotional and philosophic songs. Although I could not follow the language yet I was so charmed, as I believe, I was never, by any musical entertainment or musical party. Later, one of the musical party arose and began to sing a ballad about the turning of an ancient town *Sohpur* into one of the largest lakes of the country, the Woolar, in Kashmir, near Srinagar. It is in this way that the party of the bridegroom is entertained in the villages of Kashmir.

Next day begin a series of ceremonies which solemnise the union. The marriage I had the fortune of attending and following in all its details was that of a widower of about 40 with a maiden of 15. It being the second marriage, the ceremony was not to be very elaborate, yet it almost tired my patience in that smoky room in following the whole affair, which lasted for full 6 hours.

Although in Kashmir among the Pandits there is no *Pardah*, yet the bride remains, all the while, wrapped in a red shawl and looks like a bundle of clothes. Even the smell and smoke of *hom* होम can hardly penetrate up to her nostrils. All this while she is taken care of and supported by her maternal uncle, who moves her hands automatically in order to attend to the rites and worship. When the bride and the bridegroom are required to stand together and do some *puja*, worship, the bride, wrapped up in the shawl, is held up by the maternal uncle. The girl has to stoop as if trying hard to sit down and the uncle has to hold her up in that drooping pose. That time she looks like a paralysed being or one who has lost the use of her limbs or is a bundle of clothes.

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The priests go on chanting *vedic mantras* for 5 hours in accompaniment to *Hom-ahuti* होम आहुति and various forms of religious rites. They do not have the altar वेदी as we have here in the plains of India. They perform these rites in front of and around the sacrificial fire in a room. In all other details the usual Hindu rites are followed and and attended to.

After the marriage has thus been religiously solemnised the priests of either party recite benedictory verses in Sanskrit for about an hour. In simple Sanskrit they describe before the pair the characters and lives of all ancient Hindu heroes and heroines, ideal men and women; in conclusion they bless the bride, saying, "you be like Sita" and likewise bless the groom, saying, "you be like Ram." These are the two ideals—man and woman, Rama and Sita—that are in conclusion held up before the happy pair. So far the bride was clad in her clothes or cloth of virginhood. Now the marriage having been solemnised the bridegroom's people take her to the house of some friend of theirs, and there they dress her in the bride's dress, which they had brought for her from home and decorate her body with the ornaments.

Now the wrapper, the veil, is thrown off and it is practically now that she looks a bride. Now the wind of heaven too can blow freely against her face to give it a rosy hue. She returns to her mother's house and taking her share of dowry goes off to her future home.

MUKANDI LAL.

MR. D. C. SEN'S "BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE"

THE Editor of the *Modern Review* has put me in a rather difficult situation by asking me to say a few words about my friend Mr. Sen's book from the point of view of an European student of Bengali. The book has already been noticed in the columns of the *Modern Review* by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, a Bengali and a scholar, and it would ill become me, who have only an elementary knowledge of the Bengali language and literature, to set myself up as a critic of a critic so formidable. But perhaps I may be allowed to say, with all becoming diffidence, that it seems to me that Mr. Mazumdar has been more severe than the occasion requires. We all know the old story which explains the phrase "अद्य भग्नो धनुर्गुण:". It seems to me—and I venture to hope that on a second reading of Mr. Sen's book it may seem to Mr. Mazumdar himself—that he has gnawed at the bow-string when there was richer and more nourishing food at hand for his critical faculty. I think he might fairly have enlarged on the theme that (to use his own words) "the portion of the book dealing merely with the Bengali books from the time of Chandidasa is not without some information worth recording." That is true, but if a mere student may be allowed to judge, it is less than the whole truth. If "this portion of the book is wanting in brevity and lucidity," we must remember, firstly, that Mr. Sen's work is composed of a series of lectures in which there was bound to be a certain amount of over-lapping and repetition, and, secondly, some allowacce might justly be made in consideration of the author's plea that when the book was passing through the press, he was in bad health and was unable to face the weary work of rewriting and condensation which he might have felt inclined to attempt under happier circumstances. I am sure that Mr. Sen would not wish me to say on his behalf that his book is free from the errors which are sure to occur in the first edition of a work which professes to give an account of the whole of Bengali literature up to 1850, so far as its writers have become known to students by the recent researches of the author himself and other zealous investigators. Those of us who know what the nature of Mr. Sen's labours have been during the last twenty years will not go to him for the dry bow-strings of philology and etymology. If in such matters he has failed to do justice to his task, his defence must be undertaken by more competent persons than myself. But what students of comparative literature in France, Germany, and England have rejoiced to find in Mr. Sen's book is a detailed account of authors never before described in English, nor, so far as I know, in Bengali itself. For the last thirty-five years I have carried about with me the delightful little work on the "Literature of Bengal" by my lamented friend Romesh Chandra Dutt. I remember inducing the late Sir Charles Elliot to read this little book, and still preserve somewhere the letter in which he told me with how great interest he had learned something of the writings of Chandi Das, of Mukundaram, of Bharat Chandra, of Madhu Sudan, and of that King of Indian novelists, Bankim Chandra. Mr. Sen's book, attentively and benevolently read, surely gives a foreigner a juster idea of the wealth, the variety, and the expressiveness of Bengali literature than can be gathered even from Mr. Dutt's excellent little manual. Surely it matters little whether the primitive language of Bengal was or was not regarded by western Hindus as a Paisacha jargon. What is interesting and

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undoubted is that the Prakrit of Mithila became a form of Hindi in Bihar, and produced the rich, copious, supple and subtle Bengali speech in Bengal. The upper classes in Bengal are justly proud of their descent from ancestors who migrated from the West, just as there are Englishmen who boast a Norman origin. But English literature began when the English gentry gave up speaking Norman-French, and used a dialect, a fused and compound language, which has developed into the tongue of Shakespeare and Milton. So Bengali no doubt owes its flexibility and power of expression to the fact that it is borrowed from many sources. The phonology of Bengali alone is a most interesting study, and may be due to Dravidian or Tibeto-Burmese influences. Thus is it with English as spoken by English settlers in Ireland. Its tone is markedly different, its idioms have been affected by Celtic usages. On this point Mr. Sen has much that is interesting to say, though he says it by the way and without attaching too much importance to speculations in a field as yet imperfectly explored. He notes, for instance, the inevitable tendency of the immigrant gentry to undervalue the local speech. Their addiction to Sanskritic forms of speech has enriched Bengali with the sonorous compound words which Bankim uses with such happy effect in passages of satire and humour. Again, Mr. Sen notes—surely an interesting fact—that the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal were justly proud of their familiarity with the vernacular, and encouraged and patronised vernacular poets. That is a pregnant and suggestive observation which, I think, escaped the notice of Mr. Dutt himself. Surely we are all of us glad to be introduced to the Muslim poet Sayad Alaol, and it is of the utmost importance and interest to know that this learned follower of the Prophet wrote in a Sanskritic style and was imbued with the Hindu spirit. One of the most striking facts in Indian literature is this, that some of the modern languages of India only lend themselves to literary expression which is markedly Hindu in sentiment. I am not enough of a scholar or critic to analyse or explain this undoubted fact. Yet it is one well worth patient study as a sign of the psychology of modern India. In Bengali alone, is it not remarkable that conversion to Islam or Christianity does not avail to destroy this hereditary mentality, which causes the Bengali to find expression for a purely Hindu imagination when he takes up the pen. A striking example of this mental habit may be found in Madhu Sudan Datta, in whose epics and dramas there is nothing to show that he was a Christian. A still more astonishing instance is the charming young poetess, Taru Datta, too early torn from her studies by death. In her case, the Hindu mentality is even more noticeable, because she sought literary expression in foreign languages. She wrote a French novel, and that acute and practised critic, Mr. Gosse, at once noticed that she had achieved a purely Hindu tale. Her English poetry is charged with Hindu sentiment, and, for my own part, I should like to suggest that this prevailing and pervading Hindu sentiment is due to the fact that the young poetess thought in Bengali, in a language peculiarly fitted for the expression of Hindu ideas and translated her pretty fancies and maidenly emotions into English and French. It seems to me (if a foreigner may venture to make the suggestion) that Sayad Alaol, even when he is addressing the Khuda-t-ullah of his coreligionists, displays a curious tincture of Hindu feeling and imagination. Take the verses quoted at page 631 of Mr. Sen's book—

আপন প্রচার হেতু সৃজিল জীবন।
নিজ ভয় দর্শাইতে সৃজিল মরণ॥
সুগন্ধি সৃজিল প্রভু স্বর্গ বুঝাইতে।
সৃজিলেক দুর্গন্ধ নরক জানাইতে॥
মিষ্টরস সৃজিলেক কৃপা-অনুরোধ।
তিক্ত কটু কষা সৃজি জানাইল ক্রোধ॥ etc., etc.,

Such is the effect left on a foreigner's mind by the perusal of Mr. Sen's pages, a vivid impression of a literature which grows in flexibility and expressiveness as the years go by and as the race comes into contact with external and stimulating influences, but remains throughout Hindu in its inspiration, until, finally, coming into touch with the great Christian literatures, it acquires the faculty of writing eloquent and modulated prose with that accomplished scholar and man of letters, the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy. With him Hinduism undergoes a new phase of thought and expression, taking what suited its genius from the thought and speculation of Christian teachers. But, observe, it remains unmistakeably Hindu still, though the new Hinduism is a form of Vedantic unitarianism adapted to modern conditions of life and thought. This most interesting and momentous evolution of the Hindu literature of Bengal is related in a very vivid and convincing fashion in Mr. Sen's pages. His picture owes little to artifices of style or vigour of imagination. But one sees in it the intimate, homely, familiar knowledge which is the outcome of long years of patient and loving study of Bengali authors. If his book were a mere essay in literary criticism, he might have omitted mention of some of his authors, for not all, I suppose, will be claimed, even by himself, as being on a level with the best writers of Bengali or any other literature. But his life's work has been to make himself the painstaking historian of Bengali letters, and it is his wide and catholic acquaintance with all the surviving writers of his country that has justly won for him the applause of scholars abroad. His speculations as to the origin and nature of the language are merely the impressions he has picked up by the way, in collecting materials for the philologists of the future. Mr. Mazumdar will, I am sure, admit that the investigations of the learned contributors to the Sahitya Parisat Patrika have not finally cleared up the various sources which have combined to make the great river of modern Bengali. Mr. Mazumdar may be right in saying that "no patriotic Bengali will take any delight in tracing his ancestry through an unbroken line of these old Rarha people of the days of the old Tirthankaras." But that is not the question. It is not a matter of personal pride of descent, but of the mixed origins of a great language. In the Rarha country, it is well to look for Dravidian influences, just as, in Rangpur and the North East generally, we may expect to find the phonology and idiom of the Indo-European Bengali affected by Tibeto-Burman dialects not yet wholly extinct. So again in Chittagong the local pronunciation, idiom, and phraseology show, not that such men as the late Navin Chandra Sen, and my old friend Mr. Jatra Mohan Sen (whose portrait I am delighted to see in the March number of this Review) are descended

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from Mags and Portuguese settlers, but that during their long residence on the Arakan borders, the Bengali Hindus of Chittagong have altered their modes of speech, just as English settlers in Ireland have altered theirs.

After all, even a foreigner may be allowed say that Mr. Sen has achieved a great, memorable and a disinterested labour of love for his country and his people. In matters of detail, he may have erred, and he himself would be the last, I imagine, to expect all his readers to agree with all his conclusions. For instance, if I thought it worthwhile, I might, as an European, take mild exception to the good-natured fun which Mr. Sen pokes on pp. 922 and 923 at Europeans who have tried to translate and write Bengali. We can all smile, now-a-days, at the mistake of the good missionary who, in 1829, wrote ;—

সকল লোকের হিতার্থে বাঙ্গালা ভাষায় তর্জ্জমা করা গেল। তাহার একদিকে ইংরাজী ও একদিকে বাঙ্গালা !

Manuals, dictionaries, grammars of all degrees of merit are common enough now-a-days, and such mistakes are less excusable and less common now, let us hope. Even blunders such as these had their use, since they may have helped to draw the attention of native Bengalis to the necessity of aiming at a clear and expressive indigenous style. There are phrases in Mr. Sen's book which an Englishman would have turned in some other fashion than his. But it is the matter and not the manner of a foreigner's book which signifies, and I believe I am right in saying that Mr. Sen's work has been universally received by Indianists in Europe as an admirably learned account of authors of whose works they had never before heard. In some respects he is a pioneer, and if he is spared to bring out a second edition, he may feel inclined to alter some of his opinions and speculations. But he has provided copious materials for the speculations of his readers, and it cannot be doubted that the anthology of old Bengali verse on which he is, I understand, now engaged, will receive a cordial welcome from all students of comparative literature. Mr. Sen has spent himself freely in his chosen life-work of collecting all that survives of ancient Bengali literature. He has, I am told, injured his health by his devotion to his task, and it seems a little hard that his disinterested labours should not receive the fullest appreciation from his own countrymen. I cannot be sure that this brief attempt to do justice to his achievement will meet with Mr. Sen's approval. But I cannot refrain from saying that I read his book with an enjoyment which was not diminished by a sense that I had the good fortune to meet with a labour of love, the work of one of those typical poor scholars such as were more common in mediæval monasteries than in our own commercial age. Only today, I had the good fortune to meet a learned Bengali who had just been reading Mr. Sen's book. I was delighted to find that his impression of its merits squared exactly with mine. What struck him was the extraordinary candour and genuine simplicity of scholarship with which Mr. Sen has told the long tale of the gradual growth of literature in Bengal, from the humble beginnings. We find in every national expression of thought and emotion culminating in the admirable vehicle of communication which Bengali has become today. I hope Mr. Mazumdar will pardon my audacity in suggesting that he has been hypercritical and has directed his attention to minor matters which, even if he is right, detract but little from the solid value of the first attempt to make a conspectus of the whole field of surviving Bengali literature. Mr. Sen's industry, candour, conscientiousness, and enthusiasm are so obvious and so attractive that I venture to believe that Mr. Mazumdar has probably repented him already of a too summary and too petulant notice of a work which is the result of so many years of devoted labour.

CAMBRIDGE. J. D. ANDERSON.

THE STONES OF VARENDRA

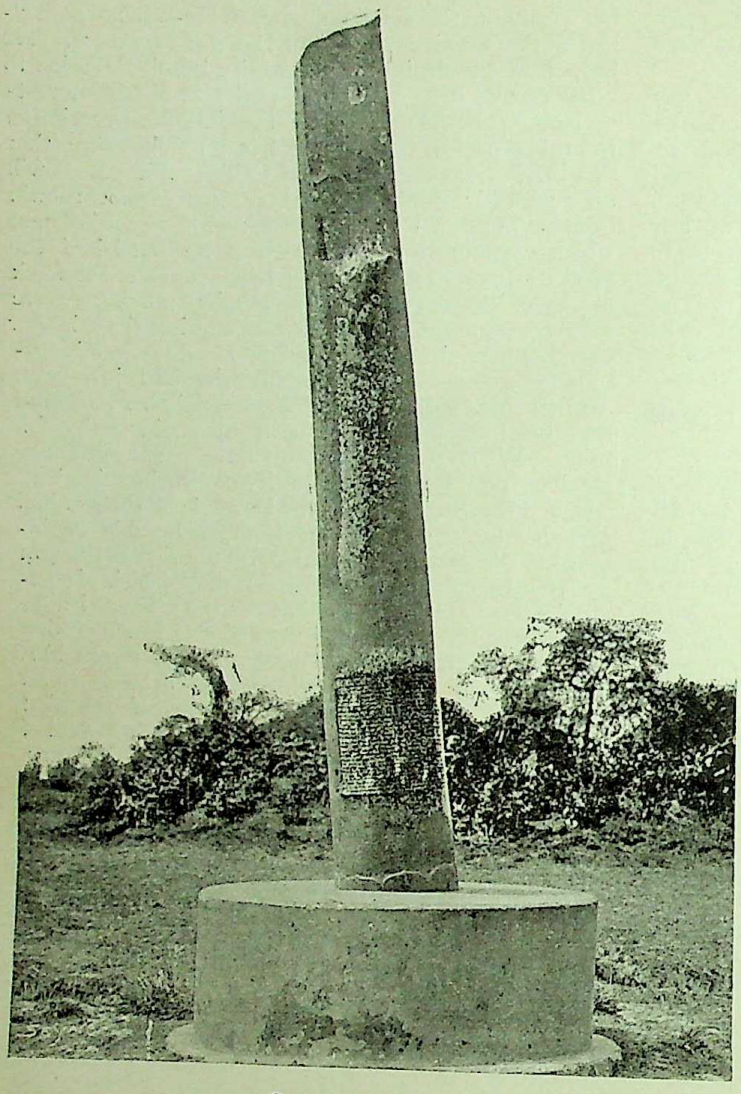
The Garuda-stambha.

AN important epigraphic record of ancient Bengal still standing *in situ*, consists of 28 verses in Sanskrita, carefully inscribed in 28 lines on a stone-pillar, which is visible at a short distance from the Mangalbari-hat in the district of Dinajpur. It is the *Garuda-stambha* of Varendra. The inscription is ostensibly a genealogical record of a Brahmin-family; but as the members of that family acted as hereditary ministers of the Pala Kings of Bengal, it is actually a historic record of the achievements of the second, third, fourth and fifth king of that dynasty.

Even now the neighbourhood of the pillar is not free from jungle. At one time it was covered by a dense forest, and the very existence of the pillar was forgotten. In the winter of 1780, Sir Charles Wilkins, then residing in the vicinity at Badal, accidentally came upon it; and brought its existence to the notice of the learned world. From deep-cut initials and dates on the pillar, one may yet find that it was inspected by George Udny in 1783, and by

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Garuda-Stambha.

Creighton in 1786. In 1788 Sir Charles published an English translation of this record in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, and another English translation by Pratap Chandra Ghose, with a text deciphered by Pundit Hara Chandra Chakravarty of Dinajpur, was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1874. It was, however, left to Professor Kielhorn to publish a correct text after more than a century; and to the Varendra Research Society to discover that the pillar actually stands on the verge of a ruined habitation, locally called Dewanbari.

It is a pity, the pillar-inscription gives us no information about the first king of the Pala dynasty. But we know something about him from the copper plate grant of his son and successor Dharmapala which was discovered at Khalimpur in the district of Malda. We know from that source that Gopala, son of Vappyata a warrior and grandson of Dayitavisnu "well versed in all the branches of knowledge" was *elected* by the people as their king with a view to put an end to the anarchy that prevailed at the time. This corroborates the tradition recorded by Lama Taranath that "in Orissa, Bengal, and five other provinces of the East, every *Kshatriya*, *Brahman*, and merchant *(Vaisya)* made himself the chief of the districts; but there was no king ruling the whole country. The widow of one of these departed chiefs used to kill every night the person who had been chosen king, until after several years, Gopala, who had been *elected* King, managed to free himself and obtained the kingdom." We also know from Lama Taranath that Gopala first ruled over Bengal and then added Magadha to his kingdom; and we know from another Tibetan work, the *Pag-samjou-zang* that Gopala was born near the town of *Pundravardhana*, which was the ancient capital of *Varendri* (North Bengal). I am indebted to Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C.I.E. for this information. That the Pala Kings were 'Bengalees', and that their empire was an empire of the Bengalees, appear not only from these traditions, preserved in Tibet; but the fact of Dharmapala being originally a "Lord of the East" is inscribed in the second verse of this pillar; and in the Gwalior stone-inscription of his great rival Emperor Bhoja of the Pratihara dynasty, he is distinctly called *Vangapati*, which may be taken as the best evidence of the nationality of the Pala Kings.

Although it is silent about the first king and about his *election*, yet the inscription on the *Garuda-stambha* is a valuable record; and no history of mediæval Bengal can be complete without an account of this interesting record. It discloses the names

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of kings Dharmapala, Devapala, Surapala (identified with Vigrahapala I) and Narayanapala, and also of their hereditary ministers Garga, Darbhapani, Kedar and Bhatta Gurava, who set up the pillar. It gives incidentally some account of the achievement of these kings. The discovery of the copper-plate grants of Dharmapala, Devapala and Narayanapala, has now enabled the learned scholars to verify the historic facts noted in this pillar-inscription. But one fact which stands above all the rest does not appear to have been properly noticed in the publications of learned societies. Although the Pala Kings were Buddhists and supporters of that religion, their hereditary ministers were all Brahmans; and a difference in religion, in those days, did not stand in the way of a harmonious *election*, or an efficient *administration* of the country, even in the midst of anarchy and disorder. Bhatta Gurava, the builder of this monument, was not only a pious Brahman, but he was also an efficient minister of state, a valiant warrior, and a poet, who used to be looked upon by his contemporaries as a Valmiki of the *kalikala*. These and similar inscriptions show at a glance of what stuff were made the people of old Bengal, who at one time extended their empire from shore to shore, between the Himalayas on the North and the Vindhya on the South, and what constituted the high education of the people of that age. We are indebted to the exertions of the Varendra Research Society for the first publication of a photograph of this interesting monument of ancient Bengal, and to Mr. Monahan, the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, for his noble desire to take suitable steps for the preservation of this unique stone of Varendra. Anyone wishing to see this stone for himself will do well to take train for Jaypurhat on the North Bengal State Railway, and engage a bullock cart with the kind help of the station master to proceed to Mangalbarihat, a distance of about seven miles. There he will have to ask the villagers to point out the site of this stone, which is popularly called *Bhimer Panti*, which in the local language means "the goad with which Bhima used to control his cattle!"

The full text of this inscription printed in Nagari and a Bengali translation with copious critical notes will very soon be published by the Varendra Research Society along with similar versions of all inscriptions relating to the Pala Kings, and an account of the rise and fall of their Empire has already been published by the same Society in the form of a Monograph named *Gauda-Rajamala*. A summary only will, therefore, be noted below of the facts, which may be gathered from this inscription.

The first verse discloses the fact that the hereditary ministers of the builders of the Pala Empire were Brahmans of the race of Sandilya. The second verse notes that Garga of this family was a reputed minister who enabled his master Dharma (Dharmapala,) originaly a lord only of the Eastern quarter, to extend his dominions to all the quarters. The copper-plate-grant of this king, discovered at Khalimpur in the district of Malda, fully bears this out, and distinctly notes that by the conquest of Kanouj and by the nomination of Chakrayudha as Lord of Kanouj, Dharmapala extended his influence over all Northern India as far as the Eastern territories of modern Afganistan. The fifth, sixth and seventh verses, in giving an account of Darbhapani, the son of Garga, notes, with evident exaltation, that the *policy* of Darbhapani, as minister of Devapala (the son and successor of Dharmapala), enabled that monarch to extend his Empire over all the territories between the Himalayas on the north and the Vindhya mountains on the south,—between the two seas, which are given a crimson hue by the rising and the setting Sun. These verses further allege that King Devapala often waited upon his minister at his house, and in court sat *sachakita* on his throne, in the presence of his minister, after having "offered to him a chair of State." In this poetic description may perhaps lie hidden a historical fact that this uncommon treatment was due to the position acquired by the minister, not by an appointment from the king, but by his self-acquired dignity of a 'king-maker.'

Somesvara, son of Darbhapani, is said, in verses eight, nine and ten, to have been of exalted position; but it is not narrated whether he acted as the minister of any one. His Son Kedar Misra is said, in verse thirteen, to have acted as the Minister of the Lord of Gauda, who enjoyed a long

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reign, and suppressed the Utkalas, humbled the Hunas, and crushed the pride of the Lords of Dravida and Gurjara. All scholars, except MM. Haraprasada Sastri, have taken this "Lord of Gauda" to be no other than Devapala himself, whose copper-plate-grant, discovered in Mungir, shows a long reign of at least 33 years.

The period embraced by the long reigns of Dharmapala and of his son Devapala covers nearly a century, including the period spent in consolidating the district of Bengal by Gopala after his *election* by the people. This was a period of the greatest activity of the Bengali people in various departments, as will appear from the monumental relics, discovered and collected by the Varendra Research Society. This period has another importance, as we know from the book of Lama Taranath, that during these long reigns of Dharmapala and of his son Devapala, an eastern school of sculpture and painting was established by Dhiman, born in Varendra, and by his son Vitapala.

Kedar Misra used to perform *yajnas*, and, according to verse fifteen, King Surapála (Vigrahapala I) used to come to his ceremonies to take on his head the "holy water" by way of *benediction* for the welfare of his Empire

Gurava, the son and successor in office of Kedar Misra, used to be, according to verse nineteen, highly spoken of by King Narayanapala, whose copper-plate-grant, discovered in Bhagalpur, shows that Bhatta Gurava was one of his trusted ministers of State.

Below the inscription is a short line in ungrammatical Sanskrita, which shows that this inscription was incised by the artist Visnubhadra. The pillar, in verse twenty-seven, is said to have been "as high as the noble mind of the donor," and "decorated with the image of Garuda, placed on its top." The image is no longer in existence, a thunderclap has destroyed the top; and a height of only twelve feet, with the inscription, is all that now remains. The girth of the lower portion of this pillar is five feet ten inches.

A. K. Maitra.

LONDON

I. Shops.

NOTHING impresses a visitor to London more than the rows of shops which line its streets. When one sees these shops in their magnificence and splendour, one seems inclined to agree with Napolean the Great, in his calling the English a nation of shopkeepers. These shops are not badly kept in England as in India. They are all very neat and clean, and their windows have large panes to allow passers-by in the street to see the articles kept for sale. The best specimens of goods are exhibited at these windows.

The shops have distinguishing signs which enable one to know the articles kept for sale, in them. The barber's shop is known by the long pole painted blue, red and white. There was a time when the barber practised the art of the modern surgeon. It was he who used to open a boil, or bleed a patient. The long pole with its different colors represents the profession which he carried on in days gone by. It represents the process of bleeding a patient. The white colour means the white tape that was tied round the patients' arm; the red the arterial, and the blue the dark venous blood.

The medical man's surgery is known from the red lamp that is placed at his door, and which burns at night time.

The druggist's shop is indicated by the colored glass jars exhibited at the window.

Oil-sellers have big jars of clay or china as signs of their shops.

Public houses are those places which are resorted to by all classes of English people for their drinks. As drinking is so prevalent in England, so it is only natural that publicans should be the richest of all shopkeepers. As a rule, the publicans are very

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rich. So they build their drinking shops very nicely and decorate very tastefully. In London their public houses have generally big lamps and some other signs by which they are known, for example, Greyhound, Swan, White Horse, Elephant, Turk's Head, &c. These public houses serve the purpose of sign posts in London, such as, Elephant and Castle, Lord Wellington, Ship and Castle, &c. A street or a lane is better known from its public house than by its proper name.

Pawnbroker's shops abound in London. They are known by three brass balls representing Lombardy arms, as pawnbrokers are said to have first come to England from that Italian city.

It is not necessary to dilate on the signs of other shops, *e.g.*, those of linen-drapers, booksellers, &c., &c.

II. London Street World.

The streets of London present materials which have been utilized by authors, especially novelists, for their works. Dickens and Thackeray were inspired to write some of their immortal works by scenes presented to them by the streets of London. One is sure to find much food for reflection and study by strolling through the London streets. All over the world, streets of large cities offer a stage of curious facts, peculiar manners, and more or less nomadic tribes. London has the advantage over other cities because it is the largest in the world.

Traders in the streets of London (not in shops), may be divided into two classes, *viz.*, those who sell and those who clean.

Sellers are generally itinerant dealers in several articles. Amongst them are costermongers, who were originally, as their name indicates, apple-sellers, but the irtrade is now very far from being limited to apples. There are also stall-mongers in streets for old and second-hand books, newspapers, fruits, vegetables, fish, &c. Muffin-sellers are known by the tinkling of their tiny bells. Amongst cleaners may be classed the shoe-black brigade, sweepers, and chimney sweeps. The shoe-black brigade is generally composed of boys whose occupation is to clean and blacken boots and shoes of those who go to them for that purpose. Their charge is very moderate, being only a penny a pair.

As the English people have to light their chimneys eight months in the year, chimney sweepers carry on a roaring trade.

The street sweepers in London are also very profitably employed. Generally, they are finders. Those who have read Thackeray's novels remember how one of the heroes of that author marries a lady and provides her with money every evening but enjoining on her not to ask him his occupation or his whereabouts in the day-time. Well, the lady's curiosity is excited, and she tries to discover his occupation. Imagine her horror when she found out that her husband was a sweeper. She, who, if not quite born in the purple, had at least some aristocratic blood in her veins, was shocked at the discovery and fainted.

III. West *vs.* East End of London.

The West End of London is known as Fashionable London, which, according to Theodore Hook, is bounded on the North by Piccadilly, on the South by Pall Mall, on the East by the Hay Market and on the West by St. James's Street. In the Fashionable London are crowded together all the notable clubs and most of the town residences of the English aristocracy.

The East End is the quarter of the poor. The West is for the rich, the East is for the poverty-stricken, and consequently criminal class of population. It is in the East London, that Jack the Ripper carried on his diabolical trade. It is there that murders and thefts and other crimes are almost daily occurrences.

Between the West and the East is that part of London, which goes under the name of the City. It is the business part of London. All the banks, the stock-exchange headquaters of foreign companies, and firms are located in the city. It is here that schemes are devised to defraud the public by floating bogus trading companies as did Jabez Balfour, and Hooley. Corruption and black-mail are the means generally made use of by the well-known heads of City firms. It is the City of London which has made England the richest country in the world. At one time, it was situated within an enclosure, or a wall, like most of the ancient cities of India, and had also gates, for entrance and exit. At present, there is no enclosure round the city, but the

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names of gates, like Bishop's gate, Aldersgate, etc., remind one of the days when London had a fortified wall with gates.

IV. Hotels and Restaurants.

"John Bull lives to eat." Such is the common saying amongst natives of England. It is a true one too. Abstemiousness or moderation in eating is a virtue to which John Bull is a stranger. He is a gluttonous eater. Hence London has such a large number of Hotels and Restaurants. The Londoner generally dines out at one of the hotels or restaurants. The people of the east generally have two meals a day, but the natives of England have several, thus they have their breakfast in the morning, lunch in the middle of the day, tea in the afternoon, dinner in the evening and supper before going to bed. All these meals are not without meat in some form or other. John Bull stuffs himself well with animal food.

It is to appease the inner man of John Bull, that the butcher's shop presents a sickening spectacle in the streets of London. In those shops are seen carcasses of sheep, pig and cattle, with blood trickling from their opened veins. Natives of England do not slaughter cattle for their food by decapitation as is practised in the East, but they open certain veins and thus bleed the animals to death. They say they get the best meat by this process.

While such cruelties are practised, it is impossible to expect kindness to animals from natives of England. They are cruel to animals, as well as to human beings in the extreme. Not only the male folk but the womankind of John Bull are also equally cruel. The fashionable women wear birds' wings in their dresses, which means death to hundreds of thousands of poor harmless and innocent birds.

Writes Samuel Smiles:—

"One need only go to Hurlingham on a ladies day to see the cruelty with which pigeons are treated. The poor things are let out of the trap, and are shot down for a bet, dyeing the ladies' dresses with their blood. There is as much clapping of hands as at a Spanish bull-fight. The pricked bird, the bird with a broken leg, continues to fly out of the field, and falls into some covert place, and there dies after a long agony. Is this the lesson of humanity that English women would teach to their sons and daughters? * *

"Then again, the trapped bird, (in the words of the late Archbishop of York, quoted by Smiles) is caused without a chance, wounded again and again, and picked up fluttering and suffering, is made a pastime for strong men, and when women make a holiday over such a sport, it shows that they are without love or pity. It reflects a shadow and becomes a painful study indeed.

"Is this the chivalry to which England has sunk? Is this craving for inhumanity and cruelty the highest ideal of manhood?" (Smiles' *Duty*. Chapter XIII.)

Natives of England will not cease to be cruel to animals and will not practise kindness to them, unless and until they substitute vegetarian diet for their meat diet. Vegetarianism has its advocates in England. But their number is very limited; they are far and few between. However, several vegetarian restaurants and several vegetarian societies have sprung up in London. But it cannot be said at present that vegetarianism has made much progrerss amongst the natives of that country. To digest meat, John Bull is obliged to drink alcoholic liquor in abundance. Hence almost all the hotels and restaurants (except vegetarian ones) are licensed to sell alcoholic beverages. Thus not only the public houses but these hotels and restaurants also make the natives of England drunk. However temperance societies are established, and its members are made to take the pledge not to touch, taste, or drink alcoholic liquor. The temperance movement, like the vegetarian one, has not found much support in England.

V. Places of Note in London.

Any guide-book of London will mention the names and descriptions of places worth seeing in Modern Babylon. It is not my intention to usurp the function of these useful guide-books.

VI. London Police.

The Indian Police has earned an unenviable reputation for being corrupt and inefficient in the extreme. The poor police constable in India is badly paid and is placed amidst temptations to which more often than not he yields. It is he who rules India, for the people see in him the embodiment of authority. He can do or undo a man if he likes. The Indian Police Constable considers himself to be an omnipotent being.

But such is not the case with the London Policeman. He is well paid, well dressed

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and is as a rule, above corruption. The London Police force is very efficient. The men, as a rule, are well-trained detectives. They are not omnipotent beings, like their brethren of India, but they are credited with being omniscient. A pedestrian in London, if he wants to know the time, will ask the policeman; or if he misses his way, the help of the policeman is again sought, the policeman is the walking dictionary for all necessary information of the pedestrian and traveller in London. That comic paper known as *Punch* once published a cartoon to represent the omniscient nature of the London Policeman. A landlady's cook had run away; she in amazement went to the nearest Policeman and asked him, "Do you know where to find my cook?"

Sometimes, the policemen are well tipped, but to their credit it must be said that they do not demand any tips, all that they often ask is to stand them a drink—generally a glass of beer—for their services.

VII. London Weather.

London weather is notorious for its fickleness. The morning may be very fine, but all of a sudden the sky is overcast with clouds, and it begins to rain; or if it is winter, it becomes foggy. Thus there is no certainty in the state of the weather during the course of even twelve hours. But it may be safely asserted that the Londoners do not see the face of the glorious sun for at least seven months, out of twelve. For seven months in London, it is either raining, snowing or foggy. The natives of the place have to brave such inclement weather, and their situation appears to us Orientals to be very pitiable and miserable. When the day is a fine one, their joy knows no bounds.

VIII. The River Thames.

London stands on the Thames. Regarding this river, a writer in the *Graphic* for July 25, 1891, thus says:—

"No river in ancient or modern history was ever so beloved as is old Father Thames. All that Father Tiber was to the Roman, Father Thames is to the Englishman, and much more too. For, though we build no altars to his banks, and sacrifice no firstling kids to the *numen*, yet we show our appreciation in more loving fashion by studying every inch of his course, and every turn of his banks, and by writing books and painting pictures in his honor."

The Thames has more bridges constructed over it than any other river in the world. By far the busiest bridge in the world is the London Bridge. From this bridge, railways run to all parts of England and there are boats which sail all over the river. In the summer, the river is seen with boats plying in hundreds. The fare also is not exorbitant. A penny will carry one the distance of several miles. The pleasure-seekers generally go in these boats to such places as Greenwich, Kew or Richmond for picnics. The men of business alight at piers nearest to their offices in the city. Thus the water-borne passengers on the Thames are by no means an insignificant number. The penny boats are not also devoid of luxuries or amusements. The Christian natives of England are a nation of shopkeepers. Of all peoples on this earth, they alone know best how to earn money by hook or crook. So these boats afford an opportunity to many speculators to make their fortunes. Every available inch of surface of these boats is decorated with advertisements of all sorts. Then there are the newspaper boys, the Christian whitemen with blackened faces to pass as Negro minstrels, with their harps and violins, who carry on a roaring trade in these boats.

No account of the Thames will be complete without alluding to its docks. No other river in the world has so many docks on its course, as the Thames. The most noted of these are the London, India and the Victoria Docks. On these docks are exhibited the different nationalities of the world. The white Christian native of England is to be seen along with the black curly-haired, everted-lipped Negro of Africa, the pig-tailed, scanty-haired yellow native of Cathay and the brown, intelligent native of India. Not only the various nationalities but also the products of the different countries are to be seen in these docks. The Docks are blackened with English coal, reddened with chillies brought from the tropics, made blue with the indigo of India, and brown with the tobacco of the Phillipines. Thus the docks give an idea of the trade carried on by England in all parts of the globe.

The Ganges is a holy river to the Hindus. The Hindus come from all parts of India to Benares to bathe in the Ganges and they carry the Ganges water far and wide. Of

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course, Christian missionaries consider this as only a superstition. They laugh at the Hindus for their belief in the sanctity and purity of the Ganges water. They say, that the water of one river is no more sacred or pure than that of another. But then, they are not scientific men. For science has proved that the Ganges water is an antiseptic and to a certain extent, disinfectant. So the Hindus are justified in their belief in considering the Ganges holy. Christians cannot say the same of the Thames, for its water is not an antiseptic.

A NATIVE OF THE EAST.

INDIA IN DANGER TO LOSE THE LAST PIECES OF HER OWN LAND

NON-POLITICAL WARNINGS AND SUGGESTIONS.

I.

THE following lines are the outcome of pure love of India and a keen desire for her development according to the special gifts God has given her before all other nations and on those lines which characterize the Indian Civilization. What I am going to say has nothing to do with politics, nothing with those pieces of land which are won or lost by blood-shedding, but which are nevertheless so important that on their possession or loss the life and death of a nation or even of a clan depends.

Well there is a piece of land equally precious and dear to the individuals as well as to whole nations, I mean everyone's mother-tongue. To defile, to corrupt, to lose it is an irreparable damage to the single individual and to the nation. Having lost his mother-tongue the individual ceases to be a true and real member of his nation; he has lost contact with the inner life of his country, has no share in its spiritual struggles, in its joys and sorrows. And again a nation deprived of her language has lost the most characteristic feature of what we combine with the word nation. Can you think of England without the English language or of Germany without German? Or would a Chinese be a true Chinese without the knowledge of at least one of the Chinese dialects! Mother-tongue, what a sweet and appropriate name! The first stammering sounds expressive of mother and father have been taught us by our mothers, the dearest we know on this earth. In whatever language she may have developed in us the gift which really makes man like man, that language should be for ever dear and holy to us. So it appears to me, and so, I should think, would it appear to others, to all, also to all Indians. If thus for faithful imparting to us the elements of our mother-tongue, our praise in the first instance is due to our mothers, no less thanks and praise we owe to those masters who help the young ones to improve and perfect their mother-tongue. Here in India this latter praise is, I am sorry to say, applicable almost entirely only to primary teachers. From the side of faithful mothers and primary teachers only have we help, no harm can come from them as regards the mother-tongue of Indian children. But in case a father decides to send his son or daughter to an English school, then serious danger arises for the child's mother-tongue. How can there be any danger? "There is certainly no harm for Indian boys or girls in learning English!" some one or other of the readers of this article might say. No, certainly not. There is as little harm in it as there is for a French boy to learn German or English or for an English boy to learn German or Russian. By studying any foreign tongue the student can only improve, even get a better insight into the beauties of his own mother-tongue. Quite true, if the medium for imparting instruction in all the subjects is the mother-tongue, and the foreign language the second language. But this is done everywhere, perhaps some of my readers will exclaim with surprise. Yes, everywhere. Go to England, to France, to Germany and

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other countries, visit all secondary or higher schools, whatever different names they may bear, visit all Colleges and Universities, and you will find that the mother-tongue of the students in the respective country is the medium of imparting instruction in all subjects except for those foreign modern languages which happen to be taught and which the student chooses to study.

But in the Indian Higher Educational system the student's mother-tongue holds the place of a second language whereas the foreign language, English, is the first language, being the medium of teaching. A more unnatural system could not have been introduced. Suppose a boy is sent to the primary school at the age of six. After having passed the fourth standard (Bombay Presidency) in the primary school he enters the doors of wisdom of the English or High School. After a stay of 3 years there he will be 13 years of age and now from the fourth standard upwards through all his High School and College study he receives all his instruction through the medium of an entirely foreign tongue of which he has during his first three years probably with much trouble acquired a number of words and phrases and some knowledge of grammar. Now I ask, can anybody, be he English or French or German, imagine that his boys or brothers preparing themselves for the University study should receive their education from the age of 13 or 14 in the language of a nation strange to them in every respect and living thousands of miles away, say in Hindustani or Japanese, because his country had become subject to the Mussalmans of India or to the Japanese? No Englishman could ever bear to think of such treatment of his youths in school. If to any European nation such a thing as assumed above should happen, it could not fail to create the bitterest feelings. But this is imagination! Let it be. In order to compare and make things clear, it is sometimes necessary to "suppose" for a moment. Yet what I have said is not all imagination, this much is evident to everybody who is willing to see, that the whole present Higher Education System in India with English as teaching-medium is unnatural. And from unnatural things no real good can come. I have for nearly ten years been in pretty close contact with the educational work here and have watched the higher education system with open unprejudiced eyes. I frankly say: first of all there is too much strain on the mental capacity of even the brightest youth not to speak of the majority of the average students, to do two things at once, *i.e.*, acquire foreign subjects of learning in a foreign tongue. How much time has to be spent and infinite trouble to be taken until the students only understand properly the English text of their books and then in addition to this they have to get the subject itself into their minds. The consequences are bad results (from a truly educational point of view) in High Schools and Colleges in spite of hundreds passing their examinations with "good result". Clear ideas, a lasting treasure of knowledge will only be gained by the natural way of being trained in one's own mother tongue. Why should a High School boy whose mother tongue is Canarese or Tamil or Hindi, etc., have to learn History or Mathematics in English? These subjects and others can be taught in all the principal Indian vernaculars quite as well as in English. I refer again to the English boy being forced to learn, only to mention one subject, the history of his own country or the history of the world in Japanese! But *mutatis mutandis* this is done in India! The most lamentable but in course of time inevitable consequence of this system is the *killing of the vernaculars.* Not that they would ever cease to be spoken, but they will sink down to mere dialects, to jargons without any value looking at them from a literary or scientific point of view. How can it be otherwise? The "brains" of the population, the most gifted youths being "English educated" do not acquire their mother-tongue properly. Many a High-school-boy, many a B. A. is unable to write a good essay in his mother-tongue. They themselves admit this defect frankly, some with sorrow, some with pride, others with utter indifference. There is also a great number of those Indian students who have acquired a direct contempt for their, I confess, beautiful sweet mother-tongue. Some years ago I was the guest of a gentleman. One evening he invited some Indian gentlemen, among them a young medical student who had just finished his study in Medicine.

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All present knew very well the vernacular of the district; only we Europeans and one or two of the Indians knew English. The cenversation was started in the vernacular which all know, but that young medical man insisted on talking English though the majority of his countrymen present did not understand him. Many similar, perhaps worse instances of preference of the foreign tongue to the mother-tongue could be produced. I have always considered this the worst sign of decay in India.

Dear Indian brethren, from where shall your poets come, from where your thinkers and philosophers as India has had them in olden days, from where your inventers, if your most gifted youths are on the way of neglecting their mother-tongue even unto contempt? They need not become poets writing English poems and English novels, this you and they had better leave to Englishmen and Americans. What India urgently needs are modern poets and writers in the vernaculars. Moreover the present Higher Education System has created quite a onesided and insufficient idea of what education means. The question, often heard, "Is this Hindu an educated man?" is to many people equivalent to the other question: "Does he know to read and write and talk English?" If so he is ranked among the educated. If this definition of education confining it to a more or less perfect knowledge of a foreign tongue were proper, then hundreds of English or German ladies and gentlemen of excellent learning and refined culture must needs be styled uneducated, while many a cook or butler in the Madras Presidency would have a right to reckon himself among the educated. True education means certainly something more than the knowledge and free use of a foreign tongue, though this may be included. I am sure there is many an Indian gentleman who does not know English, but who is nevertheless an educated man.

In an article published some time ago in the Hindustan Review* the author, a Rev. gentleman, who has come into intimate relations with many hundreds of students in Calcutta, says:—

"I doubt very much whether anyone can be properly educated in a language in which he cannot think. Certainly most Indian students cannot think in English, and this makes me wonder sometimes if they are being truly educated at all."

This is very true, but I not only doubt but am perfectly convinced that the Indian students are not being truly educated at all. I am at the same time of opinion that there is absolutely no necessity to make them think in English. They are not English, they are Indian, let them therefore think Indian by giving them the best instruction through the medium of their vernaculars. I think it would be a crime to the Indian soul to force Indian youths to think in English. English then should be taught in the same way as it is taught in French or German High Schools.

Before I give a brief sketch of what I am convinced to be the only effective remedy to make good the damage already done regarding the matter under consideration and to prevent further harm, I should like to point out in a few sentences how India has come to this unnatural and unnational system of higher education. Who is to be blamed? In the first instance surely and truly the Indians themselves and nobody else. It is much to the credit of the wisdom of the late Queen Victoria and her counsellors that in one of the earliest official despatches regarding education in India she expressed the wish or gave order to impart a knowledge of western science through the medium of the vernaculars. This wish has not been carried out, but all over India High Schools and Colleges with English as teaching-medium have sprung up and are still springing up like mushrooms. I have already said that the Indians are to be blamed in the first instance. They, not anxious for a natural solid education, frustrated the original intention of Government by simply rushing upon English mainly for no other purpose than to pass certain examinations in order to get employment in Government or private English offices. It is only a matter of course that the English seeing the Indians mad about English did not see any reason why they should check the Indians in their race after the English language, the less so as they needed and need a large number of English-knowing clerks.

It can also be understood though not fully excused why the Education Department adopted the present system: on the

* *Cf.* The Statesman (Calcutta) of 23rd April, 1911, (leading article).

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one hand there was absolutely no desire on the part of the Indians for an education in western science through the medium of the vernaculars, on the other hand it was so much easier for the Department to have English as teaching-medium, only to mention one thing that an educationalist who has just completed his studies in England can simply land in India and begin at once his educational work in any High School or College; there is not even an absolute necessity for him to master any vernacular. When I said the Indians are to be blamed for the defects in the higher education system, I did not mean, of course, the ordinary people who without any reflection go the way prescribed for obtaining a well-paid post, but I mean the leaders of Indian society, who ought to see clearer and look at things not exclusively or better not chiefly from a bread-earning point of view. I am pretty sure that, if from the side of Indian leaders over and over again applications had been made or will be made to the Education Department to introduce reforms, the matter would have been and will be carefully considered and changed as far as possible, as the departmental officers European and Indian, must also doubtlessly be aware of the bad system into which they have been led. Where there is a will there is a way. The only effective remedy for the defects pointed out is absolute *abolition of English as* TEACHING-MEDIUM, first of all in all High Schools and then in all Colleges. The medium for imparting instruction in nearly all subjects taught will have to be the recognized chief vernaculars of the districts. At least one second language will have to be made compulsory, but it should be left free to the students to choose between English or another European language on one side and another Indian vernacular on the other side. With this change the standard of all the subjects taught could be raised considerably higher than at present, as the students would have only to acquire those in their mother-tongue, not through the medium of a foreign language.

Colleges further would have to be established in centres of the principal language districts, the beginning made in those districts the language of which is spoken by several millions. The Canarese speaking population, only to give one instance, amounting to about 10 millions, should get a College and so on.

I could almost guarantee that the results in English also would be far better than with the present system as much time and energy would be spared for the study of this language.

The proposed Hindu University in Benares is a very praiseworthy undertaking, but I cannot help expressing my disappointment that also here English is to be the medium of imparting instruction, though, as the draft memorandum says, it is left to the Trustees to allow in future any one or more of the vernaculars to be used as medium of instruction. How many years more will they wait until they think the Indian vernaculars sufficiently developed to be used for higher education? The principal Indian vernaculars are, however, so beautifully developed that only blindness, real or pretended, can fail to see it. They are fit, and have for a long time been so, for the expression of the sublimest philosophical ideas as well as for rendering the simplest stories for children. If these languages are neglected as hitherto and the educationalists wait and wait for their further development, surely the same fate will overcome them which is the censequence of every neglected gift, *i.e.*, deterioration and finally utter ruin. With regard to the present state of matters I am, of course, also aware of the difficulties in which the promoters of the Hindu University find themselves as to the medium of imparting instruction: They *must* impart the latter through the medium of English as long as in the High Schools, from which they also like other Universities will have to get their students, English as teaching-medium is not abolished. Any *central* educational institution for Hindus, however, seems to me, at least for the present, more or less a failure: Either the instruction will have to be given in English as up to now, which is both unnatural and unnational, or one of the principal Indian vernaculars will have to be used as teaching medium. I would suggest Hindi, which would have to be taught in all High Schools of the country as second language. This would also have another great advantage:

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it would help to make Hindi together with Urdu the Lingua Franca* of future India.

But instead of centralizing I should like to suggest the establishment of Colleges according to language districts as hinted at above.

Much easier is this question with the proposed Moslem University. I have not seen the draft memorandum and am not aware what they have decided to accept as the teaching-medium. But as nearly all Muhammadans in India speak Hindustani at home, it would be the most natural thing to accept it from the very beginning as medium of teaching.

It strikes one very much that during all the time since the first Swadeshi calls were heard nobody has earnestly touched this most important matter which lies at the bottom of all true Swadeshi movements. Every true Swadeshi movement begins at home, begins with your language, your national dress, in short with stopping to imitate the foreigners. This kind of Swadeshism would at least be understood by most Englishmen and other Europeans and even appreciated by a great number of them.

I should like to ask Indian Rajahs and all other influential Indians who wish for a sound education of their countrymen to think over this question and make continuous efforts to get regranted the offer their fathers rejected, a natural higher education through the medium of the vernaculars in order to keep and improve the most important spiritual piece of land you have, your mother-tongue.

* Some years ago I suggested the introduction of an easy or simplified Sanscrit as the national language of future India, and Mr. Schrader of the Adyar Library, Madras, in a lecture (Reprinted in the Indian Review, June, 1909) urges the very same thing. This would be very ideal indeed as far as the Hindu community is concerned. But I doubt now if this ideal proposal will ever be carried out. Hindi, however, is an Aryan language, spoken by tens of millions and written in the Devanagari character, which will be accepted I think by the whole community. And though the Muhammadans will stick to their Arabic alphabet, their Hindustani has nearly the same grammar and to a great extent the same vocabulary as Hindi. So the adoption of Hindi on the part of the Hindus as far as the question of a Lingua Franca is concerned would also have the advantage of forming a valuable tie between Muhammadans and Hindus.

II.

Another thing in danger to be lost or at least spoiled is the Indian dress. When I was still at home I heard occasionally people talk about the inhabitants of India as being wild savages who scarcely knew how to dress. Though I did not believe those ignorant people, I certainly did not come to India with great expectations regarding this and other points. But my ideas brought from home quickly vanished when I saw the nice dress of the middle and better classes: The turban, perhaps the finest head-dress in the whole world, of various colours and designs, the dhoti, light and airy and picturesque if properly tied and suitable for this hot country; all kinds of shoework from the cheapest and simplest sandals to beautiful shoes which show the skill and taste of Indian workmanship. The longer I am here the less I can understand why there should be any reason to give up partly or wholly this picturesque dress, adapted to and fully serving the needs of this climate. But it is painful to see, even in smaller towns, a great number of Indian people walking about, excuse the expression, like dressed-up monkeys. Especially travelling about one can see specimens of all sorts of mixture in dress welcome for the pencil of a caricaturist. Just the other day I saw a man with European boots and stockings on, with dhoti and—*difficile est satirem noes scribere*—an English evening cap and a stiff collar burying nearly his ears. Apparently he imagined that he looked very smart. But there are worse combinations. There are at last Indians in complete English Saheb's style. European boots and stockings, trousers of course, stiff collar and ties and, Oh horror, instead of the beautiful turban, the big sun-hat! In many or most cases the European boots are not properly put on or tied, the laces are dangling about, the stockings hanging down, the trousers are mostly of such an inferior cut that it pains one's eyes to look at them. The worst error of taste is doubtless the exchange of the turban for the sun-hat. Surely no European puts it on for beauty's sake, it has simply been adopted as it affords sufficient protection against the rays of the tropical sun to which Europeans are not used. Those Indians who wear this monstrum of a head-dress seem to

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imagine that it fits them exceedingly and also that Europeans wear it in Europe, which is, as everbody can know, not the case. But even if Indians get their complete European dress-outfit from the best firm, they generally look nothing if not ugly in it compared with the appearance they make in their pure native costume. The European dress for some reason or other does not fit the Indians. Especially I cannot understand how Indian ladies can ever take to the European dress. Even those who are beauties in their national costume look perfectly ugly in the European dress and their complexion appears to be much darker in it. I know for certain that Indian ladies are envied for their dress by many a European lady.

But apart from beauty and patriotic feeling it is much healthier in this ever hot country to have neither stocking nor the tightly fitting European boots; sandals are much better also for Europeans. And why do Indians torture themselves with stiff collars and ties, when Europeans are ever so glad to do without these articles whenever they can?

This senseless imitation of half or full European dress we find chiefly among those who claim to belong to the educated class. They seem to think that it is a sign of education to give up their national dress and adopt that of the foreigners. But we can safely say that such a behaviour is neither a sign of true education (but on the contrary of half-education or falsely understood education) nor a sign of patriotism. A young Indian I knew dressed completely in European style, he had even exchanged the turban for the sun-hat. When asked why he did so, he said: In college we get certain notions of taste. If this is true, then I must say that he and many others with him have lost all sense for taste and beauty during their college course What he called taste is nothing else but a complete aberration of taste. Then I think it is high time to open a lectureship of Indian aesthetics in the colleges. One chief reason for this imitation of European dress seems to be the false notion that those who adopt it are better liked by and have easier access to Europeans. With very few exceptions this is a false idea. It may be that some too sensitive European ladies object to naked feet and partly naked legs, but the same ladies are perhaps delighted to see the Highlanders with their half-naked legs and they have no objection to appear for dinner and balls in deep decolletage. I think the Indians with their dress have been here in India before the Europeans arrived and will be here after they have left. If I were an Indian gentleman and not welcome as visitor to a European in my native costume, I should not care a farthing to see him. More backbone, dear Indians, also in these matters! I have, however, frequently talked about this point with Englishmen and other Europeans. Generally we simply laugh when we see such an Indian who thinks to become a European by imitating European dress and manners. Instead of winning the favour of Europeans they loose respect on the part of Europeans and earn scorn on the part of their countrymen, which they rightly deserve. Whenever I see such an Indian in complete European dress I know of course at once that he is not a European. I also think that he cannot be a Hindoo, so I conclude that he may be a Eurasian. I leave it to my Indian readers to decide for themselves whether it is a great honour to be mistaken for a Eurasian. But it seems that many Indians have come so far that they think it a shame to be Indians. Those people are not worthy to tread on the soil which has brought them forth. I am sorry to say that this deplorable imitation of European dress is in great favour with many Indian Christians, probably under the influence of wrong directions on the part of English or American missionaries and missionary ladies. These Indian Christians seem to think that it forms part of their new belief to adopt also the European dress. But the Europeans have neither adopted the Jewish nor the Greek dress, though Christianity was born from amongst the Jews and was spread by Greeks and Romans; according to the demands of the European climate and under the influence of a peculiar taste the European dress has come to the present fashion. I must say many of those half or completely European dressed Indians look like vagabonds. Instead of imitating the European dress on the part of the Indians it would be more sensible if Europeans residing in India would dress according to the Indian fashion.

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III.

Another silly imitation of English ways is the abbreviation of names. If a man for instance bears the name of Ram Krishna why is he too lazy to write it? He abbreviates it and writes R. K. These two letters may mean anything. That this is a mere imitation without any reasoning or consideration whatever becomes quite clear when certain people write their abbreviated names in their vernaculars. R. K. will be written in Bengali আর. কে., in Hindi आर. के. as I have seen in many cases. If Indian people think it an absolute necessity to follow the English way then they must do it in accordance with the alphabet of their vernaculars and abbreviate the above name র. ক. in Bengali, and र. क. in Hindi, as these are the equivalent letters for R. K.

Why do Indian merchants name their firms only in English! For instance, Naryan and Brothers or Mukherji and Sons. These names remain generally unchanged even if written in the vernaculars. Are there no words in the Indian languages for "and," none for "brothers" and "sons"? Do the Indians imagine all the European nations have quite the same word for brothers and sons?

Why are children in some vernacular schools taught to answer with Houdu Sar (yes, sir), as I have heard in some Canarese schools? Houdayya in Canarese or Ji han in Hindi, the equivalent, for the English yes, sir, is just as good. Why do so many prefer to say good morning, good evening, when you have such nice expressions for greeting each other as Salaam, Bandigi, Namaskar, etc.?

The worst corrupters of the Indian vernaculars are clerks and English-knowing schoolmasters. It is simply shocking to hear them talk their vernacular. Every third word in their talk is an English word. Then I can't understand why Indians have such a great liking for being called Mr. (Mister) or their ladies Mrs. (Missis). Appa or Ayya or Babu or Rao or Saheb are at least just as good as Mister. It doesn't matter a bit, whether these honorifics are added to the name as according to the Indian fashion or put in front of the name as the Europeans do. The Germans have "Herr," the French "Monsieur", other European nations other words instead of the English "Mister."

Another custom, unnecessarily imported I am sorry to say, is the shaking of hands. It is chiefly in vogue among Indian Christians. Many a Padri Saheb has come into a somewhat difficult position when travelling at some station or other, a man, perhaps a servant or cooli, came running up to him with a smiling face and wanted to shake hands with him. Why not stick to your beautiful and respectful way of saluting, touching the noblest part of the body, the forehead! I don't mean the stiff way of saluting which the boys are taught in schools in their drill lessons, but the graceful Indian style. It has also the great advantage of being more hygienic than the constant touching or shaking of hands.

Another example of worthless imitation! In a lonely place in the Central Provinces, 80 miles from the Railway Station, I found a tomb-stone. Some relative of the Raja's dewan had been buried there. The inscription was in English, and in what an English, scarcely one word being free from mistakes in spelling. How much better would the inscription have served its purpose, had it been written in Hindi, the language which everyone who has gone to school, can read and write there.

What I have said refers of course also to those Indians who have stayed for some years in England or other foreign countries. I don't see any reason why a gentleman with however high a degree and treasure of knowledge he may return from a foreign country, should not at once after his coming home adopt again his native dress and nice native manners. If he does so, he deserves the more honour: he shows that he has not become a fool, but is really an educated man, not simply like a parrot or another four-footed animal whose chief gift is that of imitation. But as soon as certain Indians have obtained a certain degree or come to a certain position or returned from Europe they think the only thing good enough for them is to become Europeanized in all respects.

I had once a talk with a very intelligent Dewan in the Central Provinces. He complained about the unnatural Higher English Education by which the country does not benefit, as pointed out in the first

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chapter. Then he said: I should like to give my sons the best education available at present, I have even no objection to send them to Europe for some time, but I fear they will return Europeanized fools who are disgusted with their father and mother; no food, no house, no clothing will suit them, they will feel strangers in their own home and country. This is a complaint of a man and father well worth hearing and considering.

Of course I don't mean that people of one country should not learn from those of another. But if in this or that respect changes seem to be absolutely necessary and foreign ideas are to be introduced, then they must be carefully studied and well *digested* and *assimilated* so that they become the nation's own property. Mere imitation of foreigners is no progress, it is a sign of decadence and leads the more to it, the longer one remains addicted to it.

Those who claim to be educated are in the first instance responsible for a true development and progress as the others look up to them as their models and guides.

Everybody, at least everybody who has normal feelings, likes his fatherland and calls his home the country where he and his ancestors have been born and lived. But there are Indians who talk of England as of their home. "Next year we are going home, or, so and so is at home", such or similar phrases I heard from an Indian gentleman in high position who would have comfortably reached *his home* on the West Coast of India by a ticket for 20 or 30 Rupees. People who talk like this make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of Englishmen and other Europeans and are rightly despised by their countrymen. I think Indians have a right to say: India, with all thy faults I love thee still.

I need not point out any remedies for these defects of which I have only given in an abrupt manner some instanccs, they are easily corrected. But I should like to request those who have failed in these respects to make good their errors and stop to be a disgrace to their country.

IV.

A few words more about the indigenous Indian arts. That they are in great danger of being neglected and consequently being lost surely nobody can deny.

To begin with, I should like to say some words in favour of the Indian music. It is a recognized fact that the Indian music has attained a great height of perfection theoretically as well as technically. It is also universally admitted that there is nothing in the world which has such a great influence upon the human mind as music, and we find that there are very few nations which lack altogether the gift of music. But what is a fact with other arts is also true as regards the development of this divinest of heavenly gifts, music: in different countries, among different nations, it has developed in different ways. To the Indian music has had its entirely own development and is liked and appreciated by Indians and foreigners for this very fact that it is a heavenly plant grown in Indian hearts and minds. What a power this music had in olden times, how it attracked the masses everywhere, how famous minstrels had a free access to kings and nobles and by the protection of the latter were helped and enabled to live entirely for their art, we can imagine if we read the records of old Indian life. And to-day! Music has to-day the same attraction, the same influence upon the human mind as in days of old, because man remains always the same. Whenever and wherever an Indian musician even of middling capacity begins to sing and play his instrument dozens and hundreds will quickly gather pressed by the irresistible desire of the human heart for music. Though this is the case, nevertheless there is reason to fear that the Indian music will be decaying and lost, as its protectors in these days are neither so numerous nor so liberal as those of bygone days. It is a common complaint that the Indian music is dying from starvation, *i.e.*, from want of funds (cf. an article on this subject in the *Statesman*, May 21, 1911) by which it could be made possible to establish schools for Indian music. It is very sad to see how from year to year in spite of famines and pests wealth and luxury increase while fine Indian arts like Indian music lie neglected for want of funds. It will be necessary to found associations for the rescue of Indian music. But there is another enemy, as bad as or worse than the scarcity of funds, that is again imitation and the vain idea that everything foreign must be superior to your own things. It

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is really painful to hear modern street music in the bigger Indian towns, which is neither European nor Indian music, but the worst mixture one can think of. Instead of sticking to the Indian musical instruments, which alone suit the Indian way of singing, cheap foreign instruments are produced which are unfit for the Indian way of singing and the proper use of which is also generally not known. I could never understand how rich Hindus and Muhammadans at marriage ceremonies or other festive occasions can employ so-called "native bands" which for hours and hours, day and night sometimes, fill the air with their horrible, ear-splitting European melodies, unable to play one pure tone. It would certainly be much better in every respect to call some good Indian musicians and let them perform their arts in which they are more or less perfect experts, while those imitators of European music will nearly always remain very unsuccessful amateurs not only but unfortunate helpers in ruining their own fine music. Some people think the Indian music inferior to the European one and therefore think it necessary or desirable to introduce the latter in this country. I think this is a great mistake. First of all the superiority of the European music to the Indian is still to be proved, which I think will be very difficult, if at all possible, because here taste has most to say. But why is it necessary always to compare? The Indian music has its own advantages and beauties, and so has the European. I have, however, some years ago, read an essay in which a European who seemed to know the music of India and Europe equally well came to the conclusion that the Indian music deserved the higher praise. But according to my opinion it just depends from what standpoint we look at things. As regards melody the Indian music doubtless stands in the first place, as regards harmony it will be difficult to beat the European music. The simple fact however that European music has no power over the Indian mind as I have heard from many Indian Christians who were used to European music from their childhood, should be sufficient reason to make every possible effort in order to secure for the Indian music again the high place it deserves.

Like the Indian Music the Indian Architecture and the art of Painting are in great danger. It shows little sense of taste, if rich Indian gentlemen who could very well afford to build their houses in a good Indian style, simply imitate the style of the Bungalow of European residents in India. I am however glad to be able to see here and there some hopeful signs for the better. Some time ago I had the opportunity to pay a visit to the new palace of His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore. Everybody must be struck with wonder at the sight of this masterpiece of Indian architecture. Rich Indian gentlemen should follow this example, not that I mean that everybody should or could build a palace, but that Indians should build their houses in an Indian or, broadly speaking, in an Oriental style.

The same applies to the Indian art of Painting. I have seen some beautiful old specimens of this art, but very few of modern days. But here again his Highness the Maharajah of Mysore has set a good example by giving in his new palace, a prominent place to the magnificent productions of Rajah Ravi Varma, the great modern Indian painter, who has given an everlasting lesson to Indian artists, how to develop and cultivate their art. And all Indians, nay everbody who has sense for originality and the indigenous arts of a nation must be delighted with the fine taste of His Highness and the encouragement he gave to Indian arts and workmanship.

We could draw attention to other indigenous arts and handicrafts but what has been said may suffice.

The danger to lose the most precious pieces of her own land is in these days great for India, the attempts to rescue and save are comparatively very timid and few. The very idea that the loss of all these things we talked about implies the heaviest loss a nation can suffer is questionable to some and has not as yet become to many a matter of interest and importance, a question of life and death of a nation, which it really is. In order to avert the existing dangers I should like to suggest the founding of associations or societies for the preservation and culture of the Indian vernaculars and learning, of Indian customs and arts,as music, architecture, painting, etc., and last but not least, the adoption

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of an Indian language as Lingua Franca throughout India. The more own property you have and are able to show to other nations, the more you will be respected by them; the more you imitate, the poorer you get as regards all those things which make the fame of a nation, and the poorer you are, the more you will be mocked at and despised by other nations: this derision is a deserved one because what you have lost has been lost by your own negligence and indifference. But I sincerely hope that India will be great again as it was in olden days. It will be so, if you have wisdom and energy enough to carry out the sacred word:

"Hold fast that which you have that nobody take your crown."

SOUTH INDIA. A EUROPEAN.

THE MOTHERLAND

How can I serve thee, I who am so weak?...
Beloved Land!
Make thou my loving heart a deathless lute
Within thy hand.

What can I give thee, I who am so poor?...
O thou most sweet!
Let my life blossom like a lotus-flower
Under thy feet.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N. B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

Mr. Har Dayal on Metaphysics.

In the July number of this Review Mr. Har Dayal has written an article headed the 'Wealth of the Nation' in which he has passed a very severe criticism on the speculative tendency of the Indian mind. The writer has taken a very bold attitude against Metaphysics and regards the cultivation of this science in India as the principal reason why she has lagged behind in the march of progress which the Western world is making and admonishes us to give up this and other kindred pursuits. To quote his own words: "Metaphysics was invented in the childhood of the human race, but India has been playing with the toys of childhood in mature age. We wonder that she is in intellectual tutelage to the West." "Young men of India, look not for wisdom in the musty parchments of your metaphysical treatises. There is nothing but an endless round of verbal jugglery there. Read Rousseau and Voltaire, Plato and Aristotle, Haeckel and Spencer, Marx and Tolstoi, Ruskin and Comte and other European thinkers if you wish to understand life and its problems." Now there is an inherent contradiction between these two passages. The first passage means that if at all the study of metaphysics is necessary, it was so in the infant stage of the world but now that the world is so old, it is no longer useful. In the next passage, however, he asks us to give up Indian metaphysics but study Plato, Aristotle and Spencer among others. As if these writers are free from any taint of Metaphysics! Instead of that, as every student of Plato and Aristotle knows, the writings of these two thinkers are saturated with Metaphysics and even Spencer, however much he tried to shun Metaphysics, was inextricably involved in metaphysical problems. But ignoring this contradiction, we shall believe Mr. Har Dayal to be against Metaphysics in general as appears from one more passage: "Leave metaphysics to triflers and punsters and devote your time to the study of Economics and Politics. Let the dead

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bury the dead. Let idle dreamers quarrel over theology and break their heads over "God's revelations' and the profound conundrums of philosophy."

Now, this wholesale denunciation of Metaphysics cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. In the first place, Mr. Har Dayal is utterly wrong in thinking that Metaphysics is a toy meant for the childhood of the human race. On the contrary, one may confidently lay down without fear of repetition that so long as man is a rational being, so long as he can think, so long Metaphysics can never be eradicated from human pursuits. The ancient Greeks put this necessity in the form of a dilemma; 'man must philosophise. For he either ought or ought not to do so. But if he ought not, he ought not to philosophise in order to prove that he ought not to philosophise.' In short, philosophy and religion are bound to remain the mainstays of our intellectual life. Mr. Har Dayal would have been partially right if he had acknowledged the necessity of a sound system of Metaphysics but regarded the Indian theory of Metaphysics as unsatisfactory and unsuited to the all-round development of life. But as it is, he treads upon a ground which slips away from under him and leaves him in an insecure position when he assails the need of philosophy in general. No one will deny as a general proposition that in the case of a nation as well as an individual over-development in one direction is attained at the cost of under-development in another and one might say, indeed, that India has paid a good deal of attention, almost exclusive attention, towards metaphysics and religion in the past and that it is now high time that she should also turn towards those arts and sciences which make for her material well-being. Nay, we might even say that she must correct her systems of metaphysics and religion in so far as they may be found to conflict with the established results of physical and biological sciences and with the material side of the human ideal. But to say that metaphysics should be altogether banished from the Indian brains if they are to keep pace with the march of progress, seems to me a very narrow-minded position. Why, one of the most practical and scientific countries of the West, Germany, was and even still is the home of Metaphysics. In fact, an impartial and profound study of physical, biological and sociological sciences necessarily leads one into an enquiry into their first principles which is nothing but Metaphysics. Mr. Har Dayal writes that "you should see that the Vedas of today are the five fundamental sciences of Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Psychology and Sociology." But he forgets that religion implies an altogether different want from that of these sciences and that their development, however perfect, can never crush the religious propensity of mankind. The development of one side of human nature can never do away with that of another and a man who thirsts for the cultivation of sciences by the suppression of Religion and Philosophy is as great a dogmatist as one who delights in metaphysical speculations without basing them on the data supplied by scientific investigation.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not hold a plea for Indian Metaphysics but for Religion and Metaphysics in general. I agree with much of what Mr. Har Dayal writes about the superstitious tendency and the unsound social system of India. My only point is to save Religion and Metaphysics from the attacks of his murderous pen.

H. V. Divatia.

The Ajmere Urs: A rejoinder.

I beg to answer Mr. Gaurishankar's criticism as follows:—

Regarding the first objection I refer the reader to the Imperial Gazetteer of India—Provincial Series—Rajaputana—wherein it is stated (*vide* p. 489) that "the Saint's tomb.....is richly adorned with gold and silver *but only Mohamedans are permitted to enter its precincts.*" If Hindus are allowed at all,—they have no right to be there—they are allowed as a matter of courtesy owing to the catholicity of the Dargah officials.

Regarding the second, I once more quote the Provincial Gazetteer (p. 489): "The shrine contains the large drums and brass candle-sticks *taken by Akbar at the sack of Chittor.*" Alluding to the same passage, I may farther explain that the pride does not consist in belittling, in any way, the Rajaputs nor in gloating over the victory of the Crescent over the Sun but in possessing an historical relic—that is all.

I cannot accept Mr. Harbilas Sarda's statement as against the weightier authority of the Imperial Gazetteer which is recognised, on all hands, as a standard work of reference.

S. Z. Ali.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

English.

Foreign Travel and Hindu Shastras. Judgment in the Benares Caste Case, 1911. Leader Press, Allahabad. Price Re. 1.

The learned Sanskritist Mr. Srish Chandra Basu was the judge who delivered this judgment. It is so well-written that every Sanskrit scholar, who knows English, ought to peruse it carefully. By quoting appropriate texts the judge had conclusively proved that "(1) sea-voyage is not prohibited to the Vaishya even in this Kali age, (2) that taking Mleccha's food is an expiable sin, and the man who takes such food does not become *avyavahârya* (unfit for social intercourse), even after performing the required *prayaschitta*, (3) that it is perfectly illegal in this kali age to outcast a person who associates with a *patita*, (4) that under the Hindu Law outcasting a person illegally was a crime punishable by the king." The pamphlet ought to be translated into the principal vernaculars of India,

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and circulated broadcast among the *tol* pandits. It is a pity that many Sanskrit verses have been printed in the Roman character, which makes the perusal of the book extremely difficult for the ordinary Indian graduate.

The Elements of Morals by Ambicacharan Mitra, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, Cuttack. Pp. 484. Price—not given. S. K. Lahiri & Co. 56 College Street, Calcutta, 1912.

This is the first attempt by an Indian to write a comprehensive treatise on Ethics, for the late Professor Mohitchandra Sen's book is after all too meagre and sketchy. It has always struck me as something lamentable that our gifted professors have not yet addressed themselves to the task of writing text-books. In Ethics especially we require a book written from the Indian point of view. Ethical precepts and good lives have never been a rare commodity in India. These constitute the ethical facts which it is for us to explain, criticize and systematize. It won't do to merely learn from the text books written by Europeans. They are unacquainted with the *ethos* of India. They never explain nor justify our ideals. They quote largely from the Bible and their own poets and philosophers, but not from the Mahabharata, the Dhammapada, or the Koran. Hence our students run away with the idea that the ethical ideal has been developed only in Europe and under the Christian religion! In order to counteract this tendency, it is absolutely necessary that our scriptures should be largely quoted in our ethical text-books, that the ethical movement should be shown to lead to the Hindu and Mahomedan Ideals, as much as to the Christian. Has the present book fulfilled our demands in this respect? "The Elements of Moral" has often quoted from the Indian scriptures, and it has done a real service by instituting some comparisons between the philosophies of the East and West. Our boys must not grow up in entire ignorance of their own philosophy. So far, so good. But it would have been better if the author had given some quotations from the *Santiparva* of the Mahabharat and such other scriptures. They contain not only many lofty teachings (which are moral *facts*), but also many moral theories. Thus the following verses undoubtedly contain a theory of the end of morality, of the standard or *Summum bonum*, if you like.

प्रभवार्थाय भूतानां धर्म्म प्रवचनं कृतम् ।
यः स्यात् प्रभवसंयुक्तः स धर्म्मः इति निश्चय ॥
धारणाद्धर्म्ममित्याहुः धर्म्मेण विधृताः प्रजाः ।
यः स्याद्धारणसंयुक्त स धर्म्म इति निश्चयः ॥

महाभारत १२।१०९।१०-११ ; ८४६।५५-५८

It is unfortunate that these Hindu theories had not been mentioned in their proper places. (*Vide* धर्म्म, समाज ओ स्वाधीन चिन्ता by the present writer for a full treatment of the subject). In the chapter on Conscience, we miss the Indian account of it. The Indian called it अन्तरात्मन् or हृदय (*Vide* The Pramânas of Hindu Logic, J.A.S.B. 1910, 6).

In the chapter on "Perplexity of Conscience," the author should have prointed out, on p. 170, that Paulsen's "Lie of Necessity," which is allowed by Sidgwick and Martineau, is also allowed by the Mahabhârata. A reference to Bankimchandra's Dharmatattva and Krishnacharitra would have been equally welcome here. Bankimchandra is the greatest Bengali writer on "morals," and it is remarkable that his name and writings have never once been mentioned in these closely printed eight hundred pages! Coming to the "Sanctions," the following verses might have been appropriately quoted :—

राजदण्डभयादेके पापाः पापं न कुर्व्वते ।
यमदण्डभयादेके परलोकभयादपि ॥
परस्परभयादेके पापाः पापं न कुर्व्वते ॥

Here the legal, religious and social sanctions are explicitly mentioned (Cf. also मनु ४।१७१—१७४ and महाभारतं । ३।९४ ४ ; १।८०।२-३)

The author "shall be thankful to all who, by kindly pointing out the defects of this volume, may help in its improvement." In response to this request I have pointed out some lines of improvement above. I hope these criticisms will be taken in the spirit in which they are offered.

One word more. As a text book for our University students, it is extremely well written and I dare say the University would prescribe it for the B. A. Examination. Some of the chapters are remarkably clear and all of them are full and well reasoned. The book may appear to be too voluminous to the beginner but the teacher may leave out whatever he thinks proper and thus the bulk would present no valid objection to its adoption as a text book. We congratulate the University on the production of such a book by one its *alumni*.

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA.

I. Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar B. L., President of the 19th Provincial Conference, Kumbaconam.

Neatly printed in brochure form. It contains an excellent review of the present political situation on the usual Congress lines and should be widely distributed.

II. An Essay on Gladstone, read by N. Ramanujaswami, B. L. Berhampur.

This is an excellent *resume* of the main incidents in the life and career of the greatest English statesman of the nineteenth century.

III. The Life aud Teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati: Natesan & Co., Madras, Annas four.

The little book is written in the usual happy style of the publishers who know the art of combining thoroughness with conciseness and will be appreciated by a wide circle of busy readers who want to know something of the founder of the most successful religious movement in the bosom of modern Hinduism.

IV. A Glimpse of the Life of Keshub Chunder Sen by Gouri Prosad Mazoomdar. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1912. Price annas four.

This booklet is excellently printed, and is devoted to an exposition of the 'Adesh' theory and is therefore an attempt at the justification of the Kuch-Behar marriage.

V. A Digest of Gide's Principles of Political Economy by H M. Desai, B. A., Harrap & Co., London. 2/6d.

This is an excellent summary of the main principles

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of production, distribution and consumption and of the circulation of wealth. We have glanced through the pages and find the book uptodate. It will be certainly useful to students of political economy.

VI. The Transformation of Sikhism, or How the Sikhs became a political power: by Gokul Chand Narang, M. A., Ph. D., "Tribune" Press, Lahore. Price Rs. 2. To be had of the Pustak Bhandar, Lohari Mundi, Lahore.

This is an important addition to the literature on the subject. The author has ransacked all available sources of information, including the Bodleian Library, the India Office Library, and the British Museum, and the book teems with references. The bibliography appended to the work will greatly assist those who want to pursue their reading to original sources. The second volume is to begin with the rise of Runjeet Singh. The book deserves to be better printed as it is sure to take its place as a standard work of reference. We wish more of our countrymen were to take to historical research after the manner of the erudite author.

VI. Notes and Extracts: 1891 to 1911, by Devaprasad Sarbadhicary, M.A., B.L., Fellow of the Calcutta University and Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. University Printing and Publishing Co., Calcutta.

This neatly printed volume of nearly 500 pages is a collection of the speeches delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Sarbadhicary in the Bengal Legislative Council. They deal with the grievances of Munsifs, Sub-Deputy Collectors, Indian Professors in Government Colleges, and others, and also with various other matters of public interest and will form a useful book of reference. An index would have enhanced the value of the book. It is sure to be appreciated by those for whom it is intended.

VII. Speeches of His Majesty George the Fifth and the official despatches on the removal of the Imperial City to Delhi and the modification of the Partition of Bengal. With an Introduction by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea. Calcutta, 1912. Price annas four.

It was a happy idea of the compiler to put together the King-Emperor's speeches and the despatches and print the whole in book form with an introduction from the pen of the foremost Bengali politician of the day. Those who want to preserve the despatches permanently will now have an opportunity of doing so. The price is remarkably cheap, and we trust the pamphlet will have a good sale.

'Pol'.

Essays: Indian and Islamic: by Mr. S.Khuda Buksh, M.A. (Oxon.) Probsthain & Co., London. Crown 8vo, pp. 295, 7s. 6d.

This little collection of Essays forms Volume V of Probsthain's Oriental Series. The first three essays are Islamic and the remaining four are on Indian topics. The language all through is real English. The first three essays are historical studies in "The Spirit of Islam," "the Islamic Conception of Sovereignty" and the Nationalistic Movement in Islam. The historical essays are contributions of permanent value and world-wide interest. The author has sought in those essays to explain one of those stupendous movements which have left indelible marks on the history of mankind.

It may be declared without hesitation that the author has carried on his studies with scrupulous fidelity to science and truth. He is a faithful historian and a historian of Islam unparalleled in this country for having adopted the true critical method. Much has been brought to light to add to the sum total of historical experience.

Eclecticism of the Prophet and his Toleration.

It is common knowledge that the pre-Islamic Arab belonged to a very low stage of society, that his "religion was nothing more or less than gross fetichism." But it is interesting to note that the Maker of Arabia was constrained to admit many of the superstitious practices of heathen Arabia into his system. The great religious genius did not fail to take account of the human mind and its limitations, and he gracefully incorporated into his religion the pet prejudices of the Arab race with necessary modifications. He tolerated 'the entire ceremonies relating to the pilgrimage (Hajj) and the sacred service at the temple of Mecca.' 'Mohamed went so far in his toleration of the heathen pilgrimage customs that he suffered the visit to Safa and Marwah to continue as before' where pilgrims used to go after visiting Kabah to worship two bronze idols, which, of course, the prophet removed. In his eclecticism he borrowed the very foundation of Islam, *viz.*, 'the conception of a severe and uncompromising monotheism' from Judaism, he drew largely upon Christianity and Parsism (the very word *din* was taken from the religion of Zoroaster).

Essentials of Islam and the origin of Islam.

In characteristic, brilliant manner the author analyses the essentials of Islam and enumerates them as follows: the unity of God as the central faith; belief in the Divine mission of the Prophet; five daily prayers; fasting in the month of Ramadan, the pilgrimage (Hajj); and, I think, he also means, the payment of the poor tax (the *Sadakah*). But were these laws, except the first two central beliefs, intended to be inflexible iron injunctions? In reply to this the verdict of our author is in the negative. Here the author seems to be influenced by the opinion of Mr. Amir Ali; neither the former nor the latter gentleman would give any convincing argument to support the view.

The simple, puritanical system of Islam, the author shows, did not spring upon the Arabs all of a sudden. Christianity had long prepared the path. There had been an under-current of dissatisfaction at the prevailing state of affairs. There were at least some who having warred and drunk to their hearts' content turned within themselves and questioned 'Is it the end of life?' There runs in Christianity, as in any other universal system of religion in Asia except that of China, a note of pessimistic questioning on the reality of the purely human life. This spirit crept from Syria into Arabia. It created a mysterious yearning in men to seek higher ideals. Imru-ul Qais lamented in pathetic verses over his life of pleasure and Qais B. Zuhari the Arab leader embraced the religion of the Cross. There soon arose a band of men called Hanifs whom the author styles 'the heralds and standard-bearers of Islam.' The Hanifs, about 10 in number, were so many Mohameds *in posse* before Mohamed the

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Prophet. They rejected idolatry and advocated the worship of "the God of Abraham." Islam, thus viewed historically, like any other religion, had a human beginning and a long preparation.

Nationality vs. Islam.

The most striking view in the *Essays*, and I think, a view put forward for the first time, is that Islam found in nationality too powerful an opponent. "The feeling of nationality, indeed, proved stronger than the tie of a common faith, and made the first breach in the proud edifice of the Caliphate." (p. 40.)

Rise of national feeling mainly contributed "to reduce the Caliphate to the shadow of a shade;" it became the fallen ruin of ancient magnificence.' Barely two centuries had passed in the life of the youthful Islam that scores of dynasties sprang up and tore open the bosom of the Caliphate, and the greatest experiment of a universal theocracy proved a sorry failure. Islam could not obliterate nationality. It may be remarked that both within and without, Islam was successfully opposed, not only by the feeling of race-individuality, but also by race-religions like that of the Jews and Hindus. Universal systems fell prostrate before it but ethnic ones withstood its march. Hence in India we find a purely secular monarchy which was only Islamic as far as the religion of the sovereign went.

It is interesting to notice in this connexion that in modern times there are signs which promise that men would scale over the Chinese wall of religion and meet and embrace their brethren on the common ground of nationality. The Cross and the Crescent have warred between themselves with a vigour unparalleled And no race fought more bitterly against the Moslem Turks than the Christian Hungarians. But in the Italio-Turkish war the Hungarians have manifested their pronounced partiality for the Turks, and this while the sister state of Austria stood encouraging Italy. Hungarians declared aloud that to the Turks they were bound by the indissolubleties of blood, that their sympathies were for the Osmanli who belonged to the same race as themselves! If a remote community of race can convert Hungarian Christians into 'brethren' of Moslem Turks, there is no wonder then that Islam, embarked on a voyage of universal empire, foundered on the magnetic rock of a closer tribal nationality.

Islamic Conception of Sovereignty.

Mr. Khudabuksh has traced historically different theories of state known to Arabs. They were primarily derived from Greek sources. For instance, about the middle of the 10th century, Al-Farabi imitated Plato's "Republic," Mawardi, the jurist, following a school of Greek thinkers regarded the relation between the subject and the sovereign as a bilateral compact, and the Caliphate, an elective institution. On the other hand, Ibn Jama (1238-1371) probably an original thinker, recognised the principle of force and expostulated the doctrine and validity of de facto sovereignty. "The Moslim jurisprudence, in its final stage, gave an unconditional assent to the right of the stronger."

The conclusion of the learned author is that the theories, "as is always the case, were fashioned out of the events which took place." It might have been the case with Arabs that political theories followed facts, but it is not always the case with other communities. Aristotle's ideal state was purely a theoretical constitution. Rousseau supplied theories for the facts of the French Revolution. The theories of the author of the *Rights of Man* were not the outcome of the facts of the American Revolution, but rather those theories suggested the course of the great upheaval. I have, however, no reluctance in accepting the generalisation of our author as far as it relates to Islamic history. The characterisation is in harmony with the general trend of the realistic Arab genius, which preferred adopting the vast knowledge already accumulated by older races, to attempting things original.

The Essays Indian.

Out of the essays on Indian topics one is on the father of the author, the well-known founder of the Bankipur Islamic library, and another is on Ghalib, the Urdu poet. Ghalib was one of those enchanting personalities who form a distinct race of their own, who refuse to have their soul encaged in any convention, dogma or sectarian religion. His Islam was of that individual character which may be styled "Indian Islam," for it was in this country that it reached its bloom. It takes a pantheistic view of humanity, discarding the artificial distinction of 'believers' and 'non-believers.' The Tribal Islam of Arabia becomes red with rage when it declares, as Ghalib did, its wish to bury the Brahmin in the temple of Kabah. Ghalib is *par excellence* the representative of *the Indian Islam*. His poems are so many fac-similes of his poses and Mr. Khudabuksh has done well to emphasise the greatness of the man and the poet.

The other essays deal with subjects relating to social questions of the Mohamedan community. I leave and commend them to our Mohamedan friends for careful consideration, which they richly deserve, coming as they do from one of the most cultured members of that community.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

BENGALI.

Jatibheda by Digindranarayan Bhattacharya. Re. 1/-.

This is a Bengali book written with the object of bringing about abolition of the caste system. The author writes with too much feeling and it is unfortunate that he uses very strong language against Manu and the other Hindu Rishis. If the author is a Hindu, then his wanton attacks upon the Rishis, whose writings he seems not to have studied nor understood properly, are out of place; if he is a non-Hindu, he ought to have given more reasons against the caste systems, and less quotations from their works.

The author has promised to bring out eighteen more books on kindred subjects. If they are written as thoughtlessly as the present book, they had better not been published.

We expect a writer on social and economic problems to know the History of Europe and not to compare the Europe of the 19th and 20th centuries with the India of the 17th or 18th century. This is a fundamental mistake. Our commerce, *e.g.*, was very very prosperous inspite of the caste system or rather on account of it, up to the 18th century. If we have since declined, the cause must be sought elsewhere. Then again, there is a soul of good in everything evil. The

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caste system must have been called into being in response to a definite demand. Though I am against the present caste sytem and would gladly see it abolished, I very much condemn productions like the present which simply vilifies our ancestors and tends to denationalize us.

"VAC."

GORA, A NOVEL BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

This is one of the latest productions of our foremost living man of letters and deserves to take its place among the permanent things of literature. Written in his characteristic style, full of artful simplicities of diction and elusive technicalities of thought, it gives also abundant illustration of that dignity and restraint of feeling which is the mark of genius. But not only is it in a class apart in the matter of style, it also constitutes a notable departure from the ordinary run of Bengali novels, in respect of theme and method of treatment. The average Bengali Romancer is either a sensationalist with his stock-in-trade of cheap detective-story-plotting, or a pseudo-historian deriving from the glamour of time whatever gloss he needs to cover the poverty of his own imagination, or else a Garhasthya-Upanyas-writer with an obvious moral for which he is labouring to write up. But this last type of novel is more often than not, purely episodic, a heaping of incident with no balancing of characterisation, no adroitness of social criticism, nor any profound psychological analysis of motive. Not so is "Gora". To make anything like a comparison, one has to go as far back as Bankim's Bisha-Brikkha, and Romesh Dutt's Sansar and Samaj. These were pioneers in this strain of writing. Rabindranath appears to show more assurance and success. The story centres in a mutiny-child Gora—"The Fair"—born of Irish parents, but brought up in a Bengali family. The mother who had taken refuge with them from the violence of the mutineers, gave birth to him while in their house, and died soon after. The child has been brought up as a Bengali, learning the language, and living the life, of his foster parents who have kept the secret of his birth carefully hidden from him. When the story opens, Gora has already become a champion of Hindu revivalism. The time of the story is an epochal one in the history of Bengali thought. The revolution which was effected in men's minds by the eloquence and earnestness of the early leaders of the Brahmo movement gave rise to an inevitable counter-reformation—intensely national in its leanings and always seeking through emotion to justify practices and forms which reason abhorred. Gora and his life-long friend Benoy are the protagonists of this passionate Socio-Religious Chauvinism. "What is natural is right: what is traditional is natural: therefore tradition is sacrosanct". That is how Gora's syllogism runs. His fierce earnestness and the white heat of his patriotism make him at once a hater of shams and a lover of forms. Benoy, a mild-mannered youth of culture and education has followed him hitherto, impelled more by the magnetism of his personality than by the force of his gospel. An accident however, brings Benoy into contact with Pares Bhattacharya, a Brahmo, and Sucharita, his foster daughter, and through these, with a new world of feeling. Sex, hitherto an intellectual concept, now becomes for him the centre of strange emotions. Sucharita, with her brother Satis—one of the sweetest boy-characters in all novel—was brought up after their father's death by Pares Babu along with his children. Benoy becomes very intimate with this family and gradually drifts apart from his friend. Krishnadayal, Gora's adoptive father, was an early school-friend of Pares Babu, and through this fact, Gora also comes into contact with the latter's family. Benoy falls in love with Lalita, a daughter of Pares, and Gora on his part, although at first much against his will, is drawn towards Sucharita. Thus the story is in part a chronicle of these two concurrent passions. In the natural development of the plot, Gora eventually finds himself in conflict with the authorities because of his impetuous zeal on behalf of some school boys, and is thereupon flung into jail. The question of Benoy's marriage with Lalita, on the other hand, raises a storm in certain circles of Brahmo Society where narrow-mindedness and sectarian bigotry take the place of religion. For his support of Benoy, Pares is excommunicated and even sundered from his wife and other daughters. In all these troubles Benoy is loyally supported by a wonderful woman, Anandamayi, Krishandayal's wife. In the meantime, Gora comes out of prison, and conceives a project of a public prayaschitta for the taint of his incarceration. The project is taken up with zeal by his followers, but just then Krishnadayal is taken ill and is on the point of dying; Gora is brought to his bed-side, there learns from his lips, the secret of his birth. All at once, the old life slips away from him; the old ties are snapped, and he suddenly realises that he is free. He then sees the larger meaning of Pares's sacrifice, and comes to him as disciple to a master. Both are now free, the one from the remorseless shackles of Brahmo sectarianism, and the other from the equally pitiless bondage of Hindu orthodoxy. Both now belong to the larger world of India. There is no longer any constraint between Sucharita and Gora, and they now enter, hand in hand, the fuller world of comradeship in service and love.

This in brief is the story. There is no over-elaboration of incident, no complexity of the sex-interest. But there is the all-pervading, profound mystery that attaches to the simple. To make his analysis of motive the more clear and the more satisfying, the novelist has ruled out all unnecessary complication and made the accessory circumstances as simple as possible. And with what dignity and reserve he has treated passion, and the big things of the story! Benoy and Lalita's love is half-expressed in fugitive sentences; of action such as a Western novelist would have revelled in, there is little or none. Gora's is a volcanic temperament, and his love for Sucharita partakes of the same quality; and yet how little of that has found expression, and how much left unrevealed! Benoy's meeting with Pares is of tremendous importance to his life, and yet it is simple and naturally brought in. A clear, sunny Shravan morning, the ordinary details of a Calcutta street life, the stream of passing carriages, shops, and the crowds, and a wandering minstrel singing snatches of a fantastic song:—

"Into the cage and out, but whither?
A strange little bird is willy-nilly fleeing.
If I could hold her once, I'll keep her,
In fetters of love, her speeding feet enchaining!"

In the midst of all this, there is a street-accident: a ticca-gharri is run over by a carriage and pair,

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Benoy rushes out to offer aid, Pares and Sucharita, who are in it, are brought into his own house. The simple details of nursing follow. Bit by bit, the girl's character is revealed, and the strange significance of the new world of sex and womanhood is brought home to Benoy. Thus begins his new life. The whole book is similarly filled with an almost startling simplicity of incident. We might remark finally on the severe reserve and self-control with which the author has described the epochal change, wrought on Gora, by the revelation of his secret.

We are confident that a book like this will live, and we conclude with a hope that some scholars should attempt a translation in English to bring it before the larger world of Indian letters.

SATYA V. MUKERJEA.

SANSKRIT.

"Ahimsadigdershana", By Shastravisharada Jainacharya Shree Vijayadharmasuri and published at Dharmabhyudaya Press, Benares City.

The author has taken great care to collect texts from all the available Sanskrit, Prakrit and Hindi scripture in support of "Ahimsa". The word "Ahimsa", we are afraid, hardly admits of being translated into any other tongue; for this noble virtue is peculiar to India alone. But it may be roughly defined as being that exalted state of human sympathy which extends to all living objects on earth and looks upon life itself as something too sacred to be laid a violent hand on for any sort of personal convenience, pleasure or well-being. We are glad to see that the labours of the author for the end he has in view have been eminently successful. But can there be such a thing as the philosophy of "Ahimsa"? And if so, of what practical use is it to us, after all?

The author is a preceptor of the Jaina religion —the religion which aims at making an end of "himsa" (the opposite of "Ahimsa", or "Ahimsa" stripped of *A*, which is privative) in us, with the inspiring help of that noble instinct which is known as "Daya", or the love that reacheth out to all objects, animate and inanimate. It was this "daya" or an outreaching love of humanity, nay, of all life under the sun, which inspired the founders of the Jaina religion. But while using the word "humanity" we feel that it is not sufficient to express our idea; for humanity is generally supposed to embrace human beings alone whereas the Jaina teachers inculcated an unbroken amity towards what we have designated above as "all life under the sun". It calls for an altogether new word, therefore, to explain the idea of the early Jaina teachers which we are not going to coin at present. Now our learned author has consciously or unconsciously lost sight of that Eternal Scripture of a man's heart altogether and has bent his way to the very source not at all counted on by the ancient masters. Scriptures have their own use no doubt, but if attempts are not made to lay bare that which inspired the scriptures themselves, one's life is in danger of freezing down into form, and form might be success conventionally or academically but death spiritually.

We once again offer our sincere congratulations to the author and though we have taken occasion to state our own view of the way to cultivate the religion of humanity, we are quite confident that the book lying on our desk will serve a noble purpose and is deserving of every friendly encouragement.

KSHITIMOHAN SEN.

HINDI.

The Bijak of Kabir, Edited by the Rev. Ahmad Shah, Printed at the Cawnpore Church Mission Press, Pages 137. Price Re. 1.

The Bijak of Kabir is the scripture of the Kabir-Panthis or followers of Kabir. There is a tradition that the Bijak was written by Kabir himself just before his death, and that he gave it to a lady who in her turn committed it to the safe keeping of her two sons.

There runs current another tradition to the effect that the Bijak was made over to Maharaj Biswanath of Rewa by Kabir himself.

But we call in question the truth of all these traditions. Kabir, so far as we are aware, never wrote. He composed songs which came down from lip to lip through successive generations, and as a matter of course numbers were lost, some of which were very precious.

There came from Kabir things far more precious than those found in Bijak and which, indeed, attest his greatness more conspicuously, but which have been either ignored or not taken sufficient notice of by the majority of the Kabir-Panthis.

Whatever strikes at the root of "Gurubad" (The belief that spritual enlightenment and salvation can come only through a spiritual preceptor called the "Guru") is carefully passed over by the present adherents of Kabir's religion and *Slokas* or verses of questionable origin which support *Gurubad* have been incorporated in their scriptures. There is no denying the fact that "Gurubad" of a healthy character has had its due share of respect and appreciation both from Hindu and Mahomedan "Sadhakas" or devotees, but it is doing violence to the very life of the indwelling spirit when the Guru is lifted on to a throne not his own, and the great Kabir spoke many a time to show it. The teachings embodied in Bijak pass to a wide extent for the religion as preached by Kabir, but we make bold to say that if whatever is in Bijak fell from the lips of the great teacher and if the religion of the Bijak constitutes the whole religion of Kabir, then we deeply regret that Kabir must forfeit the place he can claim as his own.

We have gone a little out of our way to say all this; for it has but little bearing upon which we have been called upon to do and we must, therefore, at once offer our hearty congratulations to the author for the edition of Bijak he has brought out which is attractive from every point of view. The author has taken great pains to give in the foot-note all the Arabic and Persian terms of the book in Urdu character and to compare Hindi and Urdu manuscripts and the printed editions, too, that are extant. In brief the present edition is a great success and deserves every encouragement from the public.

KSHITIMOHAN SEN.

Samrát Pancham George by Pandit Udoynarayan Vajpeyi. Printed at the Abhyuday Press, Allahabad and published under the auspices of the Hindi

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Granthaprasarak Mandali, by Pandit Murli Manohar Shukl of Auraiya, Etawah. Crown 8vo. pp. 35. Price annas 6 reduced to annas 4.

This embodies the life of our Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor till the last Delhi Durbar. Attention is drawn to the fascination and charm exercised over the people by His Majesty, even when a child, by means of his popular manners and conduct. His Majesty has, in the same manner, been noted for his reservedness ever since he was a child. The biography has been brief; however, certain interesting anecdotes of His Majesty's life have been introduced. A short chapter has also been added on the life of Her Majesty Queen Mary. The language of the biography is pure and idiomatic and the descriptions are in certain places, poetic. Reference is continually made to the loving temper of His Majesty and his regard for the performance of duty. While learning the different works of the navy in his youth, His Majesty gave himself up assiduously to these works and was remarkably unostentatious and modest. His Majesty is a great hunter and is very well-built. The book, on the whole, is a nice little epitome of His Majesty's biography. The price should have been less, especially as it should be the author's aim to give a pamphlet like this large circulation.

Jayadratha-badha by Babu Maithili Sharan Gupta. Printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad and to be had of Babu Ramkishore Gupta, Chirgaon, Jhansi. Crown 8vo. pp. 111. Price annas twelve.

The subject of the poem is one of the famous incidents of the Mahabharata. The poet, as is well-known, has made Khari-boli his own and the book reveals many artistic merits. Figures of speech have been dexterously used and the poet has been particularly felicitous in the choice of his words. The lamentations of the relations of Abhimanyu, especially of Uttara, over his fall in the battlefield have been concluded in very pathetic and stirring words. In some places there are reminiscences of Shreemad-Bhagavadgita. The language used is the best suited for the form of poetry: difficult words, where introduced, have been explained in the foot-note. The poems of the poet are increasing in merit day by day and we sincerely congratulate him on his success in new fields of poetry, hitherto ignored by Hindi poets. Natural scenery, where described, has been well-handled. The printing and get-up are excellent. But there are some typographical errors which should be removed in the second edition; and for the present edition a list of *errata* should be subjoined to the book.

America Digdarsharna by Mr. Satyadeva. Printed at the Devanagri Press, Calcutta and to be had of the Manager, Satya-grantha-Mala Office, Benares City. Crown 8vo. pp. 262. Price annas 12.

There are short essays in this book on different subjects dealing with American life. The manner of treatment is very interesting and at the same time the subjects chosen are such as could not but be instructive. There are many anecdotes pertaining to the residence in America of the author and these are invariably very amusing. Much information can be gathered from this book on the American manners and customs; and the book may be considered as a supplement to the America-patha-pradarshak which we reviewed some time ago. Most of the discourses have been reproduced in this book from the Sarsavati and the Maryada. However, their publication in a consolidated form is welcome. One of the chapters which is an extract from the author's diary shows that there are black sheep as well in America. But the author has for the most part been impressed with the good points of the Americans. There are patriotic outbursts in the book occasionally, which one expects from an author of Mr. Satya Deva's calibre visiting America. The short chapter on "Seattle or Settle" which refers to an amusing little trouble which befell the author on account of his mispronunciation is an interesting reading. Many novel features of the students of America are revealed from the chapter on "Student-life in America"; and in fact the book is a collection of the novelties of America in every sphere. The language is simple, and, as is generally the case with the author, difficult words have been scrupulously eliminated. The get-up is nice.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

Ramayan nun Rahasya translated by Maganlal Maniklal Jhaveri and published by Motilal Dalal, High Court Vakil, and Editor of the "Satya." Printed at the Lahana Mitra Steam Printing Press, Baroda, Card board cover Pp. 110, (1912) Price 0-6-0.

Professor Ramdeva B.A. of the Haridwar Gurukula has written this work in Hindi. It only partially proceeds on the lines followed by Babu Bankim Chandra in his Krishna Charitra, who has by means of certain canons well-known in testing the historical value of mythological events done so much to shew Krishna really as he was. If the learned Professor had followed out the method in its entirety he would have done very valuable service indeed, but even as it is, he has been able to establish by internal evidence that the popular belief about Jatayu being a huge bird, Hanuman being a monkey, and Ravana the possessor of ten heads and twenty hands, is a myth, and that they all were human beings. He has also drawn prominent attention to another fact, *viz.*, that the most suffering individual in the whole of the Ramayana is Bharat and not Rama or Sita, who at times even in the forests, had moments of pleasure and enjoyment, but not so Bharat, who for fourteen years on end, in spite of the boon of kingship, won for him by his mother, lived a Spartan life of simplicity and asceticism. The style of his translation is simple.

Nava Yug ni Vato, Part II, by Vaidya Amratlal Sundarji Padhiar, published by the Society for the Increase of Cheap Literature, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press. Pp. 109. Price 0-2-6, 0-5-0, 0-10-0, according to style of cover. (1912).

The writer possesses a happy style and facile pen. His short stories are very interesting. They are meant to expose some of the worst vices, such as gambling, which prevail in the upper classes of Bombay Society, and they do so successfully.

Swami Vivekanand na patro, translated by Mohanlal Dalichand Desai, B.A., LL.B., Vakil High Court. Published by the Society for the Increase of Cheap Literature. Printed at the Satyaprakash Printing

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Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 185. Price 0-5-0, 0-10-0, 0-15-0, according to style of cover. (1912).

Only a shortwhile ago we have noticed another translation of the Epistles of Swami Vivekananda. We doubt if there is room in our literature for two such translations. The pen of an experienced individual with culture and cheapness of price, are however, in favour of the one under review.

Bharat nan Stri Ratno, Volume I, in two parts by Shiv Parsad Dalpatram Pandit, Published by the Society for the Increase of Cheap Literature. Printed at the Satyaprakash and Diamond Jubilee Printing Presses, Ahmedabad. Pp., 683. Price Re. 1-0-0, Re. 1-4 according to style of cover (1912).

All possible sources have been ransacked for this collection of the lives of eminent Indian women. It is larger and more comprehensive, because it is later in date, than the well-known Sati Mandal.

K. M. J.

NOTES

The necessity of higher education.

In an address delivered before the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, in the National Museum, Washington, D. C., March 8, 1889, Dr. Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D. said :—

"The encouragement of higher education by government aid, in one form or another, has been a recognized principle of public policy in every enlightened state, whether ancient or modern. Older than the recognition of popular education as a public duty was the endowment of colleges and universities at public expense for the education of men who were to serve church or state. It is a mistake to think that the foundation of institutions by princes or prelates was a purely private matter. The money or the land always came from the people in one form or another, and the benefit of endowment returned to the people sooner or later. Popular education is the historic outgrowth of the higher education in every civilized country, and those countries which have done most for universities have the best schools for the people."—(*Smithsonian Report, 1889*).

M. Renan said :—

"The sound instruction of the people is an effect of the high culture of certain classes. The countries which, like the United States, have created a considerable popular instruction without any serious higher instruction, will long have to expiate this fault by their intellectual mediocrity, their vulgarity of manners, their superficial spirit, their lack of general intelligence."—(Quoted by Matthew Arnold in his preface, p. xviii, to *Culture and Anarchy*).

It has been often observed by Government officials in India that it is not the business of the State to provide facilities for higher education, it should be obtained by the classes which want it at their own expense. The extension and encouragement of primary education has also been used as a plea for not spending enough money on higher education, though at the same time primary education itself has not had sufficient support. The real truth is that primary and higher education are not opposed to each other and that it is the duty of the State to encourage both.

Regarding the United States, we may observe in passing that since the days of Renan the American people have made great progress in University education, some of their Universities being at present among the best in the world.

Amusements in England.

[By an Oriental Sojourner for 3 years.]

As the weather in England is inclement in seven months out of twelve, the natives have to devise means to while away their time and amuse themselves while confined indoors. In the East, all the amusements of the people are conducted in the open, under the vaulted canopy of heaven, and this may be one reason why the amusements of the Eastern races are innocent and not tinged with vice and immorality, for they are always under the public gaze. But most of the amusements in England foster immorality, for, no amusements could be more conducive to immorality than balls and dancing in which natives of that country indulge so eagerly. In these amusements men and women dance and flirt together.

Attending theatres and theatricals is another amusement with the natives. The pernicious influence of these performances can hardly be exaggerated.

The poor people who cannot afford to dance or attend theatres amuse themselves

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by drinking in public houses and exposing themselves to the inclement weather and thus paving the way to a premature grave.

There are innocent amusements also, such as chess, billiards, music, concert, puzzle solving, &c. I do not consider card-playing as an innocent amusement, for it fosters the habit of gambling. However, card-playing is much practised by all classes of natives in England.

When the weather is fine, then they indulge in all outdoor amusements and exercises. Then sea-side excursions take place. The Railway Companies run special trains for and offer cheap fares to the natives to visit sea-side places like Brighton, St. Leonards, Eastbourne, &c. Here they go to spend a day and hold pleasure parties. The parks and gardens also teem with natives of both sexes, of all ages and of all conditions in life.

In fine weather, Derby races near Sutton, and other horse races take place. Racing is very popular in England, and many natives often lose or sometimes make, their fortune on race-courses. Racing is the most exciting of all public amusements, hence it gives rise to so much gambling.

Boat-rowing is a very useful exercise. The muscles are exercised and thus they gain in tone. Moreover, it is a means to cultivate self-reliance. It is much indulged in by well-to-do classes of natives. Of boat-races those of Cambridge and Oxford which take place in the month of March every year, are the most well-known, as these races are witnessed by thousands of natives on the banks of the Thames.

Skating on the ice is quite unknown in India. When the water of ponds and tanks and of rivers is frozen, it is very hard, and then the natives are seen to skate over the frozen surfaces. Skates are made of iron, and attached to boots or shoes and thus they are enabled to skate. Skating is often attended with many risks and accidents. The frozen surface may give way, and thus the skaters may be drowned; this has sometimes happened. But mostly accidents occur by slipping and falling on hard frozen surfaces, breaking bones which make one sometimes a cripple for his whole life.

Other outdoor exercises are tennis, cricket, foot-ball, golf, &c. As these exercises have become common in India; so much need not be said about them. It is a great pity that Indians are giving up the physical exercises which their forefathers practised since time immemorial, and are adopting outlandish ones. Indian athletic exercises are inexpensive and best suited to the circumstances of the country. The *Dundh*, the *Moodgur*, the *Kawadi* do not necessitate so much expense as the *Tennis*, the *Golf*, the *Football* of the West. That the Indian athletic exercises are the best suited to keep one in health in India is borne testimony to by Dr. Brett—a distinguished surgeon in the service of the late East India Company.

"Nothing is so conducive," says Dr. Brett, "to a perfect capillary circulation; to the healthy action of the liver and of all the secretions, the tone of the stomach, and the sthenic state of the nervous and muscular system, enabling us to bear up against a long and sultry day." Dr. Brett in further support of this opinion states that he "has long admired and *practised* the calisthenic exercises of the Asiatics, and attributes a better state of health and stamina, and a capability for active pursuits far superior to that enjoyed by him in England to a systematic use of these exercises."

Successful Indian Students in America.

Mr. Rafidin Ahmed sends us the following from Iowa, U. S. A.:—

"Mr. Kashipati Ghose joined the College of Applied Science of the State University of Iowa in 1909. He has graduated this year in Mechanical Engineering, receiving the B. E. degree. During the four years he had been here he had always scored good grades and his professor have spoken very highly of his abilities. He has specialized in Hydro-Electricity and when goes back home he aims to put his energy in developing one of the innumerable natural resources of India. Mr. Ghose worked for sometime in the Sheet Metal Works of the Welsh Manufacturing Coy. Brooklyn, New York, and he is now taking a tour through U. S. A. visiting some of the most important power plants. This will supplement his knowledge of practical management and equip him the more for the work he has to do in India.

"Mr. Ghose took a great interest in the public affairs of the University. He was twice elected President of the Cosmopolitan Club. It is to his untiring energy and initiative that we find the club as it is now. As an appreciation of his work the members presented him with a university pennant. He belongs to several college organizations. The Americn Institute of Electrical Engineers have elected him as a member. This is a unique honor to

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MR. KASHIPATI GHOSH.

itself. He is the first Indian to become a member of the Institute. He leaves behind him in America, quite a host of friends and admirers, who will watch his career with great interest in a far distant land."

Mr. Sarangadhar Das writes from Berkeley, California :—

"It gives me great pleasure to introduce to the Hindusthan public two of our students on whom, as a result of their brilliant career, the university conferred the degree of Master of Science on the 15th of May, 1912.

"Mr. U. N. Roy was a student in the Dacca School of Engineering and came over to America in 1908. He was in the State College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., for a year and then joined the College of Mining in the University of Pittsburgh, Pa., from where he took very creditably the degree of E. M. (Engineer of Mines) in May, 1911, having specialised both in coal and metal mining.

"On his way home last summer, he changed his mind and took admission as a graduate student in the College of Mining of our University. His Professors and the Dean of his college, Prof. S. B. Christy, were very much pleased with his work. His thesis this time was entitled 'A Design of the Mechanical Plant for a coal mine'. There was a particular problem in this thesis which, Prof. Christy said, would take a month if one were not aware of a short cut. However, he was totally surprised to see a Hindu solve it in 24 hours. The other day Prof. Christy remarked that 'even the unpractical Hindu will be practical if the opportunity and training are given him.'

"Mr. Roy sailed homewards *via* Japan on the 18th of May and will have reached Hindusthan before this goes to print. During his short stay among us for less than a year he had made a good many cordial and warm friends both among the Hindus and the Americans. We are very sorry to miss his company and his helping hand for a time. But he has a higher duty and a better field of work in our country than in our small community here.

"Students intending to come to America will be sure to find a warm and sympathetic friend in Mr. U. N. Roy who will be only too glad to furnish all information regarding the educational opportunities (specially in Engineering lines) to all who care to see him personally. He has made a thorough study of the subject and his suggestions will be very valuable. His address will be U. N. Roy, C/o. Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, No. 7, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

"Mr. S. M. Bose, a B.A. student of the Calcutta University left home in 1906, and studied the art of dyeing and calicoprinting for about two years in Japan, but was not satisfied with his work there. So he came over to the United States in January, 1908, and entered the College of Chemistry in the Stanford University from where he took his degree of A. B. (Bachelor of Arts) in May, 1910. He travelled all over the Pacific coast for sometime and then took admission as a graduate student in the College of Chemistry of our University in August, 1911. His thesis submitted for the degree of M.S. was entitled 'Potash in Pacific Coast seaweeds and its extraction' which is very important at the present time on account of the fact that the sources of potash industry are becoming very scarce, and the seeweeds present a source which is at once abundant and unceasing.

"Mr. Bose has also had some of his articles on Industrial Chemistry published by the 'Scientific American,' one of the foremost scientific journals. This shows that even a Hindu who has some worth readily finds something.

"Mr. Bose's education in the two great Universities has been thorough and systematic not only in his own line but in everything that our modern society is vitally interested in. He intends to spend a few months more in this country and then leave for Europe ; and expects to reach home by the middle of 1913.

"Perhaps it is not out of place to mention here that some six new students have arrived here during the last few months, who are working outside and will enter the University next August. We want dozens more every year."

Indian students in England and the continent.

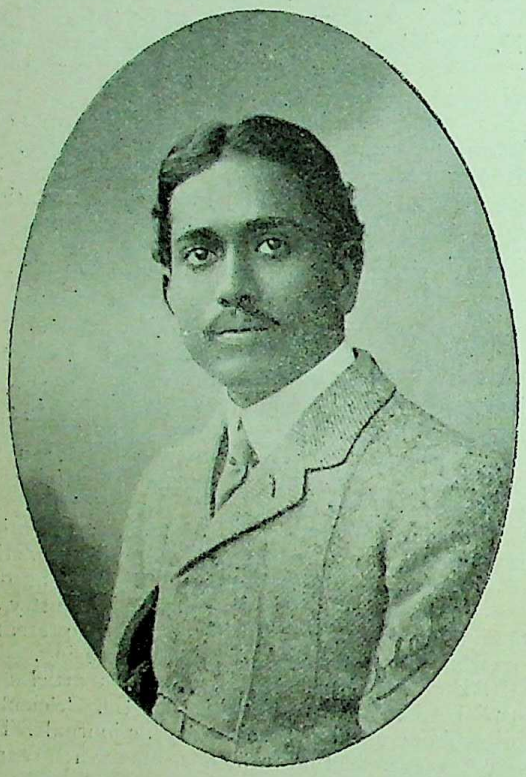
Mr. Sundara Raja writes from London :—

"Two Indian students—one from Madras and the other from the Punjab have successfully scored high places in the Final Bar Examination adding lustre to the muster-roll of those patient and persevering Indian students of the past who acquitted themselves creditably. Mr. K. S. Reddi of Kottapalli, Madras Presidency, son of Kotakanti Rama Reddi Garu, has stood first amongst 197 English, Colonial, Chinese and Indian candidates in the last Bar Final Examination and won a studentship of £100 a year available

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for three years. In recent years Mr. Reddi is the second to win this distinction, the first being a gentleman from Burma a few years ago. The other distinguished student is Lala Ram Rakkhamal Bhandari, son of L. Gurudattamal Bhandari of Buradalla, Punjab, who is second in the list and stands first in his Inn. He is the third Punjabee to win honours for the Punjab within the last forty years. He scored first class honours in two successive examinations



Mr. K. S. Reddi.

winning each time £50. What pleases me most to chronicle about his distinction is that he is an ardent worker for every public and good cause in this country connected with India and an indefatigable advocate of Hindusthan. He has organised several meetings and held various demonstrations to bring forward the ideals of Hindusthan before the British public. He is proud of his country and a strong idealist believing in the destiny of the Hindu race. It should be remembered that it was Lala Ramrakkhamal Bhandari who was among the first to take up the question of the decrease of the Hindus and distributed numerous medals and prizes to bring this question for the consideration of the Indian public. He has been advised by his English friends to travel in the continent and study the economical and political conditions of various countries in order to be more useful to his country on his return. In the meantime he has offered his services to coach up Bar students free and thereby render service to Indian students here."

We note that in this same examination Ballabhbhai Javerbhai Patel occupies the fifth and Sachindranath Ghosh, the eleventh place.

In the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos S. V. Rama Murti and Bhupati Mohan Sen has achieved high distinction as Wranglers. In the Mathematical Tripos (Part I) H. B. Shivdasani has obtained a first class; in the Law Tripos M. T. Maung (of Burma) has obtained a first class; in the Historical Tripos S. B. Vaidya has obtained a first class, and in the Natural Science Tripos (Part I) S. P. Desai has obtained a first class.

But probably the most remarkable distinction is that of Inayatullah Khan, who has obtained a second class in the Mechanical Science Tripos. *India* writes:—

"It has hitherto been the accepted belief that at Cambridge no man can take honours in four different Triposes, but it proves, to the credit of India, that Inayatullah Khan. So writes the "Star" in its humorous way. As a matter of fact, Mr. Inayatullah's record is a brilliant one. In 1909 he obtained a first class in Part I of the Mathematical Tripos: in 1910 he achieved a double success, for he was placed in the



Lala Ram Rakkhamal Bhandari.

first class in the Oriental Tripos and in the third class in Part I of the Natural Sciences Tripos: and now he rounds off his record with a second class in the Mechanical Sciences Tripos. For admission to the

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last examination he was given special permission by the Council of the University."

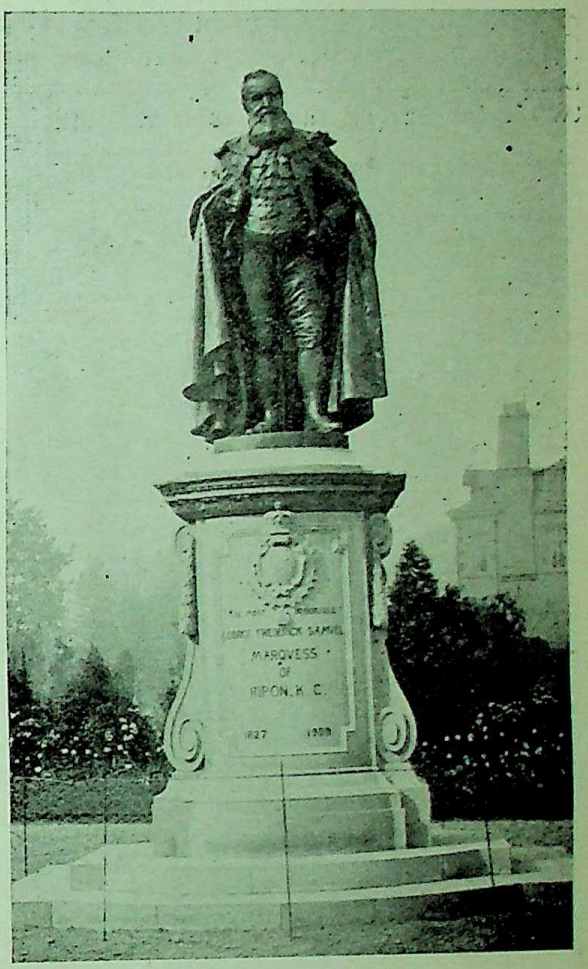
Prafulla Chunder Mitter, M.A., B. Sc., a scholar of the Association for the Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, has passed the Ph. D. Examination of the Berlin University in Physical Science and Chemistry. This is the first instance of an Indian student obtaining this the highest degree in the most advanced University in Germany, and second in the whole of Europe, the first being the University of Paris; though some would give the first place to Berlin itself.

We have also been informed by a correspondent that Dr. Chaitanya Prokash Ghose a scholar of the Calcutta Scientific and Industrial Association has qualified himself theoretically and practically as an eye-specialist and optician. He has been elected a Fellow of the Worshipful Company of Spectacle Makers, London, (Royal Chartered 1629 A.D.), a Fellow of the Ophthalmic Optician's Institute, London, and a Member of the Dioptic grade of the British Optical Association. He has also been elected a Freeman of the City of London. He is the first Bengali to obtain such honour and distinctions.

Statue of Lord Ripon for Calcutta.

The Calcutta *maidan* and some other public places and buildings in Calcutta contain numerous marble and bronze statues of persons the majority of whom deserve that honour less than the Viceroy Lord Ripon, who tried to follow a righteous policy in India. Yet Calcutta has been without his statue up to the present. It is pleasant to note that this want will now be removed. A bronze replica of the noble Lord's statue recently erected at Ripon has been ordered. It will be in all respects like that statue, of which we publish here a photographic reproduction. Only the pedestal will have to be made and erected here. The photograph was sent to the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu by Sir W. Wedderburn. The statue seems to be an excellent likeness.

The cost of the whole thing, including the pedestal and other charges, will come up to Rs. 15,000. Half of this amount is in the hands of the Committee. The balance will have to be raised. If everyone will do his part as everyone ought to, it will not require many days to raise this amount. As the statue will reach Calcutta in the course of this month, those



The Statue of Lord Ripon at Ripon.

who wish to contribute should send their remittances early to Babu Bhupendranath Basu, 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

Our duty to students.

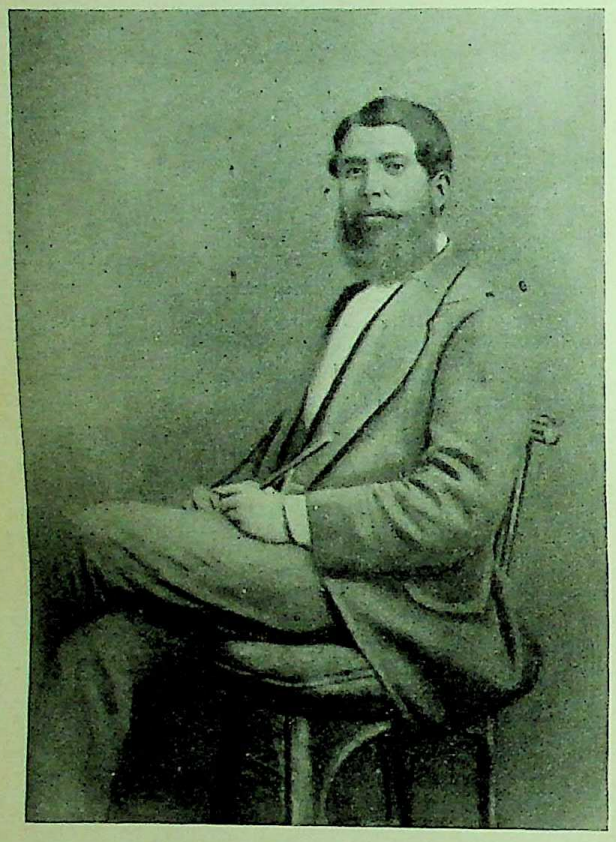
Mr. Taraknath Palit's princely donation of seven and a half lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University is remarkable from many points of view. It is not inherited wealth that he has given, he has given out of his own hard-earned wealth; he is not a multi-millionaire, the donation probably represents the greater portion of his property; he is not childless; and he has given while still in the land of the living;—it does not really matter much to a dead man who gets

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his property, as he has no longer any use for it for himself.

Mr. Palit has helped students in a particular manner, and we know he helps poor students in other ways, too. And they require help in all the forms in which we can help them. Numbers of students have not been able to join any college, and that for two reasons: (1) there is not sufficient



Mr. T. Palit (in youth).

accommodation for them in our colleges, (2) they are unable to pay the tuition fee and pay for their board and lodging, books, &c. With reference to the first reason, it is easy to blame the University for laying down that not more than 150 students should be admitted to a single class or section of a class. But 150 is by no means a small number. So far as the mere delivery of lectures by the professors is concerned, a college may have in a class or a section of a class even 250 or more students, *provided its class-rooms are sufficiently spacious* (which is not the case in most colleges). But if the classes are large, there must be a sufficient number of competent tutors, besides the professor, for each class; otherwise there cannot be any individual attention to the needs of the students and any real education. Therefore, if more students are to be admitted to the existing colleges, we must have more and bigger class-rooms and we must have money to engage more professors and a still larger number of competent tutors. It is not possible to build more class-rooms and pay the salaries of the needful number of professors and tutors out of the fee-receipts. So here is one way in which our rich men can help students and make a worthy use of their wealth. There are richer men than (and certainly men as rich as) Mr. Palit among our lawyers and zamindars and merchants. He who simply hoards his wealth for his heirs or other people to squander, he who spends his wealth for self-gratification,—both deserve pity and contempt. The rich man who by his vicious life imbrutes himself and corrupts all who come in contact with him, deserves not the least honour but the severest condemnation. We have a right only to the wealth that we earn by our own labour, and that so far only as we devote it to social welfare. To inherited wealth, people may have a legal right, but no moral right, unless that wealth helps to make the owner a useful man and a centre of literary, artistic, social, spiritual or other good influences, and helps to make his neighbors better. To honour a man merely because he is rich, is to degrade both oneself and the man who is honoured.

We do hope, with the spread of right ideas regarding wealth and its enjoyment and uses, we shall have more benefactions to our colleges. We should all understand that wealth is like muck, it stinks and vitiates the atmosphere unless it is spread.

Another way in which more accommodation can be provided for our students is to establish more colleges. But it is no longer as easy to found colleges now as in the days before the New Regulations were framed. Now every new college must show a sufficient endowment. Is it too much to expect that the wealth of our rich men will flow in this direction?

Adverting to the second reason why many students cannot join Colleges, we find that there is no fund sufficiently large to meet the expenses of any appreciable number of poor students. Their only resource (besides

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Mr. T. Palit.

the rare charity of private individuals) is private tuition. But the number of schoolboys who require and can pay for private tuition is very limited. There are no Indian Andrew Carnegies to make it possible for every Indian student who deserves to have high education to obtain it. In the Scottish Universities it cannot, thanks to Mr. Carnegie, now be said that a single intelligent poor Scotch young man who wanted to have University education was prevented by straitened circumstances from having it. Some weeks ago we saw an appeal in the dailies over the names of three prominent Calcutta citizens for funds to help poor students, particularly of the depressed classes. One of the signatories is a very rich lawyer and landholder, the other two, though not famous for their riches, are not poor men. We have heard that the appeal has not been responded to, to any appreciable extent. No wonder. If the rich lawyer had lent reality to and strenghthened his appeal by announcing a donation of at least one lakh of rupees, and the older of the two other gentlemen had put down against his name a few thousand rupees and the younger a few hundreds, we are sure the response would not have been so disappointing.

This reminds us of a little bit of our recent experience. Private Colleges in Calcutta admit a certain number of free and half-free students. When the governing council of a certain college was engaged in selecting the most deserving poor students, we found that many candidates had their applications supported by rich lawyers and other professional men and zamindars. We know a few of them are generous givers to students. But the funny thing was that many of these worthy gentlemen never thought of offering a single free or half-free studentship: they evidently thought that our private colleges were rich enough to admit any number of free students, which is far from the fact.

Students coming from the mofussil are also put to great incovenience for want of suitable lodgings. Numbers of them are still without any accommodation in either college hostels or lodgings licensed by the University. Cannot our rich men build or help colleges to build more hostels?

We have thus far spoken only of collegiate education. The number of those who seek to enter high schools is vastly larger, and the number of those who can establish and maintain or endow high

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schools is much larger than those who can found or endow colleges. As for primary schools, seeing that a pāthshālā or elementary school can be maintained in a village for Rs. 10 per mensem, there must be thousands in the country who can do this service to their village neighbors. May this spirit of service animate our middle class and rich people.

Indentured Labour.

In an editorial article on labour in India, *Capital* says with reference to indentured labour that "in no country in the world would this state of matters be tolerated for a moment and we think the position serious." It goes on:—

"There is now a number of recruiting agents in the northern parts of the Madras Presidency who have done all that man can do to hedge the labourers as a preserve for them to plunder. Contractors are everywhere plundering and seizing the labourer and selling him for something like Rs. 210 or more per head, of which the poor labourer receives not even a pinch of salt. This, the very essence of scoundrelism, an absolute trafficking in human flesh, of which the responsible Government takes no notice, is tolerated everywhere, while schemes permitting of the labourer proceeding to the labour districts in a state that permits of all the comfort which he desires are sternly suppressed,"

But though non-official Europeans and Indians may protest, Mr. Under-Secretary Montagu, in reply to Mr. Douglas Hall, in the House of Commons, said on July 22nd—

"I may add that the recent Inter-Departmental Committee under Lord Sanderson has recommended that the system be allowed to continue, subject to certain recommendations in regard to particular Colonies and these are under discussion."

The pity is that while the Government wants all the support and reverence from the Indian people which national governments receive from their people, it cannot in every case either instinctively or by a process of reasoning understand what hurts our self-respect and interests, let alone considerations of humanity. The Government of India should thoroughly identify itself with the people of India. That alone can hold out the prospect of the gradual disappearance of discontent, unrest, and sedition. Otherwise appearances will always be deceptive; for it is at present very risky for journalists and public men to speak out.

What Bengal has done and received.

In the Despatch of the Government of India on the Delhi changes it was observed that Bengal had had a preponderating influence in the counsels of the British Indian Empire and that the other provinces were jealous of that influence. We do not propose to investigate the reality or extent of that influence, or its alleged consequence, the jealousy of the other provinces. We only want to show that Bengal has all along deserved well of the Government.

The people of Bengal shed their blood to establish and extend the empire of Great Britain in India. In support of our assertion we shall bring forward two witnesses, hoping that more will not be required. Bishop Heber wrote in Chapter IV of his *Indian Journal*:

"I have, indeed, understood from many quarters, that the Bengalees are regarded as the greatest cowards in India; and that partly owing to this reputation, and partly to their inferior size, the Sepoy regiments are always recruited from Behar and the Upper Provinces. Yet that little army with which Lord Clive did such wonders, was raised chiefly from Bengal." *Edition* 1873, Vol. I, p. 53.

Walter Hamilton wrote in his work entitled *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and Adjacent Countries*:—

"The Native Bengalees are generally stigmatised as pusillanimous and cowardly, but it should not be forgotten that at an early period of our military history in India, they almost entirely formed several of our battalions, and distinguished themselves as brave and active soldiers." *Edition* 1820, Vol. I, p. 95.

So much for the contribution and sacrifice of men. Money also Bengal has always supplied, and supplied to a far greater extent than any other province. Students of the history of India under the East India Company know very well that the following extract from the letters of Victor Jacquemont, the French traveller in India (1829—1832), represents nothing but the historical truth:—

"But the English will make this conquest only at the last extremity. All that they have added to their territory for the last fifty years beyond Bengal and Behar, beyond the empire which Colonel Clive had formed, has only diminished their revenues. Not one of the acquired provinces pays the expenses of its government and military occupation. The Madras Presidency, taken in the lump, is annually deficient; Bombay is still further from covering its expenses. It is the revenue of Bengal and Behar, principally of the former, which, after making up the deficiency of the North-West Provinces, recently annexed to the Presidency of Calcutta, Bundelcund, Agra, Delhi, &c., sets the finances of the two secondary states afloat."

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So much for the money which Bengal contributed in the days of John Company to save the Government from insolvency. Coming to our own days, we find that Bengal still pays the piper more than anybody else. The proof of the payment is to be found in the following extract from the *Indian Daily News* :-

A table given in the Blue Book on the Moral and Material Progress of India for 1910-11 shows for each province separately the amounts by which the total revenue collected therein (whether classified in the accounts as Imperial or Provincial) exceeds or falls short of the total expenditure incurred therein, thus indicating the extent to which each province contributes towards the expenditure of the Government of India and the Secretary of State or draws upon the general revenues. The excess of revenue in the several provinces is as follows:—

	1909-10.	1910-11.
	£	£
Bengal	7,111,235	9,905,421
Eastern Bengal and Assam	957,801	652,373
United Provinces ...	3,256,201	3,005,516
Punjab	1,674,449	1,255,578
Burma	2,238,439	2,221,465
Central Provinces and Berar	325,362	308,083
Madras	4,705,314	4,538,970
Bombay	4,773,105	4,926,962

The only province against which excess of expenditure is shown is the North-West Frontier Province. The excess of expenditure in 1909-10 was £309,456; that in the following year was £370,407. This amount is of course drawn upon the general resources of the country. The most interesting fact in the table is that Bengal contributed in 1910-11 double the amount contributed by Bombay and Madras, and more than the amount contributed by Eastern Bengal, the United Provinces, Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces put together. The very slight excess of revenue in Eastern Bengal shows that proportionately to her revenue, she has been permitted to spend more within her limits than Bengal.

Work of the Universities.

Anglo-Indians (not Eurasians) of a certain type, including some of the highest present and past officials of the land, are apparently of opinion that whatever else Indian Universities may have done, they have not developed character in their alumni; character is a monopoly of Aligarh men. Some of our countrymen also think that this (*minus* the making of Aligarh a fetish) is true and that the deterioration in the character of our educated men is due to the absence of religious education in our educational institutions. Whilst it is perfectly true that our character requires greatly to be improved, particularly in the direction of the sterner virtues, we have never had any reason to accept the current opinion either of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy or of our orthodox countrymen. There is much truth in the following observations of the *Indian Daily News* :—

No well-informed person will subscribe to the dreadful theory that educated Indians have no character, and that it is one of the urgent duties of Sir Harcourt Butler and his new Secretariat to restore to Indians what they are presumed to have lost in the process of preparing for certain examinations. On the other hand, those who are capable of forming a sound judgment upon things Indian know that this much abused godless education has produced capable, honest public servants, who bear on their brown backs a considerable part of the burden of administration with honour to themselves and advantage to the country, that it has filled the professions with upright men and public life with patriotic workers. That the work of the University requires to be supplemented in a variety of ways is undoubtedly true; and efforts have been successfully made in the past and will, we have no doubt, be continuously made in the future to improve the position of students: but to represent the work of the Universities as a failure and educated Indians as human derelicts drifting hopelessly on the ocean of life is absurd.

In all countries and all ages, one test of character has been the persecution that has been the lot of the holders of unpopular opinions and the doers of unpopular deeds, opinions and deeds which have earned the approval of posterity. Have Aligarh men been famous for such opinions and deeds to a larger extent than the graduates of other Colleges? Have they come in for any share of official frowns? To be patted on the back by the powers that be is no test of character; but rather sometimes a proof of its weakness or absence.

Recognition of Indian Degrees by British Universities.

We are glad to note that the representatives of our University, Dr. P. C. Ray and Babu Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, have been receiving academic and other honours in Great Britain. They are also doing good work in connection with the sittings of the Congress of the Universities of the Empire. The following extract from a speech of Dr. Ray's on the recognition of Indian Degrees by British Universities will be endorsed by all who have a knowledge of our University :—

The Indian Graduate also is placed under peculiar disadvantages when he undertakes to pursue his post-graduate studies in a British University. My Lord, I plead for a more generous recognition of the merits of

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an Indian graduate; he has, I am afraid, the badge of inferiority stamped upon him simply because he happens to be an India-made ware. I can speak with some degree of confidence about the particular subject which I have the honour to profess, namely Chemistry. Now, of late there have been some brilliant students engaged in post-graduate researches and as their communications find hospitable reception in the columns of the leading British Chemical Journal I take it that they are considered as of a fair degree of merit; and yet it is a strange anomaly that when the authors of these investigations come over here and aspire for a high British degree they are made to go through the trodden path in the shape of having to pass the preliminary examinations and this has a depressing and deterrant effect upon the enthusiasm of our youths. I think the suggestion made by a previous speaker that such a scholar should only be made to pass through a probationary period under the guidance of a teacher whom he chooses and if he fully satisfied him—the colonial or Indian student should at once be allowed to go up for the highest degree on the strength of his thesis alone. Sir Joseph Thompson has spoken about the rich endowments and scholarships required to encourage a post-graduate scholar. The Calcutta University has already founded a good few post-graduate scholarships and expects to have more. But I beg however to remind the representatives of the British Universities present here that we in India have from time immemorial held aloft the high ideal of plain living and high thinking, and that with even comparatively poor stipends and bursaries we hope to achieve much.

My Lord, I do not for a moment claim that the teaching our Universities impart is of the same degree of efficiency as in the sister British Universities—in fact we have much to learn from you—but I beg leave to remind you that inspite of their many defects and drawbacks, our Universities have produced some of the brightest ornaments of our country. The foremost lawyer of Calcutta—a man renowned throughout India for his high forensic attainments—is a graduate of the Calcutta University. Three of the most eminent physicians and surgeons of Calcutta who have attained to phenomenal success in their professional career are again graduates of my own University and last but not least the present Vice-Chancellor of our University, who enjoys the unique distinction of being three times in succession elected to his onerous duties by the Chancellor of the University who is no other than the Viceroy himself—I say, Sir A. T. Mookerjea is also a product of the same University.

The Principal Officials of India.

India says :—

The Government of India publishes annually a list of the principal officials. The latest, which appeared in January last, shows that out of a total of 397 appointments those held by Indians come up to the grand total of 18, or about 4½ per cent! The microscopic minority, again, that are fortunate enough to obtain admittance into this Paradise are almost all vegetating in the lowermost rungs of the ladder, the only exceptions being the present Law Member of the Viceroy's Council and some half-dozen High Court Judges.

"A race" "not our own"

In a recent speech of Lord Crewe's, that memorable speech in which he tried to whittle away the hopes of self-government held out in Lord Hardinge's Delhi despatch of August last, occurs the following passage :—

There was a certain section in India which looked forward to a measure of self-government approaching that which had been granted to the Dominions. He saw no future for India on those lines. The experiment of a measure of self-government, practically free from Parliamentary control, to a race which was not our own, even though that race enjoyed the advantage of the best services of men belonging to our race, was one which could not be tried. It was his duty as Secretary of State to repudiate the idea that the despatch implied anything of the kind as the hope or goal of the policy of the Government.

What is the meaning of the expression 'a race which was not our own'? Do the Boers in South Africa, or the French in Canada, belong to Lord Crewe's race? If they do not, will Lord Crewe admit that men not belonging to his race can be self-governing within the British Empire? If they do belong to his race, then by race Lord Crewe must be understood to mean all peoples of European extraction, except the Turks, of course. In that case, Lord Crewe's words can mean one of two things: (1) that men of non-European extraction cannot be self-governing; (2) that men of non-European blood will not be granted the right of self-government within the British Empire. The first interpretation cannot be accepted, as the Japanese are a self-governing people and the Chinese and the Persians are endeavouring to be self-governing. So that the conclusion seems irresistible that in Lord Crewe's liberalism there is no hope of full citizenship in the British Empire for non-European races. We may be permitted to ask his colleagues in the ministry whether Lord Crewe wishes to suggest to all Asiatic and African inhabitants of the British Empire that within that Empire there is no hope of full citizenship for them, and that, if it be at all possible, it is possible outside that Empire. Would not that suggestion be in their eyes a politically hazardous suggestion? Or do they think that the "coloured" inhabitants of the British Empire are unlike other men and cannot therefore have any serious political aspirations, and even if they have, they cannot try their

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utmost to realise them? Or does Lord Crewe mean that though "coloured" races outside the British Empire may have self-governing capacity, contact with the British people within their Empire kills that capacity in "coloured" men? We are sure no true Briton will admit it.

Our hearts and brains and blood are just like other people's. As for our skins, they range from very fair to very dark. There are very fair-complexioned Brahmins and very dark-skinned Brahmins; there are fair Saiyeds and dark Saiyeds. But we consider them all to be Brahmins and Saiyeds. Lord Crewe, however, seems to think that a dark-skinned citizen is a contradiction in terms. Who is more superstitious, the European or the Asiatic?

Suicide of a Political Prisoner in the Andamans.

We hope Lord Carmichael, Lord Hardinge, Lord Crewe and the members of the House of Commons have had their attention drawn to the serious allegations contained in the following extract from the *Bengalee*: –

The suicide of one of the political prisoners, named Indu Bhusan Roy, throws a lurid light upon the whole situation as to the treatment of political offenders in the Andamans. At 1 o'clock in the morning of the 29th April last he was found hanging in his cell by one of the warders in his round. An alarm was raised. The jailor hastened to the spot; the matter was telephoned four or five times and a police orderly was sent to the Medical Superintendent's bungalow which is situated only a few hundred yards from the jail buildings. We are informed that no response came before 8 o'clock next morning. In the meantime a Madrasi Hospital Assistant was sent for, but when he came the body was found stiff and cold. Next morning when the Superintendent, the District Magistrate and the Police came to investigate, the Jailor, Mr Barry, gave his own version of the affair. Now we should like to ask a question or two in this connection. Why did Indu Bhusan commit suicide? If he was tired of prison life, one would expect that he would have committed suicide long ago; for he had already been in the Andamans for over three years. Was there nothing in anything that had happened recently in connection with him to account for his taking this fatal step? Was it not rather the act of a desperate man to whom life had become insupportable in the condition in which he found himself? Is it or is it not the case that on the afternoon of the 28th April, only a few hours preceding his suicide, Indu Bhusan desired to see the Jailor and was taken to his office, and there did he not in the most entreating terms request the Jailor to change his work, as he was engaged in making white flax out of "rambash" plant? Did he not say to the Jailor—or at any rate address words to that effect—"See, my hands have become so blistered by the juice of the "rambash" that I cannot move my fingers freely and it is so painful that I cannot get a wink of sleep the whole night. I cannot take my food to my mouth. The touch of "dal" causes me so much pain that tears come to my eyes and my food is left untouched. I will die of pain and starvation. Kindly change my work or allow me to go to hospital for a few days to get my palms healed." Saying this, he stretched his hands to the full, but met with a rebuff from the Jailor. We will not reproduce the language which the Jailor is reported to have used. Is it not the case that Indu Bhusan pleaded again, begging to be allowed to report himself personally and show his hands to the Medical Suprintendent? But the Jailor shouted: "You must carry out my orders." Then after thinking for a couple of minutes he again said, "All right I will change your work" and ordered the warder in charge to engage Indu in "Kolu" oil mill from next morning. Indu got so frightened that he told the Jailor that he would simply die if he had to work in the "Kolu" mill with those hands of his. The Jailor was obdurate and our information is that Indu was dismissed amid a shower of abusive language. This was the last straw on the camel's back and before many hours Indu was found dead, hanging in his cell. We have another question to ask. Is it not the case that Hoti Lal made a complaint to the Medical Superintendent about Indu's death and was punished for it and was put to the oil mill at once? The political prisoners, we learn, are scattered over the entire settlement. In case they fall ill they are not taken to the nearest hospital within whose jurisdiction they live and where in the ordinary course they should be taken. They have to be taken to the Hospital of the Jail District where Captain Barkar is the Medical Superintendent and also District Officer.

Western Atrocities.

A Reuter's telegram informs the world that a Blue-Book has been issued containing Sir Roger Casement's report of the most barbarous cruelties perpetrated on the natives of British West Indies collecting rubber in Peru. He alleges that wholesale flogging of labourers, including women and children, with taper-hide thongs takes place and that ears, arms and legs are cut off. He also reports cases of pouring kerosene on men and women and then burning them, and mentions other unthinkable atrocities. A subsequent telegram says that none of the offenders are British. To call them brutes is to do injustice to the brutes. To call them devils is to class them with beings that are non-existent. When and how will such atrocities cease?

A Woman's College.

We write subject to correction, but we think we are right in saying that the only

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college for women entirely supported by the Government in the whole of India is Bethune College in Calcutta. Yet this College does not teach any science. It is true that for the Intermediate Examination students can take up botany, but there is no provision for teaching it for the B.A. or B.Sc. examination! which is a very irrational arrangement based on the supposition that a girl having begun to learn botany must afterwards again begin to learn something else for her B.A. Surely provision ought to be made for teaching the B.A. botany course, so that the labour involved in learning the subject in the Intermediate classes may not be lost labour.

One of the recommendations of the Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon was that gradually teachers in girls' schools should all be women. That was in 1883. It was a good recommendation. But what has been done to give effect to it? Unless mathematics be taught in a woman's college, how can we have women teachers of mathematics? But Bethune College does not teach mathematics; though girls have passed in mathematics with distinction by studying at home.

Again, women are supposed to be incapable of winning honours in any subject (though they have actually done so by private study). Else, how can we explain the fact that the Director of Public Instruction has not got Bethune College affiliated for the B.A. Honour Examination in any subject?

Further, there are in Bethune College no separate class-rooms, a hall containing several classes. Though the classes are small, many professors lecturing at the same time in the same hall cannot conduce to efficient teaching. There is sure to be distracting noise, and we know that there is. Hostel accommodation is quite inadequate. For years we have been hearing that land has been purchased for new buildings for Bethune College, but they are still castles in the air. Money can be had for ambitious residential universities,—Lord Hardinge wishes to have twenty of them in India, but no money is available for this *single* State College for women in a country inhabited by 315 millions. Why is there not the hundredth part of the same educational zeal for female students as for male students?

As by the custom of the country women cannot move about as freely as men, women students require greater facilities for physical exercise, recreation, and other requirements of a healthy physical existence than male students. But students of Bethune College have not all these requirements provided for them in an adequate manner. The parents of College girls are human beings; they do not want their daughters' health to be injured. The Director of Public Instruction ought to see that female education is not penalised in this or any other way.

It is said that there is a proposal before the Government to fill up the College Square tank and utilize the square for building hostels for male college students and laying out playgrounds for them, or simply for laying out a playground for the Calcutta University Institute. Every year, too, lakhs of rupees are to be spent by the Government for building hostels for boys. While thus there is on every side much expenditure and proposed expenditure for boys, nothing extra is spent for our College girls. This neglect of duty on the part of the education department cannot be too strongly condemned.

It may be said that there is very little demand for high education for girls. But if this argument were at all sound, even primary education for girls would never have made a beginning. For there was a time when strong prejudice existed against girls learning even the alphabet. As female education is good, it must be encouraged: as a college for women must be maintained, it should be maintained in an efficient and healthy condition.

"A very Salutary Warning!"

We have found the following paragraph printed in many Indian papers:—

A very salutary warning to the victims of "Ulsteria" was administered by Sir John Jardine on Tuesday last in the course of the first day's Committee discussion on the Home Rule Bill. He deprecated, he said, as an old Indian administrator, the menace of physical force in these debates. It was a bad thing that threats of the bayonet and the sword against an Act lawfully passed should be made in Parliament and telegraphed to India for publication there.

Very salutary, indeed! "It may or may not be good for us to talk of physical force, or even to apply it in the way the

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suffragettes do, but what will those brown fellows think? Tell it not in Gath, therefore." That was what Sir John Jardine probably meant. But suppose India did not exist. Would threats of violence and armed resistance be proper and justifiable in that case?

We think the British Government should everywhere uniformly and impartially either put down threats of violence or treat it with indifference and contempt. Its attitude should be the same everywhere.

In Aid of Primary Education.

Babu Pitambar Chatterjee, a respectable gentleman of Konnagar, has offered to the Serampore Municipality Rs. 10,000 in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government Promissory notes together with 3 cottahs of rent-free land and a small brick-built house standing thereon at Konnagar for a free Upper Primary School there in memory of his ancestors. When shall we have such worthy donors in every municipality?

Compulsory Education for the Domiciled Community.

At the first meeting of the Conference on the Education of the Domiciled Community, presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler, a strong opinion in favour of compulsory education was voiced by Mr. Madge, the Lord Bishop of Bombay, Mr. Pakenham Walsh, Mr. Lee and several others. Some of the Directors of Public Instruction, Messrs. Bourne, Covernton and De La Fosse, pointed out the practical difficulties of its introduction especially in isolated places and asked whether it was intended to send the boys to ordinary schools for Indians.

Sir Harcourt Butler remarked that as an expression of principle there was no objection to the Conference recording their opinion in a formal resolution, but that he was not at present prepared to treat it as more than a counsel of perfection. He was sure, however, the recommendation of so representative a Conference would receive respectful attention from the Government of India and the Local Governments when the matter comes before them. After discussing, the following resolution was passed:—

"The Conference desire to press upon the attention of Government their opinion that the introduction of compulsory education is necessary to secure that certain classes of the Domiciled Community in their own interests and in those of the general public attend school. They recognise that this will involve the introduction of free education for all who cannot pay fees."

If compulsory education be good for the domiciled community, it must be good for the indigenous population, too. Let us hope the domiciled community will have free and compulsory education.

Documents of History.

Messrs. A. and C. Black have published a book in five parts called "Documents of British History." It gives for each period documents and extracts from contemporary and original sources from which the student can construct his own history. This is a valuable aid to teaching historical method. Can we not have "Documents of Indian history" for at least one period for the present? For instance, confining ourselves to Buddhist India, can we not have the originial materials (in the case of books, not entire works, but extracts therefrom), with appropriate translations? Our students should learn how history is composed.

The Mymensing Search Case.

The judgment of the Privy Council in the case of Babu Brajendra Kishor Ray Chaudhuri *vs.* Mr. Clarke has caused great dissatisfaction and created alarm among Indians. This judgment is in the opinion of competent lawyers wrong, but all the same they recognise it is legally binding on all law-courts in India. The Calcutta Town Hall meeting to consider the effect of this judgment was, therefore, held not a day too soon. It was a successful and influential meeting. It urged on the Government the necessity of providing by fresh legislation all those safeguards for the liberty of the subject which existed before the Privy Council interpreted the law relating to searches in a manner contrary to the decision of the Calcutta, Madras and Bombay High Courts. It also pointedly called attention to the urgent need of separating the executive from the judicial service. What the privy

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council interpretation amounts to has been thus put by the Amrita Bazar Patrika :—

And what is this interpretation? It is that, according to the Penal Code, a Magistrate is always a Court, that is to say, in the matter of searching arms a Magistrate—a raw stripling acting as a third class Magistrate even not excluded,—may act as a judicial officer in any place and under any circumstances. He is taking his meal at 9 p.m., when information reaches him from a dreg of society that arms have been kept concealed in the house of a very respectable party for unlawful purposes; and without receiving any formal complaint from anybody or showing any reason whatever he may at once enter it with a posse of policemen, humiliate its owner in all possible ways, and is not responsible for this outrage to anybody, God or man, if nothing incriminating is found there! Now, if this be the real interpretation of the law, then God save His Imperial Majesty's subjects in India.

In connection with the Mymensing case the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* has pointed out that whereas Colonial appeals are heard in the Privy Council by a tribunal consisting usually of all the Law Lords as well as the Lord Chancellor, 'it is nothing unusual to see only three members of the Judicial Committee, of whom two are usually ex-Indian judges of no great celebrity, trying cases from India.' The *Weekly Notes* justly observes :—

When Indian litigants appeal to his Majesty in Council for justice they do so in the expectation that their grievances will be adjudged by a tribunal which reperesnts the highest legal talent of England. It would be idle to contend that the highest tribunal for Indian appeals as it has been constituted of late has in any degree come up to their expectations. Litigants and lawyers alike are disposed under such circumstances to feel more confidence in the best judges of the Indian High Courts than in the Judicial Committee as now constituted for the hearing of Indian appeals.

The same journal says :—

We may have had occasion before this to criticise Privy Council decisions and take exception to them. But so far as we recollect we have never, except on a very recent occasion, had to speak of Lord Macnaghten's judgments but in terms of the highest praise. We are therefore greatly grieved to miss in his lordship's judgment in the appeal of *Clarke* v. *Brojendra Kishore*, that remarkable mastery of facts, that broad and equitable view of the law, that high regard for the liberty of the subject and that supreme indifference to considerations of statecraft or executive exigencies that have characterised his judgments and have secured for them the highest reputation amongst the pronouncements of the final Court of Appeal. In the judgment which it is our painful duty to criticise we find such gross errors in the statement of facts and such questionable interpretations of the law, that had we not been assured that it was Lord Macnaghten who delivered the judgment of the Judicial Committee in this appeal, we would have been loth to believe that his lordship could have been an assenting party to such a careless and unconvincing judgment.

We believe it was the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which was the first to point out gross errors in the statement of facts in this judgment. In the words of the *Weekly Notes* these are :—

At the very outset of the judgment their lordships say that Mr. Justice Fletcher gave a decree but without costs, although reference to the first court's judgment and decree would show that Fletcher, J., did award costs. Their lordships then pass off some observations made by Maclean, C. J., and Harington, J., in connection with the disallowance of costs as those of Fletcher, J., quite overlooking the fact that costs were disallowed on appeal and not in the first court. In this connection we may further mention that in expr ssing their 'strongest reprobation' regarding 'charges of personal misconduct' against Mr. Clarke, alleged to have been reiterated by the plaintiff, their lordships do not seem to have had due regard to the facts of the case. For, it is to be noticed that the case of the defendant's malice was made only in the first court. In the appeal court the plaintiff no doubt filed a cross-objection questioning the findings of the first court, that the defendant had acted in good faith and without malice. But Maclean, C. J., expressly says at the close of his judgment that this *cross-objection was nat pressed* by the plaintiff before them. Their lordships Maclean, C. J., and Harington, J., in dismissing the defendant's appeal, deprived the plaintiff of the costs for having filed the cross-objection. The appeal to the Judicial Committee was preferred by the defendant by special leave and the plaintiff could not and did not file any cross-appeal or cross-objection before them. Yet their lordships of the Judicial Committee have thought fit to express the 'strongest reprobation' of the plaintiff's conduct in reiterating charges which he did not repeat before their lordships and which he in fact abandoned at the hearing of the appeal before the High Court of Calcutta.

* * * *

Then their lordships proceed to judgment on an assumption of a state of facts which we regret to find is not at all warranted by the record of the case. It is to be noted that the facts upon which their lordships lay so much stress were considered by the courts below as not material to the case before them. Mr. Justice Fletcher in the first court as well as Maclean, C. J., and Harington, J., in the appeal court, considered it unnecessary to discuss the facts of the case prior to the shooting incident. Mr. Justice Brett alone gave a narrative of those events, according to his view of the facts. Their lordships of the Judicial Committee take their facts from Brett, J.'s dissenting judgment, and what is more, put them forward as matters which were not disputed, although Brett, J., did not himself state them as such. This mode of statement of facts in the judgment of an appeal court is wholly unprecedented. More extraordinary still, we find that their lordships of the Judicial Committee, while reproducing almost in his very words Mr. Justice Brett's statement of facts, have actually left out the expressions that would go to show that they were mere allegations and not findings. Mr. Justice Brett says:

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Certain Hindus, at the instigation, *it is stated*, of the Hindu servants of the plaintiff and other zemindars, his cosharers in the village, tried to prevent the sale of *bideshi* or foreign goods at this fair.' The Judicial Committee in their judgment reproduce this sentence with the following important change. 'Some Hindus, *apparently* at the instance of the servants and agents of the plaintiff and his cosharers, &c., &c.' The result is that what M. Justice Brett had stated as a mere allegation of the defence, the Judicial Committee have put down as a judicial inference based upon undisputed facts.

* * * *

Again, while their lordships notice the allegations of the defence as to the cause of the disturbances, they at the same time ignore the allegations of the plaintiff, noticed in Fletcher, J.'s judgment, that 'as the defendant when he arrived at Jamalpore on the morning of April 28th was aware that the Mahomedans had previously announced by beat of drum that the Government had given them permission to loot the Hindus' property and to marry their widows in *nika* form and that a large number of the Hindus were fleeing from the place in a state of panic, if the defendant had honestly done his duty he would in the first place have tried to restore confidence to the Hindus by assuring them of the impartiality of the Government.' It should be noted that the first court did not dismiss the allegations as unfounded, but on the contrary had observed that 'it may be that a man of wider experience or deeper judgment would have done so. But even if I were to assume that this was the primary duty of the defendant, this allegation against the defendant only comes to this, *viz.*, that he committed an error of judgment.' That his lordship did not go more fully into the allegations of the defendant as also of the plaintiffs with regard to the cases of the ill-feeling between the Hindus and Mohamedans at Jamalpore was because his lordship had held in an earlier part of the judgment that 'the reasons for the origin of that state (of feeling) were not material to be considered in the case.' In this view the majority of the appeal court also agreed. From this it is clear that the narrative of facts as to the cause of the disturbance as given by their lordships of the Judicial Committee was not undisputed, as stated by their lordships and that, as it stands, it is a wholly one-sided statement.

Besides these material errors in the statement of facts there are others which, though not very material to the case, are deserving of notice. For instance, their lordships say 'zemindars in that part of the country are Hindus, most of them, apparently, absentees living in Calcutta.' This is neither in accordance with facts nor borne out by any evidence on the records. We are, therefore, at a loss to understand how and where their lordships came to find the materials upon which to base such a sweeping statement.

It is clear therefore that their lordships of the Privy Council either could not carefully read the proceedings of the lower courts or could not master and remember the facts recorded therein. Under the circumstances, people cannot be blamed for holding that their lordships are not infallible. The error pointed out in the last paragraph of the above extract is particularly unfortunate. It is not only a wrong statement, but it shows that their Lordships could not remove from their minds information (in this instance wrong information) which the records of the case did not furnish them with.

Into the legal discussion of the judgment we will not enter. *The Calcutta Weekly Notes* has very ably shown that the interpretation put upon sections 96 and 105 of the Criminal Procedure Code by the Judicial Committee is wrong and opposed to the judicial interpretation placed on the sections during a period extending to nearly half a century by *all* the High Courts in India.

Their Lordships of the Privy Council have expressed the opinion that Mr. Clarke "seems to have acted properly with courage and good sense, strictly in accordance with the powers committed to him." But Mr. Clarke did not at all deserve to have this certificate. For there is a passage in Mr. Justice Fletcher's judgment which stands uncontroverted and must therefore be held to be perfectly correct, which runs as follows:—

"It became necessary for the search party to break open the outer door of the cutchery. Having thus effected an entrance, some of the Mahomedan mob which had collected and were accompanying the search party, were requisitioned to go and bring daos and assist in opening the boxes which contained the Zemindar's papers. That the search was conducted with unnecessary damage to the property of the plaintiff cannot, to my mind, be doubted for an instant. The papers out of various boxes in the cutchery were strewn haphazard on the floor of the cutchery. Mr. Horniman, of the 'Statesman' newspaper, who was accompanyed by Mr. Newman, of the 'Englishman' newspaper, who had been specially delegated to proceed to Jamalpore and report on the state of the disturbances there, has graphically described* the condition of affairs as he found them at the plaintiff's cutchery on 1st May. I am satisfied on the evidence that the state of affairs at the plaintiff's cutcherry on

* This is what Mr. Horniman wrote:—

'In that building I saw a large number of chests which had been broken open evidently with great violence, unnecessary violence, I should say. Most of them contained documents having the appearance of estate records, quantities of which had been tumbled out on the floor, in many cases where they had had tied up in packets, docketed, either by careless rough treatment or deliberately—I can't say, the packets had been torn open, papers mutilated, strewn about the floor.....hinges of the boxes had been broken where it would have been sufficient to pick or force the locks. There was a general appearance in the building of violent treatment of all its contents.'

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May 1st was the same as it had been left on the conclusion of the search."

Harrington, J., also found that there was unrebutted evidence of undue violence. We do not know what is the Privy Council's idea of acting properly and with good sense. Our legally unenlightened mind finds nothing to admire in Mr. Clarke's conduct, but much to condemn. *The Calcutta Weekly Notes* says : —

> Having regard to these findings it seems clear that even if Mr. Clarke went on the premises under authority given by law, by the doing of this 'unnecessary damage' by undue violence he became liable for trespass *ab initio*. But even leaving alone the question of trespass *ab initio* there remains the further point that the plaintiff was at least entitled to damages for the unnecessary injury actually done.

It has been suggested that Mr. Clarke should be compensated. That is a most absurd suggestion. Compensated for what? All the expenses of his case have been paid by the Government, and he has not suffered in any way as regards promotion or prospects.

Rabindranath in England.

A dinner to Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, the greatest of living Bengali poets, was given by the India Society at the Trocadero Restaurant on Wednesday evening last (July 10), says *India*. The chief purpose of the occasion was to introduce a number of prominent English men and women of letters to Mr. Tagore, whose work, in translation, is just beginning to be known in England through the enthusiastic activity of his English admirers.

Mr. W. B. Yeats, the poet of the Celtic revival, was in the chair, and among wellknown writers present were Mr. J. W. Mackail, Mr. Cuninghame Graham, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. T. W. Rolleston, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Miss May Sinclair and Countess Martinengo Cesaresco. Mr. Havell, Mr. J. D. Anderson, and Madame Maud Gonne were also among the company, which numbered about 70.

The Chairman proposed the health of the poet, and read, with wonderful effect, three of his poems in a prose translation. Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, in seconding the toast, spoke of the remarkable record of the Tagore family in the intellectual leadership of Bengal. Mr. Tagore replied in a speech at once brief and singularly impressive. Mr. T. W. Arnold proposed the toast of "India," to which also Mr. W. Rothenstein spoke. It was acknowledged by Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta.

One of England's greatest living artists has expressed his opinion in a private letter that he considers Rabindranath the greatest of the living poets of the world. A prominent English poet when asked to "improve" Robindranath's own English renderings of some of his Bengali poems, which will be published in the autumn, said that if anybody thought that they could be improved he did not know what literature meant. The same poet has observed that among the writings of living European poets he has not found anything to rival or surpass the productions of Rabindranath. Enthusiasm in certain circles runs so high that a retired English member of the Indian Civil Service on meeting the poet made obeisance to him in Indian fashion, "taking the dust of his feet." Mr. C. F. Andrews says in his article: "I should like to have made obeisanceto the poet, who had so raised his nation by his songs, but in a moment he had clasped my hand...."

We have not been able to print Mr. Andrews' article in its proper place, as we received it on July 28. But we thought that it had better go in this number, instead of being held over for the next.

The late Mr. B. M. Malabari.

By the death of Mr. B. M. Malabari, India loses one of her foremost citizens. He was equally wellknown as author, journalist and philanthropist. His name will be perpetuated by the poems which he wrote in his mother-tongue, which was Gujarati. Though he was never a vigorous critic of the Government, yet a Director of Public Instruction of Bombay, it is curious to recollect now, smelt sedition in some of his Gujarati verses! As a philanthropist he will be remembered with gratitude in connection with the Sevā Sadan and the Dharmpur Home for Consumptives. As a social reformer he laboured enthusiastically to put down child-marriages. He consistently and persistently refused the honours which the Government on several occasions wanted to bestow upon him. *The Indian Spectator* and

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East and West were his ventures in the field of journalism.

Lord Carmichael.

Lord Carmichael has been winning high praise by taking the public into his confidence on public questions and by the suavity of his manners. That he took up in his motor car a peasant who presented a petition to him, to investigate his grievance on the spot, shows the democratic temper of the man. That policemen have been forbidden to carry canes in order that they may not have the temptation to strike people, that they have been ordered not to push, hustle or drive off the people who may throng to see him in his tours, shows that he does not believe that 'gentlemanly' and 'policemanly' are antonyms and that he does not want anybody to be insulted or treated rudely by the police. He has withdrawn the warning issued by the late E. B. & Assam Government to Government servants not to send their sons to the Bolpur Santiniketan School. In a recent case in which the Director of Public Instruction, or rather his double in Dacca, had prohibited the admission of a former student of a national school to any school recognised by the Department, the Governor has ordered the Director's orders to be cancelled.

Female Education in Bombay.

In course of the Budget debate in the Bombay Council: the Hon. Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy observed—

"During the last five years great and rapid strides have been made in the progress of education in this Presidency. Apart from the grants amounting to 8½ lakhs of rupees which have been made in connection with the Technical College, the Bombay University, the construction of hostels, and schools for Europeans and Eurasians, the expenditure on education has increased by over 25½ lakhs of rupees. This is a circumstance of happy augury for the future educational progress of the Presidency. However, I note with regret that, while there has been a persistent and clamant cry for a larger expenditure on education, not a voice is raised for demanding an adequate provision for the education of girls in this Presidency. Out of the grant [of fifty lakhs] announced at the Coronation Durbar and [the 6½ lakhs] allotted to the Bombay Presidency, I find that a provision of Rs. 75,000 is made on education, mainly elementary, for girls. I think that provision to be wholly inadequate. Again, when the physical training of boys is receiving attention, and gymnasiums and play-grounds are being provided in connection with boys' High Schools, we find no provision made in this direction in regard to girls' schools. There are no Government High Schools for girls in this Presidency."

Every right-thinking man ought to be grateful to Mr. Currimbhoy for what he has said. In the Imperial Council and in all the Provincial Councils, members ought to make a strenuous and persistent demand for higher and higher grants for female education year after year. It is an utterly fatuous idea that a country can be enlightened or raised by educating only its boys. And yet it is to that absurd position that our educated countrymen are by implication committing themselves by their indifference to the education of girls and women.

"The Sacred Laws of the Aryas."

The British law-courts in India administer to Hindus their own laws, as laid down in their ancient law-books, in all matters of inheritance and religious and social customs and usage. But many works on Hindu law still remain to be published with translations, after proper editing and collation of readings. It is, therefore, of the highest importance, alike to the Government, the Hindu public and the lawyers, that those Sanskrit legal works which are still unpublished and untranslated should be made available for study and reference. In the interests, too, of what may be termed comparative jurisprudence, these laws of the Hindus should be published with translations.

We are glad to find, therefore, that the Pānini Office of Allahabad has undertaken to publish "The Sacred Laws of the Aryans" in quarterly parts from October this year. This publishing house has justly acquired fame by its edition of the Ashtādhyāyi of Pānini, of the Siddhānta-Kaumudi, of many philosophical works and of the well-known series of the Sacred Books of the Hindus.

The first number will contain the translation of the Prāyaschitta Adhyāya of the Yājnavalkya Smriti by Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu, assisted by Mr. Narahara Ayya, B.A., of Mysore. As Mr. Basu is well known both as a sound Sanskrit scholar and a very able judicial officer possessed of great legal erudition, the work is sure to be done in an eminently satisfactory manner.

Jubilee of the Calcutta High Court.

We do not pretend to believe that every

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judge of the Calcutta High Court has been always absolutely impervious to extra-judicial considerations, bias, or influence; but we do firmly believe that it has enjoyed in a greater measure the respect and confidence of the public than any other institution in India which owes its origin to the British Government. It is the strongest bulwark of British rule in India. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should have received so many congratulations on the occasion of its jubilee. Those British journalists and politicians who seek to diminish its strength, independence or prestige are foolish men who do not know how best to safeguard the interest of their own nation.

The heroism of love.

There is, it seems, an association in Rangoon called the Sevak-Samiti for the nursing of helpless persons in illness. The members nurse plague-stricken persons, too. A member of this noble band of young men named Manmatha Bhattāchārya contracted pneumonic plague while nursing a plague patient. He succumbed on the 11th July. He was Assistant Secretary to the Rangoon Brahmo Samaj and died with these words on his lips, "I have got Re. 1 As. 2 of the Brahmo Samaj money with me; please take it." Our heart goes out in sympathy to his girl-widow. May she find strength and consolation in the faith that her beloved lives in God! Two other young men who had been helping him also caught the infection and died.

The loving energy which led these noble souls to the perilous heights of heroic self-sacrifice is not dissipated with the dissolution of their bodies. It lives, to bless them and others.

This is life eternal, to die for others.

Kristodas Pal.

At the last Kristodas Pal anniversary Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu made the speech of the evening. We shall make an extract or two from his address.

I shall place before you an incident which will throw some light on one phase of Kristodas Pal's life: In the year 1883 an old friend of Kristodas Pal then occupying but a humble position was in great distress: this gentleman's son-in-law was employed as a Munsiff in a remote village in the district of Backergunj and was bitten by what was supposed to be a "rabid"-dog. He applied to the judge to let him come to Calcutta for treatment. The Judge refused as there was no scientific treatment of dogbites in those days and he thought a journey to Calcutta would be useless. At this period the journey ordinarily took 10 days. The poor Munsiff, quite a young man, wrote to his father-in-law begging him to get the leave which he felt might be his salvation. I happened to be present at the house of this gentleman when the letter was received. You can well imagine the state of his mind, he was beside himself with anxiety and alarm. I advised him to go to Kristodas Pal, and volunteered to accompany him. We arrived at Kristodas's house in the evening which I remember was specially hot and sultry. Kristodas was not at home. Our friend waited, Kristodas Pal returned home at about 10 o'clock at night thoroughly tired and depressed with a weariness natural to a July evening in Calcutta, aggravated by the devastating disease from which Kristodas was suffering and to which, alas, he soon after succumbed. He enquired of his friend the reason of his being there so late at night, a few brief words explained the object of our visit. Kristodas Pal enquired if we had a carriage with us. We had none. Tired as Kristodas was he told his friend that he would see the Judge of the High Court in charge of the English department that very night to get the necessary leave for the Munsiff, so that he might come down to Calcutta in time for treatment. Without even changing clothes, without taking any rest he left his house. A dilapidated ticca garry was hired from the street-corner and he drove with his friend to the house of the Judge. It was nearly 11 o'clock at night when the Judge's house was reached: there happily some function had kept the Judge awake. As soon as Kristodas Pal's card was taken in the Judge came down and enquired the reason of his late visit. "Sir," he replied, "my son-in-law is a Munsiff at Patuakhali. He has been bitten by a dog and the Judge of Barisal does not want to give him leave. There is a celebrated medicine dispensed near Calcutta which is supposed to be cure for dog-bites. It has to be taken within a certain time. My son-in-law has got only 10 days more within which the medicine must be taken. The fastest boat cannot bring him down to Calcutta in less than 7 days. Will the young man live or will he die?" The Judge was deeply moved. He then and there despatched a telegram to the District Judge at Barisal asking him to grant immediate leave to the Munsiff. And ever afterwards so long as this particular Judge of the High Court remained in charge of the Health Office he always saw that this Munsiff whom he believed to be the son-in-law of Kristodas Pal was well treated.

The greatest charm of Kristodas Pal's character was his steadfast and unflinching attachment to his friends. You would see in his house friends of his youth, men who had been left behind in the world's journey, men occupying humble positions as clerks or shopkeepers receiving the same attention, the same consideration as the highest in the land, and more, for you would find in Kristodas Pal's attitude towards his early friends an all suffusing expression of warmth and pleasure which would not be noticeable to the same extent in his dealings with exalted personages whom his fame had attracted in later life.

Kristodas Pal was pre-eminently the friend of the poor. Harassed by disease, surrounded by wealthy applicants for favour, sought for by the highest offi-

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cials, honoured by all, he was readily accessible even to the humblest officials, who had a grievance and you would see Kristodas Pal patiently listening to their tale and writing out their petitions for redress in a way in which he alone knew how to write and where he felt convinced that an act of injustice had been done, exerting his personal influence to secure a remedy. The simple tales of these men, often incoherent and always lengthy, Kristodas Pal used to listen to with a touching patience. This was what made Kristodas so universally popular; for his rich and influential friends never grudged him the time he devoted to the poor and the oppressed.

The Indian Association.

We thank the honorary secretary to the Indian Association for his courtesy in sending us a copy of its annual report for 1911. We are grateful to the Association for the work it did in the past and for what it is still doing. But we are sorry that its work as recorded in the present report does not seem to us satisfactory or worthy of its great name.

We do not think that the following passage will bear in all its parts the dry light of history :—

> The gracious visit of the King-Emperor, and the noble words of hope and sympathy to which His Majesty gave utterance, have heralded the dawn of a new era of prosperity and contentment for the people of India. The unsettlement of the 'settled fact' of the Partition of Bengal has been a triumph of constitutional agitation and has been regarded as a measure of immense benefit both to the people and the Government. Although considerable dissatisfaction was felt at the announcement of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, the modification of the partition, coupled with the hope of provincial autonomy for Bengal, reconciled the people to that measure.

It is said to be a merit of some poems that they suggest more than they say and thus leave much to the imagination of the readers. But reports of public associations are not poems. There should not be any vague general statements about them. For instance, we are told that during the year under report the Indian Association did its best to assist in the extension and growth of the Swadeshi movement. We are not told how, nor why in spite of these efforts the movement is in a moribund condition. Instances need not be multiplied.

The Association possesses no library worth the name. We are sorry to find that in 1911 books worth Rs. 34-1 only were purchased for it.

Olympic games.

Men of various races and nationalities are taking part in the Olympic games in Stockholm. But we do not find the names of any Indians among them. Perhaps our athletes have not heard of these manly games. The glory of a young man is his strength, and the glory of youthful nations, too, is their strength. It is only effete races, races in the stage of senile decay, which do not take pride in and try to conserve strength. Even if it be simply physical strength and agility, let it not be despised. The intellectual and moral power of a people are intimately bound up with their physical strength. If they are to exist at all, they must co-exist.

The Purulia Leper Colony.

The Purulia Leper Colony founded and managed by European Christian missionaries is an excellent philanthropic institution deserving of help in every form. Contributions should be sent to Rev. Paul Wagner, Superintendent of the colony, Purulia, B. N. R. We hope to publish a full account of this asylum in our next number.

A correction.

In the article "With the Five Fingers" Plates V and VI have been, by a mistake of the printer, placed upside down.

AN EVENING WITH RABINDRA

RABINDRA was in London ! . The news first came to me in Cambridge at a gathering of Indian students. I had heard before that his visit had been postponed and could scarcely at first credit the good news of his arrival. But how to see him—that was the next question that puzzled me. I had never been able to meet

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him in my short visits to Calcutta, though I had read with profound and increasing interest every translation of his poems I could find, and had heard of him from a hundred admirers.

During the Universities' Congress (about which I must write in another paper) I was in London, and hastened to my friend Mr. W. W. Pearson, to ask him if he had heard any tidings about Rabindra. I had no sooner entered the room than he came up to me and said, "Rabindra Babu is in London!" He knew also his address. The address itself was a phrase of good omen,—"The Vale of Health, Hampstead." Pearson was actually going to see him that very evening. I asked him if he could make some arrangement whereby I could see him also, and he promised to do so.

The next day I was on my way to meet Lala Sultan Singh at the National Liberal Club. At the entrance I met Mr. Sinha, the late Law Member, and Major Gupta, and was having a talk about old times when some one passed rapidly out. I had only one glance before his back was turned, but there was no mistaking him. It was H. W. Nevinson. He did not recognise me at first and said I had grown thinner. I brought him to join our party and introduced him. Lala Sultan Singh came up with Principal Rudra and we had tea together.

Mr. Nevinson had been my guest at Delhi and wanted me to come and see him at his house at Hampstead. I asked him if he had heard that Rabindra Nath Tagore was living close at hand. He said "Yes, I have been invited by Rothenstein, the artist, to hear translations of his poetry read by Willie Yeats, the Irish poet. Could not you come and have an early dinner with me, and we will go round together? It is next Sunday evening. Do come!" I needed no pressing to accept the invitation, and a second delight awaited me when I went home to find a card from Pearson saying that Rabindra Babu would be able to see me if I could come on Saturday afternoon. So now my cup of joy was full and running over. I was to see Rabindra at last!

When I called on Saturday he was out. The housekeeper told me he often wandered on the Heath—one of those beautiful wild hill sides still left untouched by the builders' hand and now purchased by the nation. His house was on the edge of the Heath and it looked a Vale of Health indeed! I waited some time but he did not return. I then went on to stay with a friend on the other side of the Heath at Golders' Green.

I must pause in my story to tell about Golders' Green. Four years ago it was almost inaccessible from the centre of London, and not a house was to be seen. Today it is a Garden City with room for a lakh of inhabitants. The houses are chiefly built for the working men of London in connection with one of those wonderful "Tube" railways, which go for miles underground in all directions under London. Mrs. Barnett, the wife of the former Head of Toynbee Hall, was the originator of the scheme, and she has carried it out in conjunction with Mr. Lutyens, the town planner, who has now been chartered for the new capital at Delhi. Thousands of workmen's dwellings, beautiful, comfortable, and very cheap, are in process of erection. Each of them has a garden, and no high walls or hedges are allowed. All the flowers can thus be seen by everybody and the city already lives up to its name. It is one great garden. Nearly twenty years ago I used to work in the slums of London among the very poor, and the housing problem was the most difficult of all. The poor people whom I visited lived in the most wretched rooms, with many families in a single house, all huddled together. Now for the same price, each family can obtain a separate house and a garden, and live in the pure, healthy country air, three hundred feet above the River Thames and the smoke and fog. This is one of the noblest fruits of the Labour Movement. The depressed classes in England have refused to be depressed any longer; and wise and generous souls, like Mrs. Barnett, have set their busy, active brains to work and gone through obloquy and misunderstanding in their efforts to help. Working with, instead of against, the economic forces of the age, they are bringing the poor of England out into a cleaner and healthier life than anything which I can remember. But the great motive power which is being used is in the working man himself. He now refuses to be crushed down. That is the greatest of all factors which goes to make up modern England.

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But I have been wandering from my subject,—yet not altogether, for when I went to dine with Nevinson I found him ardent as ever about the new England which was springing up, and eager also as ever to hear every scrap of news which had to do with India. He is one of those—and there are many—who have given their hearts to India. I think it was the sight of the pilgrims at Benares which revealed to him the real India,—patient, yearning, passionately devoted. His son, who is an artist, will come out some day and describe that India to English eyes in all its richness of colour. At present he is, heart and soul, in the Labour Movement. He showed me one of his pictures, not yet finished,—a great gaunt factory in East London, and on a platform at its base a crowd of working men assembled to hear one of their labour leaders. It was a contrast between poverty on the one hand and capital on the other; and the story could hardly be more effectively told. The struggle represented in the picture was a grim one, but out of it is slowly emerging a new England, healthier and happier than that of the old days of sweated industries, of cruelly long working hours, and terrible under-feeding. One day, perhaps soon, the depressed classes of India will begin their struggle upward towards better conditions for themselves and their childern. Let us hope that it will not be so bitter and prolonged as this which is now going on in England, and that the leisured classes in India will be found on the side of the poor and needy when the upward movement comes, as so many of the same classes have been found in England to-day.

After dinner we went on to Mr. Rothenstein's house and our names were announced. The next moment I was aware of a slender figure passing rapidly across the room towards me, and I knew by the beautiful face (which I had seen in portraits) that it was Rabindra Babu himself. I should like to have made obeisance to the poet, who has so raised his nation by his songs, but in a moment he had clasped my hand and said to me,—"Oh! Mr. Andrews I have so longed to see you, I cannot tell you how I have longed to see you; and yesterday, when I found you had called and I had missed you, I hardly knew what to do. I felt as if I must run all the way to where you were staying, and tell you how sorry I was to be out when you called. I happened to be trying over some Bengali music with an English friend, who was deeply interested in my country, and I was not aware that the time had flown past so quickly."

I explained, as well as I could, that I had been put to no inconvenience, and we began to talk about Bengal. I said to him that the day was soon coming when her true place would be recognised among the great nations of the world. His face lighted up with enthusiasm and a far-away look came into his eyes. I could feel that the word "Bengal" was written on his heart, and that the longing of the exile for his country was there, amid all the kindness and hospitality which he was receiving from the English literary world.

For the literary world of London has already discovered the new luminary which has come upon the horizon of the West, and the appreciation of the poet has been spontaneous and immediate. As the evening drew on many men and women famous in art and literature came to meet him. W. B. Yeats, the poet of the Celtic literary revival, was there when I arrived. He was preparing to recite verses from a manuscript which Rabindra Babu had given him. He told us how he had received it a few days ago and had kept it by him night and day, pondering over the strange beauty of the thoughts that were enshrined in song. The religious spirit that was revealed in it made him go back to the "De Imitatione" for any parallel to it in the West. It had, he said, besides, a feeling of natural beauty which linked it with the poets of the Revolution Period in English literature,—with Keats and Shelley and Wordsworth. At the same time it was singularly and wholly original. It dealt with elemental thoughts of life and death, of home and children, and of the Love of God.

As the late evening drew on W. B. Yeats began to recite Rabindra's verses; each short poem seemed a vesper hymn. The recitation was almost perfect—a poet interpreting a brother poet. Every now and then he would pause to dwell on some new beauty or to explain some mystical allusion. He read the phrase—

"I have loved life so much,
Why should I not love death even more?"

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and spoke of the pure simplicity of the thought. A perfect simile appeared in another song where Rabindra compared the brief momentary pang of death to a little baby that cries, as its mother moves it from the right breast to the left, when the right is empty and the left is full.

When the recitation was over those present crowded round Rabindra to express their admiration. He was clearly embarassed, though touched by their genuine appreciation. Mr. Rothenstein took me up to his studio, where a panel was outlined representing a pilgrim train of devotees approaching the River Ganges. His walls were covered with Indian studies—almost entirely from the devotional side of Indian life which had impressed him most. They were strangely different from the pictures of the labour struggle, which I had seen painted by the son of Mr. Nevinson. Yet it has been those who are most interested in the Labour Movement and the Irish national revival, who have most appreciated India and have most striven to help her with their sympathy. After all, it is only those who are suffering themselves who can truly sympathise with the sufferings of others.

A second recitation of Rabindra's poems followed even more beautiful than the former. At every verse the Bengal scenery—the Monsoon storm clouds, the surging seas, the pure white mountains, the flowers and fields, the lotus on the lake, the village children at play, the market throng, the pilgrim shrine—came before the eyes, moulded into melodies of exquisite sweetness. Again and again emotion surged up as the reciter read on, and it was difficult for me to refrain from tears. Yet all the while there was also the glad exultation that my own country was doing homage at last to the genius of India, revealed through her greatest living poet. Just before midnight the gathering broke up, and we went each to our own homes.

Rabindra has made his own translation, and the English words which he has chosen were marked by a stately grace and dignity. One of those who was present at the recitation said to me "I could not imagine anything more perfect even in the original Bengali." But Rabindra Babu feels the limitations of English. He has wisely not attempted to overcome those limitations by writing in metre or blank verse. He has given us instead beautiful and lucid rhythmical prose. In the autumn of this year the volume is to be published in England and there is little doubt that it will have a wide sale. Popularity in modern England is a poor and feeble thing, dependent on some accidental cause or some sensational advertisement. Such a form of popularity, one may hope, will never touch Rabindra. But to be appreciated by the best minds, to be loved by the most generous hearts, who are in touch with the poverty and suffering of human life,—that is a reputation which I fully believe will come to the Bengali poet through his English visit.

Let India be true to herself, her own instincts, her own innate genius; let her bring forth her own treasures boldly, yet with simplicity, and the best minds everywhere will receive her into that noblest of all fellowships—the fellowship of the good and wise. At the same time let her throw all the energies of her new awakening into the uplifting of her poor. Then the whole people will advance together towards a greater and larger life, and the new literary revival will not dwindle down to the selfish pleasures of a Palace of Art from which the cries of suffering humanity are excluded.

C. F. ANDREWS.

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IDEALS: THEIR FUNCTION AND NECESSITY

ALL men are idealists. If they were not idealists they would not be men. Idealism is of the essence of human nature and is as essential to life as air and water. A human being can no more escape idealism than he can escape death. Every man desires well-being of one kind or another; if he did not he would make no effort to do anything: he would simply die. Search where we will, in the most degraded forms of human nature, we shall surely, if we probe deep enough, find the hall-mark of the ideal. It may exist in strange forms, but it will be there. Of course, not every man is a conscious idealist; but that is a great pity, and the reason why such articles as the present are called for.

So surely as a man says—and who does not say?—"I have done it but it does not wholly please me," he proves himself an idealist—proves that in his soul there is a sense or concept of beauty, his skill is incompetent to express; that his spirit is neither wholly embodied in nor satisfied with past expressions: it also proves that the heart of man ever yearns after perfection, a condition of well-being that excels all past realisations of well-being. Then, too, the very existence of art is an indication that man is an idealist, is ever yearning to express the sense of beauty, the feeling of harmony, the idea of a deeper, profounder and more perfect life, which from time to time takes possession of his soul. Art is essentially a spiritual and idealistic force, having for its object the culture of the spirit, the perfecting and beautifying of life: being a force of inspiration both to him that creates it and him that appreciates it. Men do not produce art with the same idea and motive that they produce bricks and cabbages; for the moment mundane motives begin to operate, art vanishes. Bricks and cabbages have primarily to do with the physical life, whereas art has essentially to do with the spiritual life. When men compose symphonies, paint pictures, write poems, etc., they do so for spiritual rather than for economic reasons, as no sane man would ever dream of doing any of these things as a means of becoming wealthy. To spend time either in the production or appreciation of beautiful things is an outstanding proof that man is an idealist, and that he ever longs for and seeks to express the beautiful and the good.

And that is just what idealism is: the silent confession that what is, does not wholly satisfy us; that man's life consists not wholly of the things he possesses, but also of the life, the good and the beauty which he hopes for and believes possible. Art, like faith, is the substance of things hoped for, the promise of the more abundant life which every man craves for and believes in.

For what, after all, is the most significant fact about man? It is certainly not what he has done. Still more certainly it is not what he possesses: it is what he longs for, aspires after, hopes to be. If it were not, we should never have and should never love heroes. Nay, were it not for aspiration, for the fact that man is an idealist who is ever seeking a more perfect and

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abundant life, heroism, sacrifice, even epochs, and all the mightiest deeds of men, would be impossible and inexplicable. Man is an idealist for the simple reason that he is an aspiring developing being. By means of the ideal man pictures, either outwardly, in art, or inwardly, in imagination, the life he aspires after, and by it he is guided on his way towards, and ultimately enabled to attain, the good he has along believed in and sought.

At no time does the past wholly satisfy the human heart; for, as we have said, a man is always something more than his past. What a man lives and hopes for, fights and makes sacrifices for, is a good or well-being that transcends anything that the past has given him. Just as in regard to art, the producer always feels that he is still capable of better work, so in regard to life, however full and perfect a man's past may have been, he always looks forward to a still happier future. In spite of himself, and by the very law of his being, every man does this. Were we to be told that the climax of spiritual attainment had been attained somewhere in the past, or that it were not possible to climb higher than we had already climbed, how intolerable, what a dungeon of time and place, this life would be. Man is great by reason of his conscious aspirations, his passion for and power to attain life; indeed, it is just because of these attributes that we ever feel of man that he is nobler than his noblest achievements; more loveable than his loveliest deed; capable of undreamt-of spiritual development.

Idealism, moreover, is universal, otherwise there would be no epochs. An epoch is a time of transition, an occasion when an entire community, probably on some slight instigation, changes the course of its history, eschews the path of its past, and begins to travel in a quite new direction. Contrary to commonly held opinion, an epoch is never the produce of a single individual, however much of a thinker or hero he may be, but is a national movement, as it must necessarily be if the changes it involves are to be permanent. Epochs are generally effected through the aid of heroes, men who feel more keenly than their fellows what their age is needing; but heroes are only followed when it is felt that they stand for the cause of right and truth; when their object is to secure the means of spiritual and national development. And with a spiritually healthy people epochs are inevitable. No great civilisation, just as no good custom, can live for ever; but every institution must sooner or later give place to new and better ones. There are a few innocent people who think that Christianity has always meant pretty much the same thing throughout our English development; but a profounder mistake could scarcely be imagined. In every age Christianity has changed its meaning. Nor was the paganism which preceded Christianity worthless, for it helped to produce a noble race of men. But the paganism of our Saxon forefathers had its limitations, and had necessarily to make way for Christianity, when that religion was introduced by the earnest Roman monks. But the religious idealism of Monasticism, which was the earliest form of Christianity in England, was not able to satisfy the needs of the developed consciousness of the fifteenth century. Consequently, Monasticism, like Teutonic paganism before it, had to be overthrown in favour of a new order. In the same way Puritanism, which has wrought a great work in England, cannot be expected to live for ever. And even to-day there are abundant signs that Puritanism has finished its work, is losing sway and being quietly superseded by a broader and more adequate conception of spiritual life.

But in emphasising the reality, utility and necessity of the ideal, we must guard against the error of those thinkers who maintain that the ideal is the only reality. To Plato, for instance, the real world was the world of thought, while the physical world was simply a world of appearance, of approximation. That is why Plato always tended to regard the philosophic and contemplative life as the only real life, and to treat with contempt the productive life of the artisan. Indeed, so far does Plato allow himself to be carried by this abstract idealism, that it is almost impossible for him to avoid the conclusion, that by thinking alone, man can attain the ideal; the absolutely perfect life; beautiful and the good.

But nothing could be further from the

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truth, as by thinking alone man can never attain the ideal; grow in spirit, in the knowledge of beauty, or even of God. It is a simple fact of experience that our knowledge and conception of beauty can only be perfected through expression. The moment we cease to express ourselves, that moment we set the limit to our spiritual attainment. It is through expression that insight, even the power to appreciate, is developed, and that artists are enabled to create the great monuments of beauty which serve to guide and inspire their day and generation. If the Romans, and later, our Saxon forefathers, had not first of all built little bridges over tiny brooks, subsequent engineers would never have been able to construct the gigantic and beautiful structures which now adorn our land. If the old Saxon bards had not strummed crude airs on cruder harps, and Roman monks had not chanted dirges, do you for a moment think that we should be in possession of such marvellous music and such wonderful musical instruments as to-day forms part of our heritage. It were impossible that we could be. It is only by expressing such beauty and harmony as we feel that we are able to conceive divine beauty and to feel deeper harmonies.

Then, too, there is always immediate satisfaction, blessing and pleasure, in giving one's ideas and feelings even the most imperfect expression. No genuine effort to accomplish a good thing ever is or can be a failure. Sincerity and the true spirit of beauty are bound to manifest themselves somehow whenever we seriously and wholeheartedly try to express ourselves. And no matter how imperfect and incomplete our work may be, there will be beauty in it somewhere; and the little beauty that we manage to express, though ever so slight, will bless and inspire both us and others. A maiden may be conscious of many imperfections in her embroidery, but if she has worked sincerely, some lines will be nobly formed, and many of the stitches will be delicately neat; and these will gladden her heart and bring the spirit of beauty more perfectly and fully into her life.

So much for idealism in general. But it is not enough to know that man is naturally an idealist; we want men to be conscious idealists, to realise what a tremendous power for good, and for the attainment of life, an ideal may be. It is one thing to believe that man is by nature an idealist; but it is quite another to know what the ideal is that we are striving to realise.

Consciously or unconsciously every man's life is an attempt to realise a good; but in too many cases the individual is quite unconscious or only vaguely conscious, of what that good is. And what we do blindly, although we may dimly believe it to be the condition of well-being, may be, and very often is, the cause of evil and unhappiness. We can no more expect to find the path to the happiest life blindly than we can expect to find the way to the North Pole blindly. If we never think about our life, we can depend upon it that it will be very conventional, very ordinary and uninspiring. If we are not conscious what the ideal is that dominates our life and determines its course, we may rest assured that it is not a very heroic one. No man was ever yet a hero who was not conscious of the fact; for a man could not possibly make the sacrifices and do the unconventional things the hero cannot escape doing, if he were not guided and supported by an ideal, a vivid perception of the object, the good, he has in view. The ordinary man is not conscious of his ideals simply because they are conventional, of such a nature as never to demand anything of him but what the multitude do. But the man who possesses a conscious ideal could not always be conventional, as at times he would be compelled to step out from the crowd, as it were, and to act originally and heroically. And it is sometimes necessary that a man be a righteous rebel. All heroes have at one time or another to be such.

Thus, as in the case of the specific arts the cause and condition of good and beautiful work is an ideal, or sense of beauty, so with respect to the art of living, the possession of a conscious ideal is the condition of the highest well-being. It is just as impossible to live well without an ideal as it is to embroider well, to sing, paint and write well without an ideal. To live well, to attain the good, a man must possess a clear conception of the life he believes in and aspires after. To rely on vague feeling is not enough; for to do that is simply to fall back upon convention;

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and conventional conduct never inspires anybody. And when we think that life may be lived in a hundred ways, common-sense ought to tell us that of these some must be better than others, while one must be best of all. The very existence of morality and the moral law is an abundant proof of this. Hence every true-living man ought to be in a real sense a student of life; to know what the good is that he is striving after, what principles his life rests on, and wherein his life differs from and is superior to the hundred other types of life he sees exhibited in the world about him.

We English are in the habit of boasting that we are a nation of Christians; and sometimes we allow that comfortable thought to blind us to what are indeed very obvious and objectionable evils. It appears to be overlooked that Christianity has many interpretations, and that some of these are in total opposition to others. And how few even English Christians there are who could clearly explain what Christianity means to them, what it really stands for in their actual lives. Indeed, not many could say what the purpose of their life is or what principles their conduct is based upon. Yet, evidently, it must be based on something. Somehow or other the idea has got abroad that Christianity is a simple and ordinary matter, something that can be grasped by merely looking at it. But that is a great mistake, for, as a matter of fact, Christianity is a deep and complex matter, a theory and ideal of life which not many grasp, and which only clear and original thinking can elucidate. On a surface view Christianity might mean one of twenty things. The types of Christians one meets with are just about as numerous as fashions in dress. To say that we are Christians is really to say very little; it might mean anything. It all depends on what we think is the spirit, the dominant characteristic in the life of Christ. Some men's Christianity is of the narrow persecuting kind which concentrates on verbal exactness, and specially delights in excommunicating and otherwise tyrannising over men. Another type of Christianity still in vogue is the Monastic, that which negates the world and holds that all spiritual good is to be found in relationship with God, and thus in worship and contemplation. This view is totally opposed to the modern view, which is, that spiritual life can also be had in fellowship with our fellow men. A third type we find in Puritanism—Puritanism with its self-righteousness, its anti-social and materialistic tendencies. Then there is what I may perhaps call the democratic type, that view of Christianity which gives place and significance to the social teaching of Christianity and to the intensely social life which Christ certainly lived. And surely we must admit that the ideal which is going to dominate men's minds in the twentieth century will be a social ideal; so that if the Church denies that Christianity is essentially a social gospel, it will be aiming the severest blow possible at Christianity. If Christianity is to be of any practical value to the twentieth century, it will have to reconcile the conflicting social interests of the present time, and put an end to the materialism, and the internecine class war which are threatening the future welfare of our country.

Thus it is not irrelevant to ask if we, as a nation, possess an ideal that is adequate to the needs of the twentieth century, of the many-sided and complex life of to-day. Whether we know it or not we do believe something; do govern our lives or allow them to be governed by a principle which is either good or evil, adequate or inadequate, embracive or meagre. And certainly, in a democracy, every man ought at least to know what the foundations and presuppositions of his life are.

The nineteenth century has bequeathed to us a huge collection of platitudes about Christianity; but what we are wanting is a Christianity that is vital with a few pregnant spiritual truths. Because our ideals have ceased to be conscious they have ceased to be vital. For the want of thought, both our religion and our life are waning. Manufactured ideals are useless in a democracy; for there it is necessary that each man cultivate his own. Just as there is more pleasure in using articles that our hands have made, so is there more satisfaction in living by ideals that our own minds have fathomed. And if we despise ready-made clothing because it does not fit the body well, how much more ought we to despise ready-made ideals which cannot possibly fit the mind well?

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The need for individual thinking is specially great to-day, as ours is an intellectual and self-conscious age. New movements, new ideas, new causes are arising on every hand: the air is rife with the cries of agitators; what we want therefore is a deeper thinking that we may first be sure of our foundation; satisfied in regard to the purpose of our life.

Nothing can save the present age from the materialism and the social strife which are at present disintegrating it but a thorough investigation into the meaning of life, the development of a new and finer ideal. The ideals of the past have broken down: they have finished their work: hence a new one is being called for. Cristianity is not dead, notwithstanding that many interpretations of it are. Puritanism has ceased to be spiritually productive; it presupposes a social order that the more advanced people of this age cannot longer tolerate. If Puritanism had not ceased to be an upward-moving spiritual force, we should have a vastly different social England from what we now have. The time has come when we must face the facts and conditions of our life, recognise the limitations and shortcoming of past ideals and conceptions, cherished though they may still be. And if we do this we shall soon be at the parting of the ways whence a new vista will open up and a new ideal appear.

The briefest glance at existing social conditions ought to convince any thinking person that something is grievously wrong with our moral principles and practices, our social and spiritual ideals. Some new element, some quickening force needs to be brought into them. If I were asked what that element is I should say it is the conception that fellowship is life, that in relationship with our fellows we can have real spiritual life. Until we realise that man is a spiritual being, worthy of our love, devotion and service we shall not as a people cease to treat our fellow men cruelly and inhumanly as we do to-day by our commercial practices. Thus, this question of an adequate spiritual ideal for the guidance and development of our democracy is we believe, the most vital question of the hour. And surely the Puritan conception of life, with its abstract spiritual ideal, its tendency to ignore social claims, to undervalue social relationships, is surely not the last word in the development of Christian thought! It were arrant fatalism to deny that there are heights and depths of spiritual attainment beyond that! Happily a new social idealism is slowly coming upon the horizon of our life; in that idealism is the great hope of the twentieth century: the hope of England, and, may we not also say of every nation on the face of the earth that is desiring liberty, opportunity to grow and develop, and to live as men.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

A SON OF LIGHT

AMOS Bronson Alcott bears a very high name among American men of eminence, as a saint, and a sage and an educationist. He is even better known, perhaps as the father of the famous novelist, or story-teller, Louisa Bronson Alcott, a name to be spoken with reverence. I learn from his biographer that Alcott began life as a pedlar. When he was a young man looking about him for a start in life, he felt that he was born to be a teacher,—a teacher of children in schools,—and he obeyed the impulse to search for a post in a school where he could begin to apply himself to his true vocation. No such post however was to be found, and so Alcott set off and before he had finished made several journeys from his home with a trunk constantly replenished with "tortoise shell combs, thimbles, scissors, articles of ornament for ladies, puzzles and picture books for children, spectacles, razors, and many other wares for the men,—besides needles, buttons, sewing silk," etc. The United States at that time, early in the nineteenth century, evidently thought that

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there was more need of pedlars than of teachers, or perhaps the idea was that peddling was a good training or apprenticeship for a teacher. If this latter was the thought, as I fear it was not, it was not so far from the mark, because peddling is, or at least used to be, a very humanising occupation. Wordsworth envied it, and eventually made a hero (not to speak of Peter Bell) out of a pedlar; George Borrow became a pedlar,—with Bibles, and Alcott may have owed some knowledge of life and of the districts through which he travelled to his peddling. He suffered at last, however, from a severe illness and from a fit of extravagance in which he spent not only his profits but his entire capital upon clothes! Finally he decided that he was made neither for a business man nor a dandy, but must give himself to the work of education, or to nothing.

When at last he is established in a school, he takes us by surprise by exhibiting himself as a fully equipped educational reformer. He seemed to have nothing to learn of discontent with existing methods and ideals of school-mastering, and so rapid was his introduction of novelty after novelty, that parents began to be distrustful of him, and regard him as a youthful and uncompromising innovator who was simply bent on turning the world upside down. Partly owing to this cause and partly owing to other circumstances, none of the schools that Alcott set up was of long continuance. Nor did matters improve as Alcott lost his youthfulness, and became a married man and a father. Here he was, a born teacher, —though wiser in his intuitions and his aims perhaps than in his methods,—who had the hardest work in the world to gain the most meagre living, whilst his brave wife and unconscious children were always in need, and sometimes going to live rent-free in houses which friends lent to them out of compassion. Alcott as a true son of light, had adopted a principle which in those days meant penury as it would in our own. Nothing, Alcott had decided, as Emerson said of him,—"nothing was to be done for the mere sake of getting money if it would not be worth doing for its own sake also." His business was to keep school, and he must keep school in the best way known to him or not at all. And it was for the sake of this principle that wife and children went short. The question is whether Alcott, seeing his wife and children suffering, would not have been justified in so far waiving his principle as to earn his living by a compromise with the traditional method. Alcott thought not, and his wife did not try to influence his conscience. She took her share of the consequences of the decision, and bore her difficult life uncomplainingly.

Such examples of sensitiveness of conscience are rare in the West outside Russia. I once knew a man who was living in the extremity of want because all the ordinary means of earning a livelihood appeared to him to be dishonest. A bookseller, a friend of his, volunteered to find him employment. "Come and sell books for me in my shop," said the friend, "and I will pay you wages." But the unhappy victim of principle objected: "I cannot possibly do that. I do not mind selling books,—books of science, art, history, literature, real books. But how can I sell comic papers? How can I sell trash? How can I sell photograph frames and other rubbish which people put in their houses?" This kind of high conscientiousness, which the future alone will know how to justify, was Alcott's kind of conscientiousness. It led, of course, both in my friend's case and in Alcott's case, to a great deal of poverty, a great deal of debt, and a great deal of dependence upon other people. It led, that is to say, to a certain kind of dishonorableness; but there are men who if they have to choose between the dishonorableness of being a burden upon their creditors and friends and the dishonorableness of being untrue to themselves, will think the former the lesser evil.

Such men are in the minority, at least in the West, and when they are sincere they are very remarkable and interesting. A minister of religion who met Alcott in his early days as a teacher wrote of him,

> "I have never but in one instance been so immediately taken possession of by any man I ever met in life. He was a radical in all matters of reform; went to the root of all theories, especially the subjects of education, mental and moral culture."

The innovations which Alcott introduced into educational methods consisted first of all in great changes in the schoolroom. He

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demanded better surroundings altogether for the children, better light, better seats, better lesson-books than were then provided; and he even went beyond the requirements of our own day in demanding all manner of objects of art to be kept in the schoolroom. Then he made changes in the manner and the matter of teaching. The first thing he insisted on was courtesy and kindness from scholar to scholar and from himself to them all. He did not altogether banish the cane, but he had it laid sometimes on his own back, as well as on the offender's, in illustration it is said of the principle that in this world the good suffer equally with the guilty. The whole school suffered when any one scholar deserved punishment. Then Alcott made education begin not with reading or writing, not with the hand or the memory, but with the imagination and the affections. His first attempt was always to get hold of a child's liking, and then come to some moral understanding with it as to why it came to school, and then to begin the work of appealing to the child's interest, pleasure, curiosity, admiration,—all that faculty or group of faculties we call by the name imagination. For Alcott, education was undoubtedly first and foremost a matter of imagination and conduct. Not an acquaintance with books made an educated man in his eyes, but a good will, a heart in the right place, sympathies on the right side. Men crammed full of learning but unable to love men were not educated men,—at least Alcott did not think them so.

What actually went on in Alcott's schools? The first hour after the children arrived in the mornings was given to play in the school ground. Then the children were called into the schoolroom to listen to a tale. An hour was spent with the tale taken out of the Bible or the Pilgrim's Progress or Spencer's Fairy Queen or some other work of imagination, and remarks were made upon the story both by the children and the teacher. Then began lessons in spelling, reading, drawing; and nothing, said Alcott, "was presented to the children without making it interesting to them, and thus securing their voluntary attention." Hence the prominent place which Alcott gave to the story. "Intellectual results," said Alcott, "will follow the discipline of the sentiments; for in these lie the guiding energies of the whole being. ...The heart is the seat of action,...influence this and the whole being feels the touch."

With this object in view, Alcott spent more money than he could afford upon works of art for the schoolroom. Emerson said of him that in his school in Boston, "when he had made the schoolroom beautiful he looked upon the work of education as half done." He had for instance, for the children to see every day, a head of Jesus, a bust of Plato, of Socrates, of Shakespeare, of Milton, a portrait of Dr. Channing, a landscape painting, other pictures and sundry casts. Everything was done to enable the children to feel at home with the finest and best influences.

In addition to the story and the work of art, Alcott relied upon conversation. He gathered the children round him and began to talk to them and question them in order to draw out their own ideas. We are told how when a number of newcomers entered the school, Alcott got them into a circle, boys and girls together, and asked them: "What have you come to school for?" "To learn." "To learn what?" "Reading and writing", say the children, mentioning what has been said to them at home. "Is that all?" asks Alcott. The children think, and by and by one child is brought to the point of saying "To behave well." Alcott then asks them what they mean by behaving well, and he draws them on into explaining that they mean thinking rightly, feeling rightly and acting rightly. Then the conversation turns to discipline, attention, self-control, obedience, and the like. Did they think correction necessary? Yes, they did. They would even prefer to be corrected rather than left to their faults. I find it difficult from this account to say, however, whether the method of conversation was really successful or not. Emerson had a favourable impression of it. Having been present one day in the school when the Gospel of John was the subject of the talk, Emerson wrote in his diary: "I think the experiment of engaging young children upon questions of taste and truth successful." A little boy less than seven years old struck Emerson as having "something wonderful and divine about him. He is a youthful prophet."

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Alcott published some of the conversations upon the Gospels he had had with the children, and the publication aroused a storm. It was evident from the book how different Alcott's religious ideas were from those usually held, and even the Unitarians began to shrink from Alcott in spite of Emerson's remonstrances. The storm greatly weakened the school, which still kept open its doors however until Alcott admitted a negro child to share in the lessons. That was the last straw. The indignant and religious-minded parents took their children away, and left the teacher to starve if he would for his principles. Rather than turn a little negro child away from his doors, Alcott and his brave wife with him submitted once more to hardship.

I think that was the end of Alcott's schoolmastering, but not of his ideal enterprises. The next experiment in which he engaged was that of starting with two or three friends in a community upon a farm, for the sake of living close to nature, for the sake of cultivating fields and orchards in innocence and freedom from the commercial spirit, and for the sake of cultivating the mind as well as the ground. The diet of the community was to be vegetarian. Well, the enterprise lasted for a little while and then the friends who had joined in the plan forsook the farm one after another, and Alcott and his family remained behind in dire straits, in the severity of mid-winter, until friends came to the rescue and brought them away. That failure nearly cost Alcott his life. He retired to his chamber, refused food, and was on the point of dying from grief and abstinence when his wife prevailed upon him to continue longer in this world that spreads so rough a path for the feet of idealists.

Thereafter Alcott, while his wife set to work to earn what she could of a livelihood for her husband and her four girls, became a teacher of grown men and women, holding conversations upon religion and philosophy and art in drawing rooms and lecture rooms, travelling far and wide to carry these conversations on, and receiving for them very little money. Poverty is the faggot of present-day martyrdom. They say that Alcott was very wonderful to listen to: that his talk could not be reproduced with its full impressiveness in print, and that he spoke with far more power than he wrote in any of the books he published. Emerson thought him the most lofty and profound-seeing mind he had ever encountered. And Emerson, by the way, often acted the part of the true friend by contributing large gifts of money to Mrs. Alcott's household expenses. Let us think then of Alcott the seer going about the world poor, and with his high mind, a real teacher and prophet and hero. On his return from one of his journeys penniless in pocket, his daughter Louisa met him at the railway station,—the daughter who was afterwards so famous. "His dress was neat and poor," Louisa wrote in her diary after this meeting with her father. "He looked thin and cold as an icicle, but serene as God." I think it is for these words that I have written this paper. What a father! And what a daughter!

Louisa by and by with her tales and stories earned enough money to take the weight of hardship off her mother, and provide her father with the peace and quietness that ought to have been his, although he could not provide them for himself.

Alcott was the beholder of a vision which except in his life and by means of his discourse was incommunicable and unrevealed. His personality was profounder than his experiments on farm or in school: but who can doubt that a child was fortunate who was committed to his charge? When he died his vision departed with him, and nothing now remains of his inspiration and his secret save the bare memory of them, not sufficient to be called a record, preserved in the affectionate and grateful tributes of Emerson and other friends.

P. E. RICHARDS.

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IN GERMAN PRISONS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY K. K. ATHAVALE.

At the prison of Moabit-Berlin.

BERLIN! We alight at one of the big stations—I do not remember which—after rushing for three hours in an express across grey fields in which the lakes spread out their silvery sheets, sometimes to the left and anon on the right of our road. The Railway Station was full of light and a busy crowd of people who did not even suspect the passage of the prisoner landed by the train. We descend a large stone-staircase and I take my seat with my two keepers in a cab which they had found. "No. 3, Leherte Street, driver!" We roll unnoticed through the well-lighted streets of Berlin. I was in full view of the flashing shops, and the passers-by, of all this movement and feverish life which I traversed at the trot of a fleet charger, as in a dream. In what new planet had I come to land? All that I saw was so extraordinary. So new, and so unused! Hold! there's a bicycle! How it turns and twists and glides away! An automobile, a monster with carbuncle eyes! Whence is he coming and where is he going? How all this life is strange to me! Streets and unknown quarters defile past in rapid succession. The cab driver alongside the Spree for a short time and stops finally in front of a forbidding looking big door: The Prison of Moabit-Berlin! After mounting a few steps of a staircase, I find myself in the corridor of the prison office. It is well lighted, and admirably wax floored, with white doors to its right and left, silent, almost religious, for a thick carpet deadens the sound of steps, and the people who pass by speak in whispers.

"Ah! I here you are", said the Governor, who was sitting before his bureau, looked at me curiously.

He was a retired regimental Major, with old fashioned Brenn moustaches, a military turn of speaking, and a brisk gait, but in ordinary life, an excellent sort of man.

After conversing with me for about a quarter of an hour he himself conducted me to the cell he had destined for my lodging.

That night I did not sleep at all. The day's emotions were too strong for me. My poor much tried nerves vibrated all night long. The next morning the medical officer attached to the prison examined me from top to bottom in the presence of an Italian doctor who was deputed to Berlin on a scientific mission.

After this examination I was placed under observation for a period of six weeks, during which I was benefited by the tonic and creosoted regime of the consumptive prisoners. In the interval I had again to submit to an assault from the Government in the shape of a major of the ministry of war and a commissary, who were charged with the task of extracting a confession. Their failure was immediately followed by the announcement of the definite rejection of my petition for provisional freedom. I got the news as my New Year's present, on the 1st of January, 1902!

It will be conceded that under the circumstances I had to summon up some sort of resignation for embracing with a patient soul the prospect of fourteen months' captivity that yet remained to be served, for, now, the hour of my liberation would only be sounded on the termination of my sentence on 9th March, 1903.

How would these fourteen months pass? In dark despair. My sister had forwarded to me from Paris the "Agenda of the Arts and Manufactures" for 1902, a copy of which was sent to her address for me by the Association of the old students of the central school, and in which I began to write—very often for my distraction, for the idea of these memoirs did not come to

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me but later—day by day, the events of the prison, my impressions and musings in the solitude of the cell, the facts, in a word, of my double existence, intellectual and material, the latter of course, without any history or very nearly so, for no great things happen as a rule in a prison like that of Moabit-Berlin, where the cellular system and its corollary absolute sequestration—is applied in all its rigour. I will extract from that voluminous intimate record only such rare pages as I think are likely to interest the public.

4th June.—At the centre of each of the three courts into which the prison is divided, stands a stone tower, with a glazed platform which is reached by an internal stair-case. Around this donjon are grouped, in a ring, twenty-two yards of oblong trapezoidal shape. Each of these is ornamented in the middle by a growth of stunted grass, which skirts a footpath. These enclosures are separated by walls. Their entrance door on the side of the central tower is made of sheet-iron while to its opposite an iron grating divides it from space. A glass verandah fixed to one of the walls furnished a cover against rain. Here are the promenadors or prisoners at walking exercise. A warder is posted on the platform of the tower, with carbine ashoulder, ready to fire at the least suspicious movement. By favour and in regard to the bad state of my health I was permitted to rest for an hour in the open air, while the other prisoners are allowed but twenty minutes for their daily walk.

6th June.—In France the tribunals condemn a man to the loss of his civil and political rights. Very well, that is understood and it is in the usual order. But the German Tribunal justice condemns the delinquent to the loss of his honour likewise during a certain period. The question is if they could really so deprive men of their honour as they deprive them of liberty, or as a grade is taken away from a man, or his stripes, or a decoration?

24th June.—I think I have found out why a man of education is always well-treated in the German Prisons. It is not because such a one inspires them with special sympathy, but everybody in a German prison, officers, warders, prisoners, and all, instinctively recognise the superiority of education, and fear to pass for boors in the opinion of a well-educated man. That is why all are polite with but rare exceptions. Among the hundreds of officials and warders with whom I have had intercourse, I hardly knew even three or four who were unmitigated fools. Another amusing peculiarity is the jealous care which they all take to mask their ignorance and to show off their little talents to the best advantage. Never has a person from the Governor to the lowest warder dared to ask me for explanation regarding my literary labours, from fear that he might let slip some humbug or sham from which his vanity would suffer.

18th July.—The sparrows living in the court are really very interesting creatures. The more I observe them, the better I love them. How much of life in their Lilliputian world! The ragamuffins make more noise than a locomotive, for I hear them bawling under my window, even when one of those iron giants is snorting there at the Railway Station of Lehrte. How busy they are all through the live-long day! What importance they apparently attach to their little occupations! And what a commotion they make when things do not go to their satisfaction. They must be heard calling to each other or speaking, disputing, getting angry or squabbling with one another! And how happy they are when everything works according to their little desires! The most amusing and the prettiest by far amongst them are the males. The females are everywhere plain, fit only for converting into meat, without any poetry or grace! But the males, what cox-combs and dandies they are to be sure! And how enchanting are their back breast-plates and white-stained chestnut paletots. Truly, their tailor must be an artist of taste and discernment. They are all simply irresistible, and it is a matter quite beyond my understanding that they should be so often disdainfully rejected by the insignificant female bullets they pay court to.

30th July.—Schaewe, my neighbour, happened to tell me his story. He has wandered over parts of Hungary, Austria, Denmark and Germany, on foot, as a young penniless workman in search of work. He lived on alms during his peregrinations. Here, a village priest gave him a pair of old boots,

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there a school master gratified him with the gift of a faded paletot or great coat. He was not really anxious to find work. He desired to see the world. At Copenhagen he was initiated into the mysteries of anarchism. Having returned to Berlin he took an active part in anarchical propaganda, and thus drew on himself the attentions of the Police, who had posted secret spies in the work-shops of the Locksmith's factory where he was employed. They suspected him of planning an attempt on the life of the Emperor. And he did really manufacture bombs. At last, being tracked mercilessly by the Berlin Police spies, he resolved to cross the frontier. He went to meet a company of anarchists who put him in funds for the journey. When he left his friends he was followed by two agents of the secret Police, who in their turn were followed by one of the brotherhood. In the middle of the road the two companions fell on the Police agents. A coachman went to the help of the Police. A scuffle ensued. Schaewe drew his revolver, wounded one of the agents in the shoulder and drilled a hole through the hat of the other. Policemen came running from all sides, Schaewe was overpowered, and made a prisoner. He is now condemned to twelve years' hard labour for attempted murder. His friend got off with five years' imprisonment.

7th August.—The Prussian Government has endowed all its prisons with facilities for imparting education, for the use of the unlettered and half taught prisoners. The prison school is divided into four classes :—The lower class, the middle class, the upper class, and lastly Fortbildungsstufe or supplementary instruction class. The first form comprises the very few prisoners who do not know how to read or to cipher. They teach them to read and to write to dictation, the four rules of Arithmetic, and the elements of history and geography. To the students of the second form or category, they teach orthography reading aloud, and arithmetic upto vulgar fractions; they also give them composition exercises after an outline or a plan. The prisoners of the third form or upper class learn to declaim; their compositions on style are original. They are taught natural history, physics, geography and history. The subjects of instruction in the supplementary class are the same as in the upper class, but more developed and exhaustive. This class is held twice a week for one hour on each occasion. The first form has six weekly lessons of an hour's duration each. The second form has four such lessons and the third three every week. One of the two lessons of the supplementary course is given by the pastor, and the object is inculcation of religion; in the other supplementary course lesson, the school master deals with all possible and imaginable subjects, as, for example, the catastrophe at la Martinique, the South African War, or aerial navigation.

Saturday, the 9th August.—The prison-warders commence their career with a daily salary of two marks and seventy-five pfennigs, say, in French currency, three francs fifty centimes. They are finally nominated to the posts of convict-keeper by the Provincial Government, after a probation of six months. From this moment they receive an allowance of two hundred and seventy-five marks yearly for house rent; the Government reserves to itself the right to dismiss them at three months' notice in advance. It is only after three years' service in this grade that they are permanently appointed to the grade of warder, with the right of pension. From this date the Government cannot dismiss them except for grave misconduct, as, for instance, corruption and drunkenness. Every three years the warder gets an increase of a hundred marks to his yearly salary until he reaches the maximum of fifteen hundred marks yearly. Besides the above emoluments the warders get yearly an extra, termed "Theuerungszulage" or compensation for the increasing dearness of the necessaries of life; it varies from a hundred to two hundred marks, a hundred for the younger ones, hundred and fifty for the older ones, and two hundred for the veterans. Over and above such remunerations there exist some other also : a bonus of fifty to eighty marks from the profits of manufacture; and in some cases a present of thirty marks at Christmas. Altogether, the maximum income which a warder could aspire to make, in the course of years, is about eighteen hundred marks, or two thousand two hundred and fifty francs a year, with free quarters. Bread, milk and the uniform are provided by the administration.

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Only ex-military men who have obtained a regular certificate called *Civilversorgungschein* from the commandants of their respective corps are emloyed permanently as warders in German prisons.

Very often the non-commissioned officers, who, after twelve years of military service, leave the regiment with the "civilversorgungschein" in their pockets, manage to get themselves simultaneously pensioned off as invalids, although they lack nothing absolutely. It is a carrot—a prize—which they snatch more or less with the connivance of the Surgeon Major and the Colonel of their regiment. The Civilversorgungschein is a recompense, a powerful stimulant to the re-engaged non-commissioned officer. It is better than a reward for re-engagement and it costs the Government nothing!

15th August.—Most of the prisons in Prussia, if not all, are subscribers to a weekly newspaper for the use of the prisoners: the *Neues Sonntagsblatt* or the *New Dominical Journal* published by the association of Christian publications of Berlin at twenty-five pfennigs per quarter. It is a little Lutheran journal, which often gives the news of the Imperial family and the German Princes; for to the German Byzantine of the day these Princes are so many little Wotans or gods, with the Emperor as Zeus or Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Naturally, the Christian religion, or, rather Protestant Christianity forms the basis of all the articles appearing in the "Sonntagsblatt"! For example—the subjects dealt with in the issue of third August are the following:—"Always in God" is the title of a little piece of poetry in two strophes, the burden of which is that we should bear in patience the miseries of life *ad majorem Dei gloriam* for the greater glory of God. The leading article is entitled—"Adieu! Christians" a paraphrase of a verse from the book of Apostles dealing with the subject of death—the hideous Christian death with its dreadful tortures! Then appear four pretty sonnets on maternal happiness over the signature of a lady. The second page is devoted to the bibliography of a Protestant Pastor, and a short study on poisonous plants. Then appears a charade in verse. In the last page is given a story. I suspect that this last is the only matter in the paper in which the prisoners take any interest. As for myself, I generally read the little paper from one end to the other—one always finds a little grain of truth in the midst of even a trash of absurdities.

27th August.—It is amusing to see how the warders make life easy for themselves. They are all very affable as long as you do not ask them to do something which causes them the least inconvenience. And their apathy is so formidable that they will look at a door twice before opening it. Polite and amiable they are, certainly, but only so long as one leaves them in peace to indulge in their day-dreams, or to lounge about in the corridors with their hands clasped behind their backs. If you ask them for some thread, a button, a needle, or anything whatever, they reply with a scowling look:—"Yes, yes, presently," and the next instant would forget all about it. Then, if you happen to renew your request, they will snap out peevishly—"Lord! in what a tremendous hurry you are!" They are all alike in these respects.

12th September.—We are slowly and quite smoothly approaching winter. I had hoped that September would make amends to me for the bad times of spring; but in this I have been cruelly deceived.

It is nearly seven weeks since my mother addressed to the Emperor her last petition for grace, and as usual there is no reply. It is wonderful—the time they take to make up their minds to say 'no'.

The sparrows have returned from the fields, for they have been for a sojourn into the country just like human city-dwellers. Since their departure, the court has appeared to me like a great cemetery, so silent and tranquil it has been during their absence. This morning they held their first stand-up fight of the season, and the whole court resounded with a tremendous uproar. If, proportionately, men raised as much noise as the sparrows, we could no longer hear ourselves.

Yesterday evening, the prisoner above me suddenly began to give vent to sinister howls and shouts. Another on the ground floor, cried and wept. "The first," the warderling told me, "was shamming madness; the second had refused to work, and they had forcibly removed him to the lock-up."

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In all the prisons I have known, such noises are heard from time to time—cries and tears. I know nothing viler or more pitiful than a man who weeps, who sheds tears. Every time I see one I experience a bitter feeling of shame for my sex. That a woman cries for every reason or no reason, is in the nature of things—a tear is feminine! But for a man to cry and blubber under the strokes of the rod of destiny! Pshaw!

22nd September.—Mother and sister have announced their visit for tomorrow. The petition for grace sent by mother has had the same success as the preceding applications of that kind: Refusal pure and simple!

Yesterday night I looked out of my window for the first time. In the sky shone a solitary star. The court was scarcely illumined by its few gas jets, which looked like dim oil lamps beside the big arc lights of the station of Lehrte. Brilliantly illumined trains went and came, locomotives roared and thundered past. To my right the wing D of the prison stood mysteriously, in its robe of stone, like a sphinx. If it could but speak of the distress and misery it has covered for more than fifty years under its sombre pile of stones!

1st October 1902.—A new month! is it possible! How many times have I said to myself, during the impatient moments of the month of August that if only there was October, I would believe myself saved, I would see everything in rose. I would feel myself another man! And now, as I hold it—this first of October so anxiously awaited, I find that nothing has changed; I am always the same as before, a captive, the end is as far off and as inaccessible as before, I do not feel differently. I look forward to the future with ardent expectation and I say to myself: "If only it were Christmas." Yes, the time already passed counts for nothing—my seven years of captivity almost completed did not make me find the five months that still remain to be served, as less long and bearable.

3rd October.—A memorable date this—it marks one of the last stages of my prison life. For one thing I happened to see mother and sister for the last time in my imprisoned state. At last it has closed for ever the incident of that series of visits which, for seven years, were repeated every time to my greatest despair, those visits which always left me more miserable than before. Brave mother! How valiantly she held to these interviews as the apple of her eye; and every time she has prated and babbled in an excess of joyous fever, as if she desired to compensate herself for the long privation which fate had imposed on her. "My God! already!" she cried with a broken heart when the official gave the signal for her departure. A half hour is not long, in fact, only a half hour per year. A mother's heart is full of things to be emptied or unbosomed in a whole year! But it is over at last! This being the last visit of its kind. The dear sister showed her usual liveliness and made strenuous efforts not to absorb all my attention, as it always put out very much the old little mother, who did not permit anyone to take away from her a part of her son, her big baby of thirty-five years! Away, then! and to our next meeting in Paris, and that very soon we may all three be able to give out a profound sigh of relief and satisfaction. "All's well that ends well".

5th October.—A stranger visiting a Prussian Prison in summer between five and six o'clock in the morning or between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, would be surprised at the stench and the nauseous atmosphere prevailing in the corridors and if he asked his guide for its reason he would be told: "Es wird gokobelt" (they are emptying pots). The fact is they are disposing of the prison ordure, the ordure of a prison of six hundred prisoners! Everything is not rose-coloured in this world. In the morning the prisoner places before his door his pot with the hermetic cover. The calfactor and his assistant transport it to a cell in the corridor, called the "spulzelle or rinsing cell," where they empty it into a larger receptacle of sheet-iron tinned throughout, and have it rinsed well; afterwards they carry it back to the door of the cell and put in front of it for the prisoner to take it back. When all the cells in the corridor are thus dealt with, the calfactor and his man remove the sheet-iron receptacle from the "spulzelle" to the court, where the yard workmen empty it into a big oblong cylindrical reservoir, also made of sheet-iron, and mounted on a

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cart. This last is generally the property of a large cultivator of the neighbourhood, who is under contract with the administration for the daily removal of the prison night-soil, on condition that he is allowed to have the feces free of charge. It is a good bargain both for the cultivator and the administration. But all the same, the stench is horrible. I, for one, prefer opoponax.

9th October.—It is still summer according to the calendar. It is now seven o'clock in the evening and the air is lukewarm and charged with electricity. Afar off, just near the horizon, appear black clouds denoting the approach of a storm. The warders on day duty are preparing to make over charge of their places to their comrades on night duty. They consult the sky anxiously.

"I think we shall have a storm, this night. Bad luck!" one hears them telling to each other. "It's a damned rot, devil take it." At half past seven the whole prison is in bed. At midnight, during the first flush of slumber, the thunder resounds and the clouds burst. A sudden infernal turmoil: the bolts of cell doors are wrenched with violence, keys grate in their holes, and the tap-tapping of feet is heard from all the corridors. What is happening? I listen. But nothing more is heard. Profound silence has succeeded the noise. Only the grumble of thunder is still heard like the growl of an angry dog subsiding into calmness. The storm passes away—and expires. Then, suddenly, the same uproar as before is heard again. The bolts clack noisily, the key-holes grate with the friction of old iron, the tip-tap of passing steps is heard very near, dying away gradually in the distance. Then quiet again everywhere. Th night resumes its silent course. What has really happened? The regulations will enlighten you: "If a storm bursts at night, the day warders must forthwith return to the prison to assist their comrades on night duty to open the doors of all the cells, in order that the building might be evacuated at a moment's notice in case of its being struck by lightning and set on fire." All honour to the administration for this humanitarian precaution.

14th October.—The school-master here is an excellent man—sympathetic and indulgent—having taught for many years in the Prussian prisons. He has got a great deal of experience about prisoners and is full of anecdotes regarding them. I will let him here vouch for a few of them in his own words:—

"To pass a few years in a house of correction in rigorous confinement when one is young and vigorous is supportable. But when a man is seventy years old, and is blind and rich at the same time, the outlook becomes grave to him. Well! that is what destiny actually held in store for a Jew, who was brought to us for eight years' penal servitude, when I was working as schoolmaster in the central house of Y. Oh! The unhappy wretch! He was found guilty of outraging the modesty of a girl—or "Sittlichkeitsverbrechen" in jaw-splitting German. His co-religionists moved heaven and earth to obtain his pardon. All for nothing, however. When I went to see him in his cell he clung to me requesting me to rest with him a moment longer to talk with him. The warders were afraid to enter his cell because the prisoner implored them with tears in his eyes not to abandon him. The unfortunate septagenarian died in captivity at the end of three years. On hearing the news of his death two of his co-religionist friends—two wealthy Jew bankers—went to the prison, washed and bathed the corpse, dressed it and carried it away in order to give it a decent interment. What a contrast to the conduct of a Christian father whose son had turned out badly and died in prison! The father did not even send the thirty marks of the regulation charge required for burial in a cemetery, although he was well-to-do enough. He wrote to the Governor that his son not having listened to his advice had reaped what he had sowed, and that his body would be better in its place in the general amphitheatre than in the cemetery, that at least thus he would have served some purpose in his life!!!

"One day I met in the street a man who had been released in the morning. He was loitering about waiting for the train which would take him to his village. Fearing that idleness would prove a bad companion to him I accosted him, and took him home with me, and shared my lunch with him. To open my house, I took the key from

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beneath the tapis before my door, the usual hiding place when my wife was absent. I saw my guest off by his train at the railway station. Some little time afterwards when I had nearly forgotten the incident, I received a letter from the individual, telling me in a friendly manner that it was, on my part, an act of extreme imprudence to show to an old and expert lock-picker like him where I usually concealed the key of my dwelling; that he had had mad longings to return the next day and rob my apartments. Now, however, as the temptation had passed, he believed it was his duty as an honest man who had turned a new leaf to warn me against the commission of a similar piece of folly again," etc.

THE INDIAN CURRENCY QUESTION

By N. C. Mehta, B.A. (Cantab).

THERE seems to be a considerable amount of confusion in the minds of our politicians, merchants and students about the principles governing the monetary policy of the Government, and a desire is expressed to transfer the gold-reserve which is kept in London to the land which owns it and to make India what is called a gold standard country. It is the aim of this paper to clarify some of the ideas concerning it.

Since 1873 practically all the important countries except China have adopted one of the following three forms of currency: (1) The gold-standard, (ii) The 'limping' standard, (iii) The gold-exchange standard. The first has been adopted by countries like England, Germany and Japan; the second by countries like France and the United States of America; the third by countries like India, the Philippines, Mexico and Panama. In purely gold-standard countries only gold is the full legal tender and has unlimited coinage; in the 'limping' standard countries gold and silver are both unlimited legal tender, but only the former has the unrestricted coinage. The gold-exchange standard is practically the 'limping' standard plus the added feature of partial redemption, it can exist without having any gold in circulation at all. For example in India the Government promises to give Rs. 15 in exchange for a sovereign, but not *vice versa* (though it does so customarily.) It does not give gold for its currency in the country itself but does so abroad by selling bills of exchange on foreign countries.

When in June, 1893, the Indian mints were closed to silver and the legal value of the rupee was fixed at 16*d*., it was thought that with the lapse of time India would also be a gold-standard country and the nature of the new system*, that has since emerged, was not realized until 1899 when the silver rupee gradually rose to its legal value. Since then however it has been recognised as a distinct form of currency and acknowledged to possess certain advantages over the other two systems. First, it economises the use of the metal as is obviously the case with the rupee whose bullion value is only 10*d*. Secondly, "the limping standard without the gold exchange attachment may at any time break down, if the silver (or whatever else the overvalued money may be of) should become so redundant relatively to trade, as completely to displace gold. As soon as all gold is driven abroad, parity with gold ceases. But with the gold-exchange system this catastrophe is avoided....So long as the Government is willing and able to maintain the price of bills of exchange with a gold country, it *ipso facto* maintains approximate parity with gold."† Thirdly, the gold-exchange standard enables a poor country like India to possess small silver

* The gold-exchange standard system was first thought out by Mr. A. G. Lindsay of the Bank of Bengal.

† Prof. Irving Fisher, "The Purchasing Power of Money," p. 132; Macmillan, 1911.

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coins of suitable denomination without at the same time hindering the course of foreign trade. Its only weakness like all delicate machinery consists in its dependence on the skill of the operator.

The whole strength of the system lies in the adequate amount of gold-reserve for foreign transactions. Up to the year 1907 all the profit derived from the coinage of the overvalued rupee was devoted to the formation of a definite fund called the gold-reserve held in London; since 1907, half of the profit is added to the existing reserve. The total reserve at present is slightly over 19 millions sterling. Now it is contended why this enormous balance should not be kept in India and sometimes the reason suggested is the advantage to the London financiers.

But it is obvious that as our currency is constituted, gold is required not to pay for rupees in India, but in England (or other foreign countries to which India has to make payments). That is to say, India has to keep its gold where it has the largest payments to make, which is in England. In the same way the Japanese Government also holds its reserve in London just as Russia and Austria in Berlin. As Mr. J. M. Keynes observed in reviewing Mr. De Webb's book on Indian currency, it is just as wise to hold the rupee reserve in London instead of in Calcutta as to hold the gold reserve in Calcutta instead of in London. The truth of such a plea is realised in times of monetary crisis such as arose in 1907-8, when our currency "withstood a severe test, when the trade balance was 'adverse,' and required the sale of nearly £10,000,000 of bills on London before the currency was sufficiently contracted to stem the tide."* Now for the payment of these bills gold was required in London and not in Calcutta; hence the contention to keep the reserve in India is absurd and arises out of imperfect apprehension of the fundamental principles of currency.

In conclusion: the existing system is based on the most scientific principles of economics and besides producing the economy of the metal, etc., introduces a certain kind of elasticity not available in gold-standard countries. The only safeguard that the Indian public has to take against the dangers to the currency is to be ever watchful as regards the personnel of the finance department and the system with £19,000,000 to support it is as strong as any currency could be, so long as the reserve is maintained in a fairly liquid form or invested in easily realizable securities. The proper place of the reserve is London and the contrary view is one of the many mistaken notions regarding the economic problems of India. Finally, no great advantage is to be secured in the present circumstances by putting India on a gold standard basis. All countries like Panama, the Philippines and Mexico which have lately revised their currency systems have adopted the one practised by the Government of India and the system has been perfectly successful.†

* Prof. Fisher, "The Purchasing Power of Money," p. 140.

† See C. A. Connant's 'Gold Exchange Standard' in the Economic Journal, June, 1909.

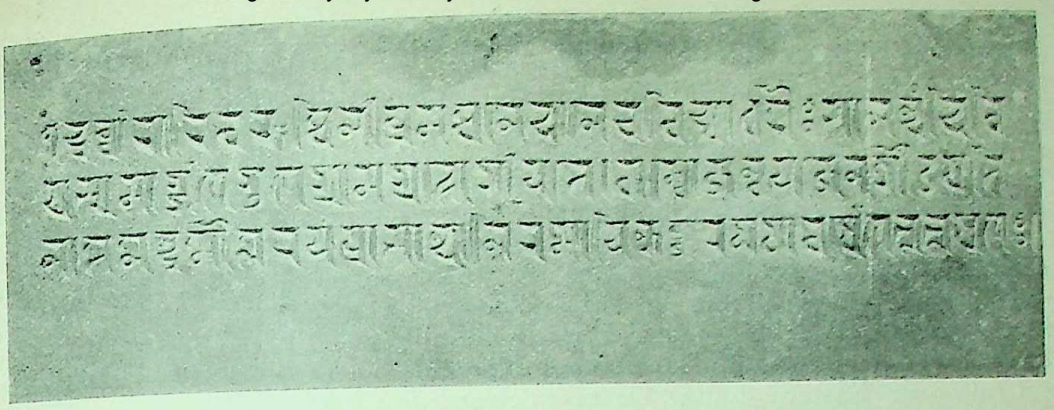
THE STONES OF VARENDRA

A Monument of a Revolution.

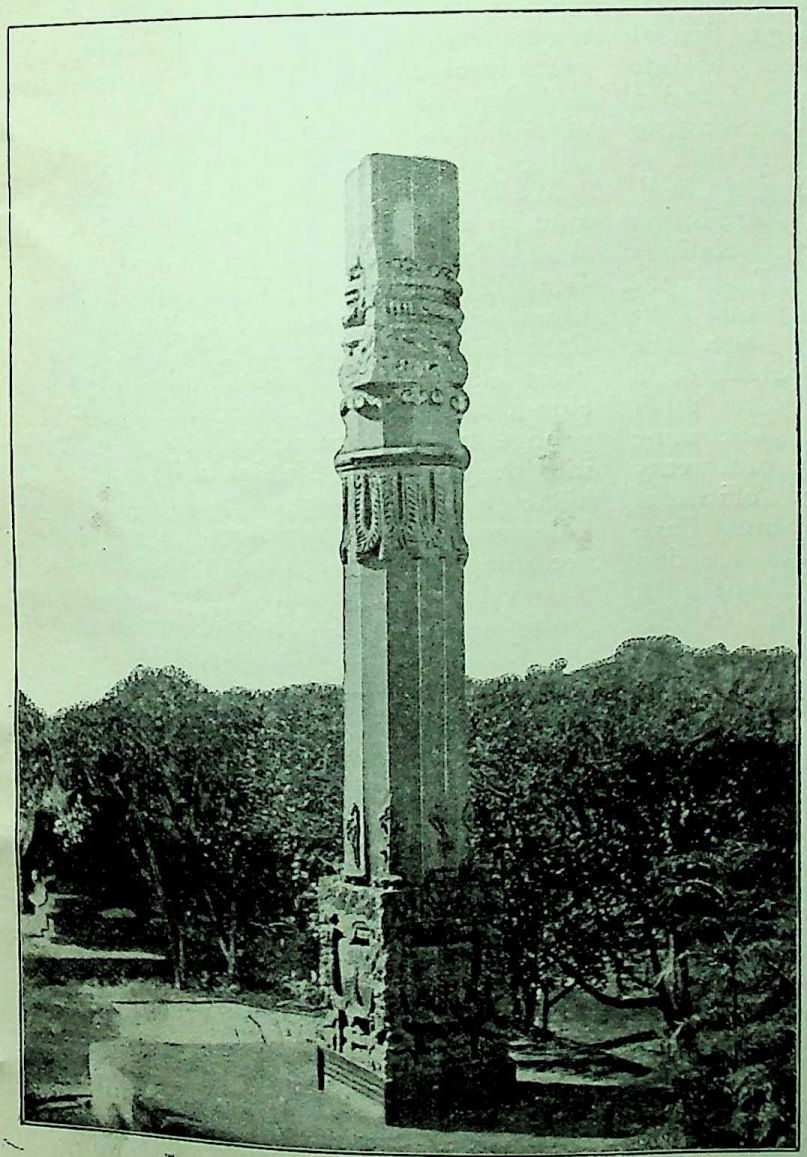
THE History of the rise and fall of the Gaudian Empire under the Pala-Kings of Bengal cannot be properly compiled without a reference to some of the stones of Varendra. They constitute as it were an important class of archives of the past. The *Garuda-Stambha*, as we have already noticed, gives us some account of the Pala-Empire in the days of its prestine glory. But another inscribed stone of Varendra gives us an important clue to the causes which led to the first break up of that Empire. It is a carved pillar of black basalt, dug out from the ruins of Bāngarh and kept in the Rājbāri at Dinajpur. In a

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The Inscription on the Dinajpur Pillar.



The Dinajpur Pillar of the Kamboja King.

single verse in elegant Sanskrita, carefully incised on its pedestal, it tells us that a king of the Kamboja-dynasty, (and not one of the Pala-dynasty), was the Lord of Gauda in the Saka year 888 (966 A.D.) when this stone was turned into a pillar, which adorned the temple built in honour of Siva, under the royal command. The occupation of Varendra by this Kamboja-King must have been undisputed and well-known at the time. But his name does not find a place in the inscription. The care, cost and skill bestowed upon this royal temple, were manifested by the material and the nature of the carving, showing clearly that the Kamboja-king (hailing apparently from the Himalayan regions) sat secure on his throne at the time. We do not know accurately when or how this foreign dynasty came to assert over-lordship in Gauda or how long it succeeded in holding a position of supremacy. But we know from a copper-plate-grant of King Mahipala I, discovered in the ruins

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of Bāngarh, that he "regained the lost kingdom of his father." So the Kamboja rule must have been a short-lived one; and its end was the beginning, as it were, of the second Pala-Empire in Varendra, which, according to the well-known Sarnath inscription, must be placed in the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian Era.

The second Pala-Empire could not however boast of a supremacy, like the first, over the whole of Northern India. Yet it succeeded very well in maintaining for a time a compact rule over Eastern India, by repelling invasions, which were neither feeble nor infrequent. Mahipala I was succeeded by his son Nayapala, who was also celebrated for his prowess. In his reign, Bengal proper appears to have enjoyed absolute rest; but Magadha (Bihar) was invaded by an intrepid warrior, who was a terror to all his neighbours. He was Karna, son of Gangayadeva, the Kalachuri King of Chedi, who, according to a stone-inscription discovered at Bheraghāt, "kept Kalinga and Vanga trembling in fear." In the biography of Dipamkara Srijnana, the greatest Buddhist sage of this age, the Tibetan author records the defeat of a Karnya King, who appears to be no other than this Karna of Chedi. The same authority records the conclusion of a treaty with Nayapala through the good offices of the venerable sage. This treaty must have lasted for a short while only. For we find Karna again at war with Vigrahapala III, the son and successor of Nayapala. In this war, Karna was once more obliged to sue for peace, and on this occasion he had to marry his daughter Yauvanasri with his victorious enemy. It was no doubt a political marriage, apparently brought about as a guarantee for permanent peace. But this has not as yet been found mentioned in any record of the Pala-Kings. We are indebted for this information to a poetical work, (*Ramacarita*), of Sandhyākara Nandi, a contemporaneous poet of Varendra. This interesting historical poem was discovered in Nepal and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal (*Memoirs Vol. III. No. I*).

According to Sandhyākara, "King Vigrahapala III defeated Karna, but did not deprive him of his kingdom;—as he married Yauvanasri, the daughter of Karna." So far then we have a record of an undiminished splendour of the second Pala-empire in Eastern India under three successive Kings of the Pala-dynasty. But a second break up occurred soon after the death of Vigrahapala III.

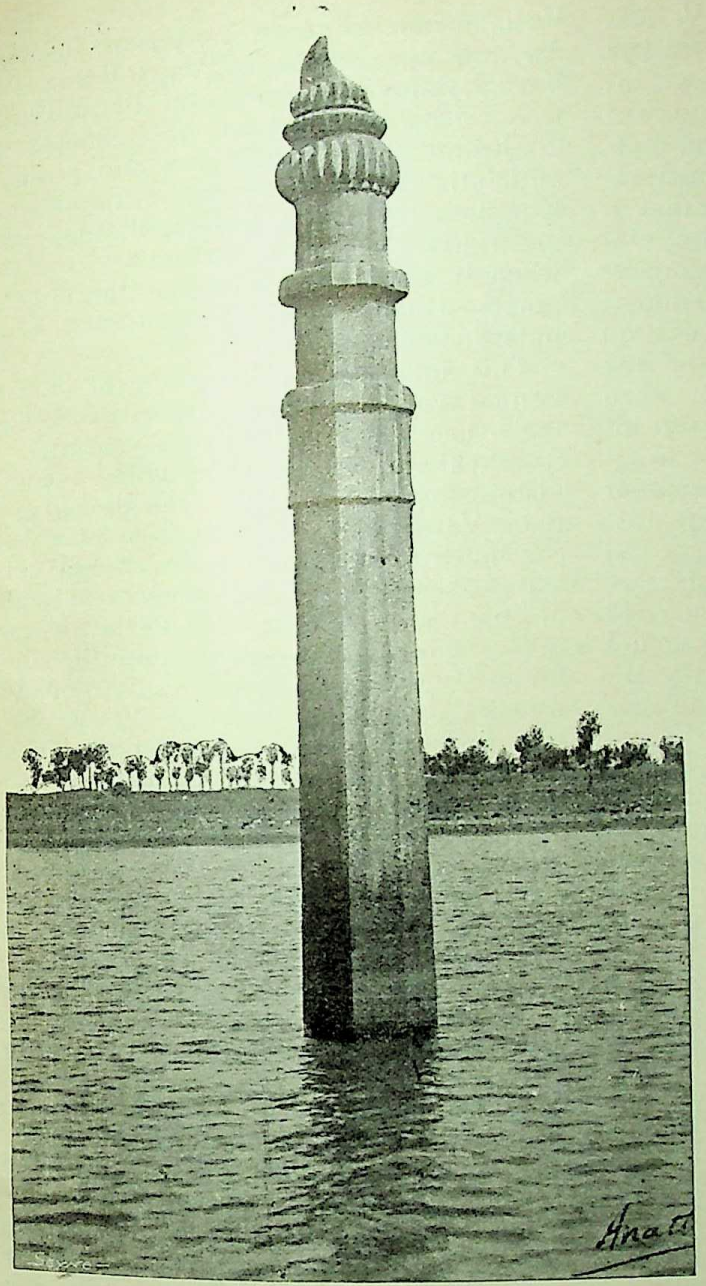
A copper-plate-grant, issued in the fourth year of the reign of Vaidyadeva, ruler of Kāmarupa (Assam) conferred lands in Assam on a reputed Brahmana sage of Varendra. This royal grant, discovered at Kamauli in the district of Benares, disclosed the interesting fact that "Ramapala, (son of Vigrahapala III) regained his paternal kingdom of Varendri by killing a terrible warrior named Bhima," whose name is still remembered in North-Bengal. The royal grant furnished no clue to the causes which had deprived the successors of Vigrahapala of their motherland of Varendri, and had obliged Ramapala to regain the same.

We are, however, indebted to Sandhyākara for a detailed account of the revolution, which banished the Pala-Kings from Bengal for a time. Vigrahapala III left three sons, of whom the youngest was Ramapala. He, according to Sandhyākara, "was liked by all". But Mahipala II, the eldest, ascended the throne, and threw his younger brothers Surapala and Ramapala into the dungeon! Mahipala II commenced his reign in direct opposition to the policy followed by his ancestors. His policy, according to the poet, was "unjust," and it was evidently opposed to the best tradition of the Pala-dynasty. This cost him his throne and his life. Divya, a leader of the Kaivartas, organised a revolution, and played the part of a Cromwell in Varendra. His nephew Bhima succeeded him, and the surviving sons of Vigrahapala III sought refuge with their allies and relations in Magadha, leaving the Government of their motherland in the hands of the usurpers.

A granite monolyth, standing in the middle of a large tank, at a distance of about 6 miles from the rest-house at Laskarhāt in the District of Dinajpur, may be looked upon as a mute monument of this memorable revolution. There is no inscription on this stone, and there was hardly time then to think of one. But tradition handed down its story to posterity, which was current even in the beginning of the last century, when Dr. Buchanan

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The Pillar of the Kaivarta leader.

Hamilton carried on his investigations in Varendra. This massive stone, carried far into the interior and set up in the middle of a large tank, was in itself an evidence of a great achievement of the resourceful Kaivarta-leader, who had upset the firmly established rule of the Pala-Kings of Bengal.

Banished from the land of his birth, Surapala appears to have enjoyed only a short and a nominal reign. His brother Ramapala was, however, a more fortunate refugee. He collected together his relatives and allies, and eventually regained Varendri, by killing Bhima, who had tried hard to defend his possessions. The poem (in Chapter III) incidentally notices (i) that Ramapala regained Kamrupa, and (ii) that a Varman-King of East Bengal sought his protection, "by surrendering his best elephants and his coach of State."

It was not possible to know more of the incidents of this troublesome age with the help of what had heretofore been available to scholars. But a new copper-plate-grant, recently discovered in the District of Dacca, was brought to my notice by professor Radhagovinda Basak, M.A. of the Rajshahi College, who has subsequently been corroborated by Professor Satyendranath Bhadra, M.A. of the Dacca College by his kindly sending me a photograph of the obverse of this grant. That royal grant has thrown an important light on the history of this period of revolution in Bengal.

An inaccurate reading of this plate has been published in the *Dacca Review* (Vol. II, No 4) and a revised reading by Professor Basak has been contributed to the Bengali Magazine *Sahitya* (Bhādra 1319). As I have had no opportunity as yet to verify these readings by comparison with the original, a summary of the principal contents of this inscription is compiled from the published readings.

The Varmans were descended from the family of Yadu of the lunar race, whose progeny had settled at a place named Simhapura. Vajra Varma of this family was a successful warrior, a poet and a learned scholar. His son Jāta Varma (printed as Jaitra Varma in *the Dacca Review*) was like Bhisma, the great warrior of the Mahabharata. He (i) married Virasri the daughter of Karna, (ii) conquered Kamrupa, (iii) ridiculed the valour of the arms of Divya, and (iv) extended his paramount power.

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He was succeeded by his son Sāmala Varma, born of Virasri; and Sāmala's son Bhoja Varma, (from his victoriors camp at Sri Vikrampura,) granted on the 19th day of Srāvana in the fifth year of his reign, rent-free land to a Brahmana named Rāmadeva.

The kingdom of Kāmrupa, like that of Eastern Bengal, formed a part of the Pala-Empire. Jāta Varma is said to have conquered Kamrupa and extended his paramount authority, which, however, he could not do if the Pala-Kings continued to be the Emperors of Eastern India. How or when he could get an opportunity to assert his independence, add Kamrupa to his kingdom, and thereby extend his paramount authority, would no doubt be the first question which would occur to all. The inscription gives a complete and satisfactory reply to those questions. Jāta Varma married Virasri, daughter of Karna, and so he should be taken as a relation of Vigrahapala III, who, as we have seen, had married Yauvanasri, another daughter of Karna. Jāta Varma ridiculed the valour of the arms of Divya, apparently on account of Divya's inability to extend his possessions beyond Varendra. JātaVarma conquered Kamrupa and assumed supreme authority. All these facts, noted in this royal-grant, may be consistent with the inevitable conclusion that Jāta Varma got an opportunity to assume independence during the Kaivarta-revolt in Varendra, which occurred soon after the demise of Vigrahapala III.

We do not know how Sāmala Varma, son and successor of Jāta Varma, fared. But we know, on the authority of Sandhyākara, that Ramapala, after regaining Varendri, conquered Kamrupa and "that a Varman King of East Bengal sought his protection by surrendering his best elephants and his coach of State." We do not as yet know who was this Varman King of Eastern Bengal referred to by Sandhyākara Nandi.

Bhoja Varma, son of Sāmala Varma and grandson of Jāta Varma, is said to have extended equal patronage to his dependants in all conditions in which he fell. Does this suggest any reverse? He is further said to have been beset with troubles in the midst of which his court-poet wished him a safe career. Does this suggest the advent of Ramapala, and the curtailment of Varman-independence in Eastern Bengal? Anyhow the names of Vajra Varma, Jāta Varma, Sāmala Varma and Bhoja Varma were hitherto unknown to scholars. In disclosing these names and in giving us an authentic history of the rise of the Varman Kingdom in Eastern Bengal, this royal grant has given us a clear idea of the time when it had a start and of the circumstances which favoured an assertion of independence.

This independent kingdom of Eastern Bengal was, however, a short-lived one, if the success of Ramapala, narrated by Sandhyākara, may be accepted as a correct historic event of the age. But the kings of the Varman-dynasty appear to have continued to rule over Eastern Bengal in a state of semi-independence until the Kings of the Sena-dynasty overwhelmed them in a common ruin along with their liege lords of the Pala-dynasty. An unpublished copper-plate-grant of Vijaya Sena, the first king of the Sena dynasty, issued from his victorious camp at Sri Vikramapura in the 33rd or 37th (?) year of his reign, is said to be now in the possession of the Official Superintendent of Epigraphy. Mr. Rakhaldas Banerjea, of the Indian Museum (Calcutta), has disclosed this unpublished official information in a paper recently contributed by him to the Bengali Magazine *Prabashi* (Srāvana, 1319). It is, therefore, necessary to ascertain the date of the rise of the Sena-Kingdom in Bengal, not only for the history of the country under the Sena-Kings, but also for the histoty of Eastern Bengal under the Varman-Kings. But the chronology of the Sena-Kings, like that of the Varman-Kings may still be called an unsolved problem, although many scholars have advanced their *theories* about the same.

Bhoja Varman, the donor of the newly discovered copper-plate-grant, was not the last king of the Varman-dynasty. The first mention of a Varman-King of Vanga (Eastern Bengal), was noticed in a stone-inscription discovered in 1810 A.D., at Bhuvanesvar in the Puri District of Orissa. In verse 16 of this epigraphic record it is noted that "aided by the counsel of Bhatta Bhavadeva, surnamed Bālabalabhibhujanga, King Harivarmadeva long exercised the government and that his policy rendered

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prosperous the reign of that king's son also." The ancestors of Bhatta Bhavadeva were, according to this stone inscription, reputed for their learning and dignified position in society. Adideva is said to have been the "minister of war and peace" of a king of Vanga (Eastern Bengal), whose name is, however, not noted at all. Adideva's son was Govardhana, who was a reputed warrior and a scholar. His son was Bhatta Bhavadeva, the minister of Hari Varma. If Hari Varma cannot be proved to have belonged to a dynasty different from that of Bhoja Varma, he can have no place in history before Bhoja Varma. A copper-plate-grant of Hari Varma, unhappily mutilated by fire, disclosed the fact that he was the successor of one Jyoti Varma and that he issued the grant from his victorious camp at Sri Vikramapura. We do not know if there was one king or more kings between Bhoja Varma and Jyoti Varma. Even if we take Jyoti Varma to be the son and successor of Bhoja, we cannot but place Hari Varma, the successor of Jyoti Varma, *after* and not *before* Ramapala, though insisted upon by Babu Rakhaldas Banerji, M.A. of the Indian Museum in his paper noticed above. His method of calculating the termination of each reign is rather curious. He asserts that Nayapala reigned only for 15 years and no more, because a stone-inscription was incised at Gaya in that year of his reign. He puts forward in the same unhesitating manner a convenient chronology that Vigrahapala III had a *short reign* as he must have died soon after his Amguchi copper-plate-grant, which was issued in the 12th "or the 13th" year of his reign, ignoring the clear and authoritative statement to the contrary made by a grandson of Vigrahapala III, in the Manhali copper-plate-inscription. It is, therefore, unnecessary to follow any further his amusing theories about the chronology of the Sena-Kings or of the Varman-Kings of Eastern Bengal, as they are chiefly based upon this sort of arithmetic.

To sum up.—We know by this time, with the help of all up-to-date discoveries (i) that the first Empire of the Pala-Kings suffered a break up on the advent of the King or Kings of the Kamboja-dynasty in North Bengal, (ii) that the second empire of the Pala-Kings commenced with Mahipala I, in the beginning of the eleventh century, and flourished during three successive reigns, (iii) that the "unjust policy" of Mahipala II cost him his life and his throne during the Kaivarta-revolt, which created an opportunity for the Varmans to assert their independence in Eastern Bengal and to aspire to the establishment of paramount authority, (iv) that a Varman King saved himself by seeking his protection from Ramapala by "surrendering to him his best elephants and his coach of State," (v) that the Varmans still continued for some time to rule over a part of Eastern Bengal at least down to the times of Hari Varman and his son, who flourished in the twelfth century.

With the help of the materials available to him, the author of Gaudarājamālā propounded a theory about the position of the Varman-Kings of Eastern Bengal. Kumarapala, son and successor of Ramapala, is said in the copper-plate-grant of Vaidyadeva to have subdued (through his minister Vaidyadeva) one revolt in South Bengal, and another in Kamrupa. Tigmadeva is said to have been the king of Kamrupa, on whose death in battle, Vaidyadeva was placed on his throne, but the inscription is silent about the name of the king who was defeated in a naval engagement in South Bengal. The author of Gaudarājamālā thinks that Jyoti Varma, the immediate predecessor of Harivarma might have been the king referred to in the above account. Although it is not safe, in the present state of our limited sources of information, to stick to any theory as unassailable, yet it is fairly clear that the Kaivarta-revolt in Varendra dealt a final blow to the Empire of the Pala-Kings of Bengal; and although Ramapala may be said to have subdued it and tried to consolidate what may be called the Third Empire of the Pala-Kings, his successors had to fight against one rebel after another, until the Sena-Kings completely overthrew the Pala-Empire of Bengal. The stone-monolyth of the Kaivarta-leader may, therefore, be looked upon as a finger-post to indicate the final decline and fall of an empire which had existed for more than three centuries with its chief centre in the land of Varendra.

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KASHMIR AND THE KASHMIRIS

II.

The Pandits (*c*)

The Funeral ceremony and other after-death rites.

FROM marriage to death is indeed a very big leap. But man's life becomes so business-like after marriage that there is very little in that life to interest the general reader. His life is all work and business. All the charm and beauty



The goddess Durga whom the Pandits worship.

is centred in the home round the presiding deity of the home—woman. And this interesting story of home and woman will be found later in its proper place in subsequent parts of this series.

Here I deal with death and funeral rites and the rites that are performed subsequently for the peace of the departed soul and the satisfaction of the living. Immediately after death lays its hand on the father the son of the deceased performs अनचरत *ancharth* ceremony and does the प्रेतपूजा *pret-puja*. The dead body of the deceased is bathed



The image of Kshirbhawani worshipped by the Pandits.

and a पिण्ड *pinda* is offered to the dead; then the corpse is placed on the hearse. The bier is carried on their shoulders by the sons and close relations. Other relatives proceed in a procession to the funeral ground. Before reaching the cremation ground the procession stops midway and again a *pinda* is offered to the dead. From this place (शङ्ख and घण्टा) conch shells, gongs and other sacred musical insrtuments have to be sent back, home.

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The Pandits reading sacred books and repeating mantras before the pond of Kshirbhawani.

Among the Shaivite Pandits a very peculiar ceremony takes place at this stage. The Shaivite Pandits dedicate the dead to Shiva. The illustration printed on another page will give an idea of this dedication of the dead.

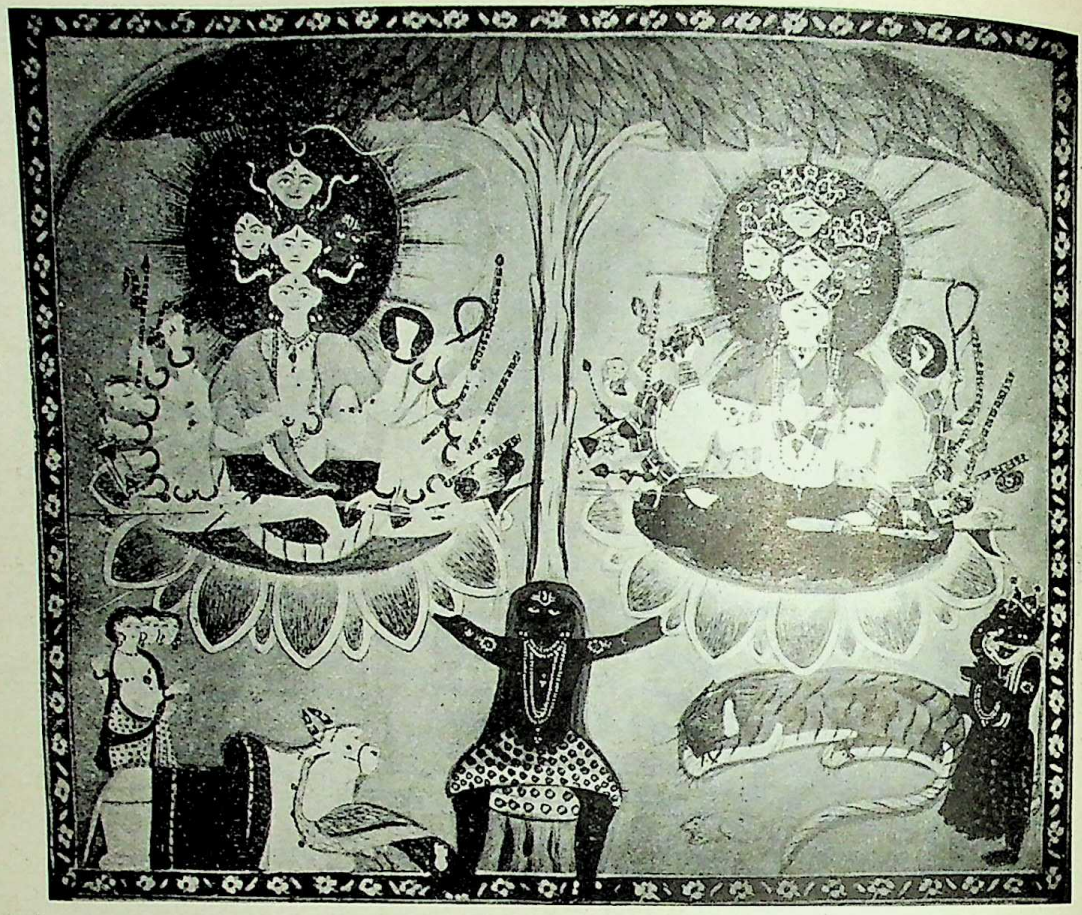
They call this affair शिवनिर्व्वाण ceremony, dedicating the dead in right earnest to Shiva—their family deity. They send the dead as it were to *Shiva-loka*.

Arriving at the cremation ground they worship the dead, present a *pinda* to it and putting the corpse on the pyre, give तिलतर्पण *tiltarpan*, which they call तिलोदक *tilodak (sesame & water)*. The body being burnt to ashes, the whole party make circumambulations round the heap of ashes and retire to the house of the deceased after having thrown the remains into the stream and having themselves bathed at the cremation ground; and then they disperse, from there, to their respective homes. The relatives of the deceased observe mourning by abstaining from toilet (*i.e.*, ordinary shaving) and taking of stale food and meat for the first ten days. On a day, from the 10th to the 13th, they break this mourning by changing clothes and doing toilet and resume their old ordinary diet. On this occasion if the deceased be an old person a feast is given in honour of the dead by the people of the deceased to all the relatives who have been observing mourning.

As to the regular rites and ceremonies that have to be performed by the son of the deceased for one year: upto the 10th day the *sutak* and mourning is strictly observed by the people of the deceased and his son. For these ten days the son takes and brings back a clay pot, to and from the river, where some *Pitri* rites are performed with it and which ultimately on the 10th day is broken into pieces. A lamp is kept burning in a corner of a room of the house for these ten days. On this tenth day the son shaves

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The image of the goddess Gayatri.

and puts on new clothes that are especially sent by his father-in-law for the occasion. His relatives assemble at his house to condole. He goes into the room where that जलकुम्भ pot of water and the lamp are kept. He worships them. When he comes out of the house he finds that all his relatives are standing in his courtyard in two rows, on either side, reserving a passage for him between the two rows. He walks, through these rows of men, up to the end of the two rows, his relatives remaining standing on either side. From that terminus he turns back to his house. Now those who like to spend more time at his house return with him, others disperse and go to their respective houses. On the 11th day, ब्रह्मभोज feeding of Brahmins, गोदान presenting of cow and पिण्डदान presenting *pinda* rice ball to the deceased *pitris*, are performed. On the 12th the deceased is included in the company of the *pitris* (पितृ) of the family and hereafter he is invoked as one of the *pitris* (ancestors).

Then follow the monthly, six-monthly and yearly *Shraddhas* and *tarpans*. And after one year on the first yearly *Shraddha* the dead attains a definite position in the *pitrilok* in the society and home of the dead. Thus are the dead disposed of.

The Gods they worship.

Broadly speaking the Pandits of Kashmir may be divided into *shaktas*—those worshipping *shakti*, and those who are worshippers of Shiva, the shaivites. The majority of them worship the deity in the feminine form and they give feminine names and attributes to their deities. In Kashmir, throughout almost the whole valley, at various places in particular hills, water oozes out at irregular intervals. One of the most sacred and popular spots is त्रिसन्द *Trisand* in a remote corner of the valley, far from Achhabal, and difficult of access. In this spot there is a hollow about 10 feet deep. In this hollow during the months of Vaishakh and Jyaistha, the driest and hottest months of the year, water oozes out imperceptibly three times

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"A Ramlila performance by the Pandits of Kashmere."

a day and disappears as many times (व three सन्द to come up and go down). They call it *Trisand Devi*, goddess Trisand. And the legend goes that an old Brahman, of 60 years of age, in ancient times, used to go to a distance of 60 miles from a neighbouring village to bathe in a sacred stream. When he grew too old (of 125 years of age) the river-goddess taking compassion on him and being pleased with his devotion told him in a dream that she would ooze out at such and such a place on such and such occasions. During the period of its appearance Pandits go there to bathe in its sacred water, particularly on *ekadashi* and *purnima* days of Jyaistha. I too was present on one of these occasions on the 7th June, 1911.

This spot is as dry as a stone during the rainy season; and no trace of water can be found at other periods of the day than those when water oozes out so mysteriously.

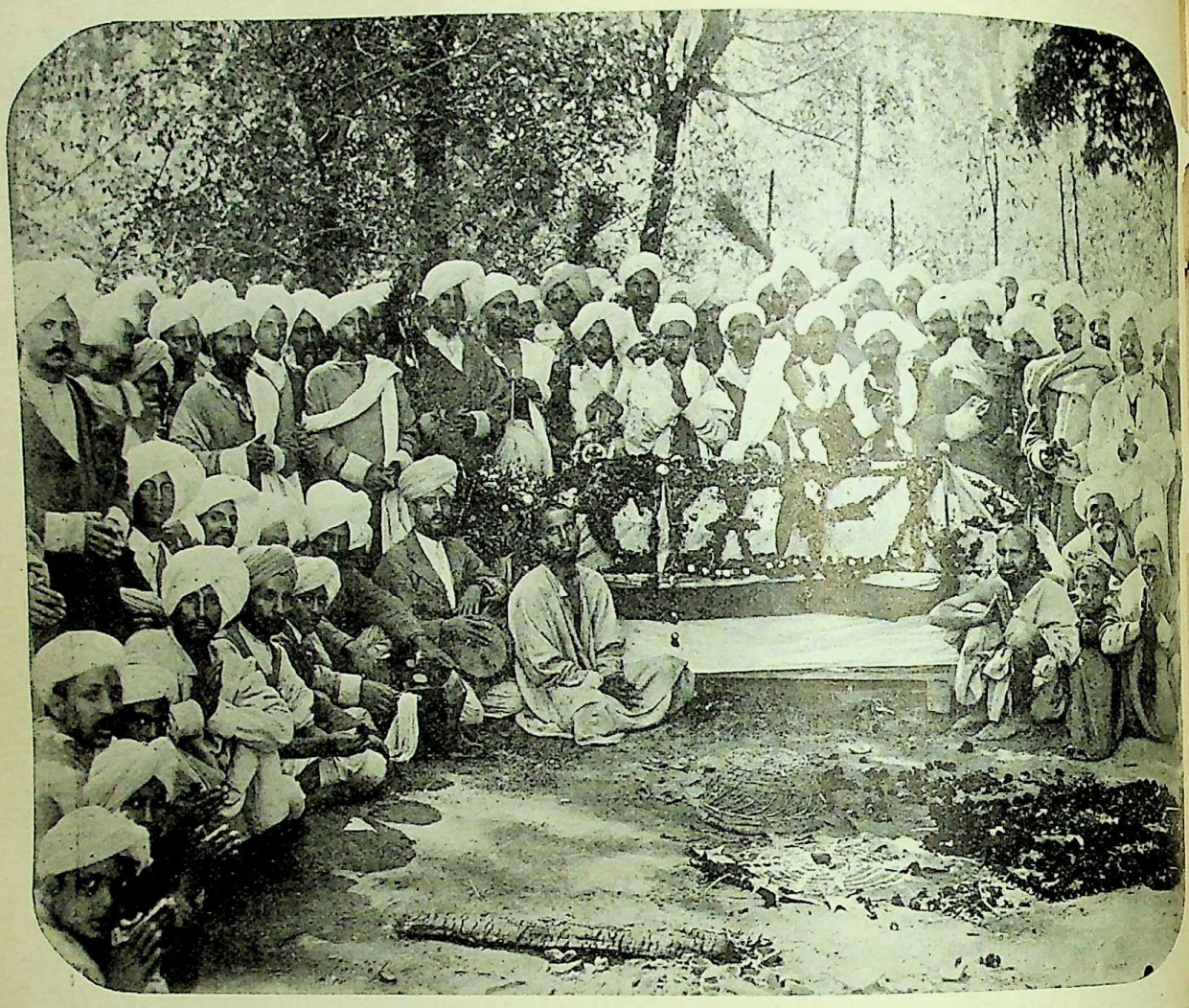
A similar phenomenon for which no explanation can be offered occurs at a place called *Kshirbhawani* चीरभवानी about 14 miles from Srinagar. There is a small pond of water which changes its colour from time to time, into green, blue, rosy, milky, etc. When I visited this sacred spot I found the water of a milky colour. Now this is a pond of water, but the Pandits call it the Goddess of *kshir*. She is worshipped with *kshir* (rice cooked in milk). There is a small temple as well, in which the image of *Kshirbhawani* is installed. *Kshirbhawani* is the supreme goddess of the Pandits, and is worshipped with the greatest devotion and ceremony, on special occasions, particularly on the *ashtami*, the eighth day of the bright half of Jyaistha, which is a day of pilgrimage to the shrine of *Kshirbhawani*. The Pandits reading sacred books and repeating *mantras* before the pond of *Kshirbhawani* are shown in an illustration. On the background is a three-storied building—a dharmshala—where pilgrims get shelter when they go there. They also live in the village and with the *Pandas*—the priests. The goddess Durga is another important goddess that the Pandits worship. She is called *Durga*, but she is endowed with the attributes and symbols of most of all the great gods of the Hindus. She possesses over her head a snake and on the forehead the moon—the emblems of Shiva. She represents Parvati, the consort of Shiva, by bearing the nose ring and ear ornaments. She has also the symbols of Vishnu—the *sankh* (conch), *chakra* (*disc*) and *gada*, etc. She is also *Lakshmi* seated on the lotus.

The Pandits also symbolise the *Gayatri mantra* and materialise or make an image of *Gayatri*. In this image also they include all the gods of the Hindu pantheon and worship it by a feminine name.

Thus the reader will realise how the Pandits worship the deity giving it feminine attributes, *i.e.*, they are practically worshippers of *mother* or *Shakti*.

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The Shaivite Pandits dedicate the dead to Shiva—Shiva nirvana Ceremony.

The festivals of the Pandits.

The greatest festival of the Pandits of Kashmir is नवरे the *new year's day*. This new year's day is celebrated with somewhat *refined* enthusiasm by the Pandits domiciled in the Indian plains as well. On that day to the family of the *yajman* comes the priest with new-year's calendar and foretelling the events of the coming year takes his due—*dakshina*, from the *yajman*. Fathers-in-law invite their sons-in-law with the daughters to their houses on this occasion, and feed and clad them according to their means.

Another important festival is शिवरात्रि (Shiva's night) which is celebrated and observed by Hindus everywhere but with the Pandits in Kashmir it is a very big affair and covers several days. First of all houses are washed and cleaned, then on the *Saptami* (7th day) or *dashami* (10th day) new cooking pots come from the house of the potter. On the 12th day (*dwadashi*) बायपूजा is done: a new pot is worshipped, having been filled with water. This worship is said to be done in honour of *Bhairav*. On the 13th day one person per family keeps fast in honour of *Shiva*, *Parvati* and *Bhairav*. On the 14th or the last day they send Shivaratri भोग share to the daughters in their mother-in-laws' houses, in the form of rice, money or cooked-food.

Of other Hindu festivals they observe नवराची Dashhara in its simple form and keep general fast on Janmashtami, the birthday of Krishna, as all Hindus do in honour of Sri Krishna.

Secular Enjoyments.

The Pandits, both men and women, mostly the latter, are very fond of outdoor life

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Throughout the year on different occasions they go out, whole families, in groups of several houses, to enjoy picnics. It is a characteristic of the Hindus that we have dedicated everything to God and religion. If we marry it is to have issues to offer *pindas* and do *shraddho* to the *pitris* and to do righteous deeds, *dharma*. If we eat, we first dedicate the food to the Lord, and then eat that our body be strong to do righteous deeds. In the same way all our festivals and enjoyments and merry-makings are dedicated to or are celebrated in honour of some deity or other. Likewise the picnics of our Kashmiri Hindu brothers are enjoyed in honour of some local deity or the goddess of the stream or the sylvan deity. On certain auspicious or sacred days it is a magnificent scene to see *dongas* (boats), full of men, women, and children in their holiday attire with cooking utensils, food stuffs and above all their famous brass-tea-pot, the *Samavar*, floating in the Dal lake or the Jhelam river, etc. After some time the women are seen in red and blue groups scattered over the slopes of some hill at the foot of some mountain, under trees, by the side of some fresh water stream or little shrines, etc. The matrons busy themselves in preparing tea, maidens and young wives, in their own separate groups, either quietly watch the splendour of nature and man or engage in gossip. Men—who always talk shop—are also seen discussing their own problems, in their circles. Tea being over the house-wives sit round the fire and begin to boil rice and prepare vegetables. The dinner over, comes the time of leisured gossip. The approach of twilight drives them homeward in their boats, sailors and women often singing the wonderful Kashmir folk song, as they go on rowing with eyes fixed on the tiny lamp twinkling in a corner of the donga.

They have a taste for dramatic performances. The Rām-lilā performance is a popular play with the young and enthusiastic Pandits. Unfortunately modern vices of the West and apish habits are creeping into this once impenetrable valley also. The picture of a Rām-lilā performance given herewith gives an idea of the bad taste in dress, lack of artistic taste and discrimination, impropriety of characters represented, and the use of that instrument—the harmonium—which is gradually vulgarising and destroying our music. To the extreme right the *harmonium-babu* and to the extreme left the *Parashuram*—out of some mediæval European play as it were--and the coaching-babu standing like a band-master at the back, all go to disappoint a lover of the Indian Drama.

The danger ahead.

Italy has often been called the possessor of the fatal gift of beauty. So I should say the physical beauty and scenery of this country and its magnificent climate seem about to ruin it. We see the valley growing gradually to be a haunt of the European tourists. The opinion of the British Government recorded in the pages of the *Imperial Gazetteer* in these words gives rise to apprehensions:

"Economically, again, the climatic conditions of the country are important; for it is here that European colonisation is to succeed, if it succeeds anywhere in India. The English race has never yet taken root in India, but it seems possible that with more facilities for occupation Kashmir might become a white man's country." (Imp. Gazetteer, Vol. 1, p. 16).

The people instead of learning the virtues of the West—patriotism, straightforwardness, moral courage, love of freedom and love of one's own people and nation—are learning the vices of the West.

The new generation seems to be hankering after modern fashions—*boots*, *ghari*, *chhari*, *cigarettes*—and petty clerical posts. They are giving up their simple and convenient dress. They are, to all appearance, separating themselves both in body and mind from the people—the masses. They are cultivating bad tastes and expensive habits.

Who will save the wonderfully beautiful valley of Kashmir—which has no like under the sun—from the '*danger ahead*'. People, for protection, naturally turn to the Ruler. In this case people may not see the danger, and may fancy that they are about to be *civilised*. But the State has to look to the prosperity, progress and the well-being of the country. The State has to save the country from the clutches of modern vices and the demoralising influence of tourists and white settlers. We need not entertain any bad feeling against the European colonisers, but we shall be proving ourselves less than human if we do not desire to have

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the best country for our own homes. The case of all Himalayan hill stations is before our eyes. No one uses force to remove us, but we become undesirable neighbours in European quarters and we ourselves cannot put up with the *fowl* and the *Khansama* of the *Saheb-logs;* and thus we have no other alternative than to leave the Hill Stations to the richer and stronger white men. To cite only one example,—how difficult have the lives to live and surroundings to put up with become for the Indians in the settlement of Naini-Tal which was originally a purely Indian settlement; and now circumstances have turned it into a mere summer resort for Europeans. Again we notice in the interior of the Almora District (in the Kumaon hills) European tea-planters and fruit-sellers already owning the best possible available estates and one or two estates that are owned by Indians are about to pass to white hands.

This is only by way of illustration. Those who possess any knowledge of the real state of affairs in Kashmir must realise that the demoralisation of Kashmir has already commenced. The Hanji (boatman) class has already been demoralised by the holiday-seeking European tourists. This is enough to give a foretaste of the effects of the colonisation of Kashmir. Matters will be worse when the contemplated railway has been led into the valley. It will no more remain the beautiful valley, a garden of nature and nursery of beautiful men. Therefore it is high time for both the State and the thoughtful Kashmiris to realise the danger ahead.

MUKANDI LAL.

A VINDICATION OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

(Being a review and criticism, of Prof. Har Dayal's articles in the Modern Review: issues of July 1911, April 1912, and July 1912.)

By R. D. RANADE, B.A.

ANY one, who has taken the trouble to observe the course of events and opinions in India during the last six or seven years, cannot have failed to notice that there have been two opposite, almost antagonistic, streams of thought in what might be called New India itself: one, the spiritual, the other, the materialistic; the first bordering on the superstitions; the other culminating in intellectual nihilism. There are healthy elements in both these activities; but the superstructure in either case has been most unartistically raised. If a true temple to "national activity" is to be reared, we must demolish the uncouth structures, and raise out of their materials a building, both artistic and solid, calculated to attract the attention of our contemporaries by its artistic skill, and to go down to posterity on account of its long-enduring elements.

We propose in this article to restrict our attention to the latter part of the scheme—the exposition of the defects in the materialistic construction of Indian activities. From times immemorial, in this ancient land of ours, there have not been wanting men, who have poured out all their vehemence on the philosophical and spiritual activities of India. Brihaspati, the founder of the Charvaka school, made it a point to attack everything in Indian philosophy and practice, equally whether it was good or bad. And we owe a debt of gratitude to him, since he showed us where our defects lay. He showed us the absurdity of counting the forms of religion as everything, and the spirit as nothing. The great Buddha showed us the vulnerable points of our sacrificial system, and it was owing to him that our sacrifices became more humane. In modern times also, a wave of materialism is spreading side by side with the wave of spirituality, and if we want our spiritual activity to be really healthy, we must learn its defects from the avowed materialists. And because we are unable to do justice to the writings of all such in the course of a short article, we may select Mr. Har Dayal as a typical instance of men who have rebelled against spiritual activities.

And when I say "rebelled," I use the word intentionally. I would request my readers first to go over Professor Har Dayal's Article on the 'Wealth of the Nation' in the July (1912) number of the Modern Review; and then to compare the sentiments expressed in that article with those expressed in the July (1911) number of the same magazine in an article on "India in America"; and then also to read the article on "Indian Philosophy and Art in the West" by the same writer in the same magazine of April 1912. It would really be a great lesson to the readers of these articles to observe how a man can entirely change round within the course of twelve short months! The Har Dayal of July 1912 seems to be scarcely the Har Dayal of July 1911! I propose briefly to analyse his psychological development, and then to make such remarks of my own as would show what I feel about the subject.

And I would scarcely have undertaken the project

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if Mr. Har Dayal had been a reviler like other revilers of the Upanishads and Indian spirituality. The very fact that he is quite unlike them prompts me to break a lance with the American professor. He has travelled far and wide, and has tasted of the intoxicating drink of Western Civilisation. He has been all over Europe, he has been in America, and has observed their various institutions. He therefore speaks from personal experience and actual contact. In his own words, "he has seen the silver lining," which is not visible to so many of us, who are spending their lives in India. In the second place, he has a wonderful command over English prose: he seems to be a master of antithesis, and like all other masters of antithesis, he often contradicts himself. Thirdly, he is a man deeply read in English and also in Indian philosophy: and he knows the merits and defects of either. Fourthly, because he holds with me that the enduring wealth of a nation consists "in the intellect and the character of its men and women," and no other economist would allow this. Fifthly, because his writings are read all over India by the rising generation with extreme avidity: and I do not consider that the sentiments he has expressed in his article on the "Wealth of the Nation" should be allowed to fall in the hands of the youth of India, without at the same time giving an equal opportunity to an opposite opinion to meet the very readers, upon whose minds his articles have made a deep impression. And lastly, because the souls of the ancient seers of India, whom he has treated with scant courtesy, and indeed has not failed to attack without provocation, call upon a young Indian, who knows what to prize most in their teachings, to take up their cause and fight for honour, if not also for duty.

In the latest issue of the Modern Review of August, 1912, I see a note by Mr. H. V. Divatia, who quarrels with Professor Har Dayal, simply because he has condemned all philosophy and all metaphysics, which he does not want him to do. But is there no champion of *Indian* philosophy forth-coming? Is there none to convince Mr. Har Dayal that there are points in Indian philosophy, which are of perennial interest, and which will sway the minds of all thinkers in all ages and countries? And reader, will you believe me if I say that such a champion is Mr. Har Dayal himself? Har Dayal against Har Dayal—a sight for the Gods to look on!

Let us see what the writer says in different issues of the Modern Review, first on 'philosophy' itself. In the July number, 1912, he has spared no word in his vocabulary to denounce Indian philosophy. The "barren metaphysics" of India has "elevated sophistry to the rank of an art"! Indian philosophy is nothing but "fantastic word towers for solid piles of thought-masonry. India is playing with the toys of childhood in mature age." He speaks of the intolerable twaddle of the Shastras, and denounces contemptuously the so-called "ineffable joys of trance or Samadhi." He plays with the text of the Upanishads येन ज्ञानेन सर्व्वमिदं विज्ञातं भवति "that by knowing which everything is known," like a child playing with fire. He supposes that the Upanishads are a bundle of "absurd conceits, quaint fancies, chaotic speculations;" and that a liking for them, which scholars like Paul Deussen conceive, is nothing but a "mania for what is effete and antiquated." He compares the six systems of philosophy, which Max Muller unfortunately chose as *prominent* and not the only ones, to a desert, and the Vedas to the Dead Sea!

We might retort to all this with the very epithet which he has bestowed on the Upanishads,—"verbal jugglers." For let us see what the same writer says elsewhere: "Now of all the *treasures* of Hindu history, one of the most *precious* is our *philosophy*." (P. 420: April, 1912.) Is that really so! "All European scholars know that India is *rich* in metaphysics." "India can lay Europe under a deep debt of gratitude by introducing her philosophy as a subject of study in Western Universities" (P. 421: April, 1912). "Our philosophy deservedly ranks very high in the estimation of thinkers.....Our philosophy takes the Western mind captive on account of its *variety, its boldness, its thoroughness,and its clearness.*" (P. 422: April, 1912). Can anything be more conclusive proof of how even great men can turn black into white! But let us proceed further. "I see that those old thinkers perhaps *exhausted the possibilities of human thought* in the field of pure metaphysics" (P. 422: April, 1912). "India can offer to the world two things, which are sufficient to pay for everything that she receives—*her systems of philosophy, and her ideal of a religious life*.....Wisdom and Virtue in exchange for the secrets of manufacture and mechanical science—it is too generous an offer!" (P. 11: July, 1911). But reader, these are his opinions of July *1911*, and not of July 1912! Can you conceive of a more thorough-going change?

I might multiply instances: but I fear I might thereby tire out the patience of the reader. I suppose I have shown how the writer has abnormally developed in his contempt of Indian philosophy on account, perhaps, of his American influence. I could understand a man who asserted that Indian philosophy was not worth studying at all; but I can *not* understand a person, who, in one breath, raises it to the skies, and in another consigns it to perdition,—and all this perhaps to secure antithesis and beauty of language, but at the pitiable sacrifice of truth. Who would deny that there is wordiness in our philosophy! But who would say that there is none in any of the European philosophers? A student of comparative philosophy must know that philosophy can always reach a certain limit—thus far and no further! Just consider a philosopher, whom Mr. Har Dayal asks us to study, who says that "if there is no god, it would be necessary to invent him;" and a poor peasant, an illiterate, uncouth, rustic fellow, of the type of those peasants whom Christ, for example, preached to, who in the innocence of his ignorance, and in the strength of his faith, supposes and *knows* that God exists. How many of the so-called European 'philosophers,' pray, had realised God, supposing that such realisation is possible; and if they had not, and if they spoke merely from intellectual conceptions, how very inferior must they be to a poor Nicodemus, or to poor Chokha Mela, who, in the degradation of his caste, yet held communion with God? But I fear we are treading sacred ground, and no quarrel can be possible on this stand-point with our American Professor.

I agree with him in so far that he considers much of our Indian philosophy to be wordy: but I also hold that all philosophy is wordy. What can a layman make of the 'substance', 'attributes', 'modes' of Spinoza's philosophy? What is Hegel's philosophy to a non-philosopher but an array of words? There

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were people, who, before the time of Har Dayal, have called philosophy by the very name with which *he* chooses to call it: शब्दजालं महारण्यं, philosophy—a mere net-work of words, a great *desert*! Again, the form which has been given to our philosophical treatises by the introduction of imaginary objections and feigned answers, exactly corresponds to the form of the mediæval philosophy of the schoolmen: the same imaginary objections, the same subtlety of argument, the same cobwebs of discussion. But when this is said, let the enemy make the best of it. In and behind these tiresome discussions, there is a pith and a marrow which is the heart of philosophy. It is this inner pith which must find expression in different forms, according to the times for which it is meant. Thus it would be most uncharitable to condemn Indian philosophy, as it would be equally uncharitable to condemn the schoolmen. Tho forms in which they are expressed are forced upon them according to the necessity of the times. It is always upon the past that we must build up the present, and those who despise their ancestors will themselves be despised by their posterity. "We speak of the errors of the past", says James Anthony Froude: "We, with this glorious present which is opening on us, we shall never enter on it till we have learnt to see in that past not error but instalment of truth, hard-fought-for truth, wrung out with painful and heroic effort. The promised land is smiling before us, but we may not pass over into the possession of it, while the bones of our fathers, who laboured through the wilderness, lie bleaching on the sands, or a prey to unclean birds. We must gather their relics, and bury them, and sum up their labours, and inscribe the record of their actions on their tombs as an honourable epitaph."

I would take the liberty of impressing the truth of this most deserving passage on the attention of the writer. And yet, for considerations not of prudence but of justice, I may bring home to his mind the great truth which has been evolved through the entire course of the Upanishads, which he hastily calls "absurd conceits, quaint fancies, chaotic speculations". Much sooner, and with greater justice, may we call the Greek Philosophers a set of fools, because they explained the Universe on the theories of Fire, Air, Water, or Earth. It is on account of the very fact that the Rishis differed from one another in their speculations, and also formed *some* conceptions about the origin of the Universe, which were certainly better than *none*, that they deserve the respect and attention of every dispassionate thinker, who does not judge of the past times by the canons of the present, and who sees the thread of an evolving idea through the entire course of the so-called "chaotic speculations." To quote J. A. Froude again: "Ptolemy was not perfect, but Newton had been a fool if he had scoffed at Ptolemy. Newton could not have *been* without Ptolemy, nor Ptolemy without the Chaldees." And however different might be the ideas of the Rishis themselves, yet they gradually evolved out of their speculations this great truth of truths: *That there is an Atman, and that He can be realised*: that this Atman is God: that the Universe, like the human body, is a covering of this Atman, and is, in fact, the Atman himself.

Upon this great truth stands or falls the whole philosophy of India. However different might be the different moulds in which this great truth is put, this is the great motor idea of all orthodox Indian philosophy. There might be systems which like Buddhism, maintain the theory of No-Soul. When Ananda asks the Buddha what was meant by the phrase "the world is empty", Buddha answers "That it is empty, Ananda, of a self, or of anything of the nature of a self." (See Mrs. Rhys Davids' Buddhism, Home & Library, p. 52). I agree with Mr. Har Dayal when he maintains that in a discussion of Indian systems of philosophy, we must include all those 16 systems of philosophy which are given in the Sarva Darsana Samgraha, and even more, and not the Six systems only as Max Muller has done. I suppose that the time is coming when, as anticipated by the late Max Muller, a new class of Sanskrit scholars is coming into being, who, after their study of European philosophy, are devoting their attention to their own native systems in order to place Sankara or Ramanuja or Kapila by the side of the great philosophers of Ancient and Modern Europe. It is time that Sanskrit should come to be known to European Scholars on account of its rich treasures of philosophy, than merely by its philological, antiquarian, or anthropological interest. It is time that the resemblances between Neo-platonism and Yoga, between the philosophies of Spinoza and Berkeley and Sankaracharya, between Kant's idea of Duty and that of the Bhagvadgita, between the 'tabula rasa' of Descartes, and the 'thoughtless' (निर्विषय) mind of the Yoga, between the claims of both Tukaram and the Christ as their being the Sons or the Deputies of God, or even God himself, and other similar problems should be brought to light and discussed. It is only when, as I said, the pith of our philosophy is exhibited in modern garb that the world will come to know of the worth of Indian philosophy. Then, and not till then, will critics like Mr. Har Dayal see the intrinsic worth of a seemingly lifeless, soul-less, philosophy.

So much with regard to purely philosophical matters. Coming, more or less, to persons, who were the main cause of the spread of Indian ideas in America, I mean, Vivekananda and Ramtirtha, and one far greater than either of them, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, the veiled attacks which Mr. Har Dayal has made against all three, mentioning everything about them except their names, will be apparent on the first reading to every one who has made even a partial study of the movement they set on foot. The attacks which he has made in the number of July 1912 are wonderful, because they are veiled; but still more wonderful is the way in which he has, in former issues, stated the very opposite of them. "Contemplation in isolation," says the writer in July 1912, "is one favourite method of spending time adopted by India's sons.....They fall into the vacuous abyss of contemplation and inaction. They have established monasteries in romote nooks in the mountains in order to realise the Brahman. They practise all sorts of mysterious postures and other funny devices of a crude mysticism. All their stock and store consists in the Vedanta Sutras, the Upanishads, and the sonorous monosyllable Om. This last word seems to do duty for all history and science. Whenever a saint has nothing to think about, he takes refuge in Om....How strange it is that a capacity for swooning away should be considered the mark of wisdom! It is very easy to lose conscious-

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ness if one has strong emotions, and a feeble intellect! That is why ladies faint so often on the slightest provocation....No wonder that books and laboratories are despised, for no knowledge is needed to make one swoon away at intervals." This is the most suggestive passage that ever was penned. He refers to the Mayavati Ashram, to Vivekananda, to Ramtirtha, with whom "Om" seemed to do duty for all Science, and to Ramkrishna Paramahansa, who is reported by M., his disciple, to have swooned away at frequent intervals. The whole army of modern saints have been brought to the guillotine!

As I said, let us turn to the author's former writings, and see how very glaring are the contradictions of which he is guilty. He contemptuously refers in the above passage to the contemplation in isolation, which brings on inaction. But here is what he said in the issue of July 1911: Wherever he wandered in the continent of Europe, "I have always turned towards the dream of my love, *that sacred tapovan and cradle of Hindu spirituality*, where all Hindu aspirants from Kapila *to Swami Ram Tirtha*, have gone to get wisdom and insight by communing with Nature and their own hearts—a veritable training ground for the spiritual grants of India; but here in the West, it is all noise and show and conventionality." Forsooth, he longs for the solitude of the 'tapovan' then! He admits that in solitude, one can commune with Nature and one's heart! He admits that Ram Tirtha repaired to the Himalayas to gather virtue! He admits in the words of Milton that solitude is the nurse of Virtue, where Virtue plumes her feathers which were "all-to ruffled in the bustle of active life"! Yet another extract! "As well tame a tiger or bind the wind as get an *American* to retire to the mountains for meditation! He cannot understand that *the hidden sources of all true life lie far away from the Senate*, the market-place, the theatre, the stock-exchange and the Church." (July, 1911). We may, therefore, be justified in throwing back upon this Shylock, false contradicting, over-assuming wrangler, the very words which he threw at the innocent Bassanios "These be thy gods, Oh Israel!".

Let us, moreover, look to other passages in the issue of July, 1911, wherein he is voluntarily praising Vivekananda and Ramkrishna and Ramtirtha, whom he is condemning in the issue of July, 1912: "The beneficial effects of his (*i.e.*, Vivekananda's) preaching are visible on every side, America is always on the alert for a lesson in religion from a Hindu" (p. 6. July, 1911). Again, he respectfully makes mention of "full-size portraits of Paramhansa Ramkrishna and Swami Vivekananda, executed by loving American disciples" (p. 7. July, 1911). And last and the most positive: "Ramtirtha was the greatest Hindu who ever came to America, *a real saint and sage*, whose life mirrored the highest principles of Hindu spirituality, as his soul reflected the love of the "Universal Spirit", whom he tried to realise" (p. 9. July, 1911).

What would readers say of this writer, who blows hot and cold with the same breath? Did he ever form beforehand an accurate conception of what he was going to say? If he has 'evolved', it is a terrible evolution indeed! At any rate, he is an object-lesson in abnormal psychological development, which, in this case, has taken place at an almost electric speed!

Two more points remain to be touched upon before we finish the review of Prof. Har Dayal's articles. He talks about the "yoga-craze" and the "bhakti-mania" as being the powerful sources of the wastage of moral power in India. What does he mean by the yoga? If he means by the term yoga "Hatha-yoga" as it is ordinarily understood, I agree with him. But if he means by the yoga the yoga as it is taught in the Bhagvadgita, I beg the liberty of entirely dissenting from him. Indeed Yoga and Bhakti, Philosophy and Religion, Karma and Jnana are so intensely connected with each other, that by separating the one from the other, you make both impotent. I dissent from Prof. Har Dayal and the late Mr. Max Muller when they say that philosophy and religion must be rigidly excluded from each other. I believe that philosophy without religion is like form without spirit: and that religion without philosophy is like spirit which cannot work without a form. It is in the supreme combination of form and spirit, of philosophy and religion, that the true salvation of a nation consists. Similarly with regard to Yoga and Bhakti: Yoga is the form, Bhakti is the spirit. For says Lord Sri Krishna:—

योगिनामपि सर्व्वेषां मद्गतेनान्तरात्मना।
श्रद्धावान् भजते यो मां स मे युक्ततमो मतः॥
Gita—VI—47.

"Of all the Yogins, I suppose *he* is the most intent upon me, who, with his heart fixed on me, worships me with faith." Yoga, in my opinion, may be defined according to its derivation as a positive, persistent and final determination to seek out the truth—of whatever kind it may be. Such a determination necessarily requires solitude in the initial stages, in order that the virtues necessary for an active life may be gathered in the secrets of retirement. Such a solitude is the fountain-head of energy and strength, virtue and joy. Activity, to be productive, *must* be fed by retired thought. The history of all religions confirms it. The great Buddha retired to solitude, and it was in solitude that he received his illumination. The Lord Jesus Christ used to retire to the mountains, in order to escape company. The late Mikado of Japan was a proverbial recluse; and yet, wonders *the Times of India*, he was the backbone of all the activities of his nation. Solitude is not, as Prof. Har Dayal says, meant for inaction: on the contrary, it is the nurse of supreme action. The true yoga must admittedly be the yoga of service: the Karma-yoga: but the human faculties require to be fed in solitude, and in a transcendental and most faithful 'inaction'! "As oft as I have been among men," says Seneca, "I returned home less a man than I was before". And in order that this should not be the case, one must needs take recourse to solitude and contemplation.

Moreover, is it not wonderful to find how people come to opposite conclusions from the same premises? We find Mr. Har Dayal condemning the people of India, because their Vedanta leads them to inaction. "they become altogether useless for any purpose that one may appreciate." Contrast with this the remarks of another hot-headed, hasty, generaliser—I mean Mr. Ramsay Macdonald: "It (*i.e.*, the Gita) is the gospel of action, of action stern and terrible, done by the body and the passions, whilst the possessing soul is at rest in the presence of the eternal.....Bathed in this ocean of self-surrender, and ever filled with the music of the Divine Voice, the Indian's heart beats

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with ecstasy, and he goes forth to do his work. There is no limb of the vernacular press.....so dangerous, so seditious, as the song of the blessed one." (The Awakening of India: Popular Edition: P. 120). Can anything be more absurd, more glaring, more misconceived than these hasty, immature remarks of a raw labourite? Yet, as Aristotle says, the truth lies between the two extremes and I would recommend Prof. Har Dayal as well as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to read the remarks of his adversary in order to become more level-headed, and more like a *man*! Let them not father their own ideas upon the text which they see!

I now come to another important discussion: Mr. Har Dayal's contemptuous treatment of the Bhaktas. "For one Chaitanya," says he, "it (*i.e.* Bhakti) gives us a thousand sentimental, weak-minded irresolute devotees, who are good for nothing in any practical work for righteousness.....It gives them a factitious object of devotion instead of teaching them that every suffering child is Krishna, and every sorrowful brother-man is Rama. They worship the stars and suns, but they forget their brother-man..... try to think and look in words: others try to weep and dance. And all the while, ignorance, poverty and disease march triumphant through the land." Yet another extract: "Teach the people that the old gods are dead. What is there at Benares but hideous temples, fat bulls and fat priests? What is there at Puri but cholera, and waves idly breaking on the beach?" Now, pray, why does he wax so eloquent? What level-headed man would believe that god is only in Benares and nowhere else? Have not saints like Tukaram said centuries ago जेथें तेथें धोंडा पाणी, देव रोकड़ा सज्जनीं "wherever you go, you find stones and water: but god is with the good"; देव तेचि सन्त, देव तेचि सन्त निमित्य त्या प्रतिभा "verily, verily, the good people *are* the gods: the images are a mere pretext?" Where, then, was the necessity of such an eloquent discourse from Prof. Har Dayal? People have known even before the times of this writer where god was to be found. When he talks of the "funny devices of a crude mysticism" and the uselessness of pilgrimages, he is, like Ixion, merely embracing clouds: hence, the dire brood of his centaur-like ideas, flitting in our midst.

"For one Chaitanya," he admits, we have a host of irresolute devotees. But, reader, mark the words *for one Chaitanya*. He *does* acknowledge that Chaitanya was a great man! But when has history shown that great men have sprung up in myriads? A great man arises out of countless mediocrities, and so is the case even here. When there is a Chaitanya or a Tukaram, a Sankara or a Christ, thousands of inferior persons must prepare the ground for him! Again, he asks us to love every suffering child as Krishna, and every sorrowful brother-man as Rama! Has he not borrowed this expression from Ramtirtha whom he himself comdemns; for does not Ramtirtha talk of the "Starving Narayanas"? Moreover, would we ever deny that Bhakti includes the "love of humanity"? Does not Tukaram implore God to lead him through the service of his feet to the service of mankind? देइ चरणसेवा भूताचें भजन। वर्ण अभिमान सांड धनि." "Give me the service of Thy feet, *and* the worship of humanity, irrespective of the pride of caste or colour."

Moreover, is it not wonderful to find that this same writer should have admitted that "Voltaire, Rousseau, Marx (the modern Rishi!); Darwin, Lavoisier, Cuvier, Laplace, and Caxton *were not personally as noble and pure* as St. Bernard, St. Francis, St. Xavier"? (P. 49 July 1912). If personal purity does count for anything, and if social regeneration must come through personal development, then the philosophers he idolises were certainly below the mark! Moreover is it not an irony of fortune that the same writer who condemns the pilgrimages, and the Ganges, should himself fall a victim to the popular idea: "Time, the mighty architect, the healer of all wounds, and the avenger of all wrongs, will lead our efforts to final success after our ashes are mingled with the *eternal* waters of the *holy* Ganga" (p. 11, July 1911). He considers the Ganges as holy, then! and its waters as *eternal*! can anything be more superstitious! Yet, there are the weaknesses of *great* minds!

But I will not merely construe texts: I must say what I feel on the point on my own account. I believe that Bhakti does not consist in religious ceremonials, in pilgrimages, and in formal idol-worships: it consists in love to God, *and through this,* in love to man. We can never love man so well as when we know that he partakes of the same divine nature which *is* in us. Love to humanity must be based on Love to God: if it is not, it is bound to have a shaky foundation. It is the Love which we bear to God that inspires us with Love to man: and those who love man otherwise love him accidentally and not essentially. People like Har Dayal might indulge in literary studies in such a way as to stunt their moral powers: God may seem distant and far away. Perhaps also they might be sinless, and might not have a new desire for righteousness! But all men who have sinned—and let he, who is sinless, contradict this—and those who have come to have an earnest desire for righteousness, wish from the bottom of their hearts to come nearer God. So too can a sense of eternity, the pangs of sorrow, the bitings of conscience, the vanity of human wishes or a keen social enthusiasm bring man nearer God. It is in such a state of mind that he begins to love God as his only guide and helper, and it is in such a state that the whole moral world opens up before him. If he does not care for the vanities of the world, he might be excused: he cares for the immense gains of moral life. Those critics, therefore, who would assault an innocent Bhakta, must not shut their eyes to this all-important side of man's activities—moral development. It is no use carping at a man simply because he has chosen to devote himself to moral advancement, which, he considers, must necessarily come through a love to God. It is here that personal purity matters a great deal: and it is here that the philosophers, like those whom Har Dayal has mentioned, are weighed in the balance and found wanting!

We have hitherto expressed our opinions on the manner in which Prof. Har Dayal has inveighed against Indian philosophy, Yoga, and Bhakti, and have, we believe, tried to show that there is another side to the question. Indeed, I must not be supposed to hold that India must be flooded with philosophers,

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Yogis, and Bhaktas: far from it. Prof. Har Dayal, on the other hand, wants to fill our nation with scientists and economists. "To the preacher," says Prof. Har Dayal in another place, "the world is full of sinners! to the cobbler, it is full of shoes": we might add in a similar style that to Prof. Har Dayal, it is full of economists. I am a firm believer in the manifold activities of a nation, supplementing, instead of contradicting, one another. I hold that when a nation rises, it rises from all points of view. The history of England at the time of Elizabeth, or the history of Maharastra at the time of Shivaji, amply bears out the fact that when a nation rises, it attempts all enterprises. We must have scientists as well as philosophers; men who go in for action, and men who sit down to contemplate; people who devote themselves to social regeneration as well as those who care for personal development. As Prof. Har Dayal has himself said elsewhere: "I need not impose my dream on all. Moral energy takes myriad forms in its manifestation.....You may as well find fault with the rose for not being a violet, or quarrel with the cuckoo, because she is not a nightingale. Art, Literature, Science, Politics, War, Exploration, *Religion*—each one of these appeals to some one, and he begins to love it with his whole heart and soul. Let us not be narrow and one-sided in our judgments." (P. 10, July 1911). If he had just remembered this when he penned his article of July 1912, I would not have felt it necessary to make this long vindication.

And then, it is also wonderful to find—it is perhaps a sign of the times—that while scientists like Sir Oliver Lodge are speaking in favour of religion, philosophers like Professor Har Dayal should have felt it necessary to take a brief for science and economics. I am not one of those who would condemn science for the sake of religion: I hold that there is a perfect reconciliation between the discoveries of science and the truths of religion. Science merely deals with the *works of God*. It supplements, instead of supplanting, religion. But I would not have the *mere* scientific or the *mere* economic spirit prevail. Let not an age of pure scientists, pure economists and pure calculators prevail: and let not the glory of India be extinguished for ever. Religion asks from you merely the consent of the heart, a mere touch of the love of God: I do not understand how *this* can come in the way of pure activity. It would, as I said, serve only to strengthen activity, and not to weaken it. This is the only secure platform, upon which the building of India's activities can be raised. Take it away, and the building will humble down in no time. Substitute another foundation, and you will find that the building will be raised on mere stubble. We do not want India to imitate either France or America: France, with its falling birth-rate, its frivolous immoral capital, its denuded farms and dying commerce; America, sordid and soul-less, immersed in money-making, a slave of Mammon, and forced to mimic the culture of the very country against which it revolted. And yet if Mr. Har Dayal has his way, his ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity would lead merely to *national* death. The French Revolution which he glorifies—is not this Revolution responsible for modern Anarchism and Nihilsm? It is time that India should cease to be polluted by merely the worse elements of Western civilisation. Does not Prof. Har Dayal himself pathetically describe the lot of the woman in the West? Has not the suffragette movement served simply to make *man* of European women, by taking away all their elegant graces and social virtues? Does it not seem that "almost a new sex is on the make like the feminine neuter of Ants and Bees—not adapted for childbearing" and yet with a pretended power for social service? And what is it due to but to the spirit of "liberty, social equality, rationalism, and fraternity" which he glorifies? (P. 46, July 1912). If India must rise, she will rise in a most peculiar way, not hitherto known to all History. She will combine the virtues of the West and the East, and will rise superior to both. If the West and the East are to meet, they will meet in India, and not in Europe. What a glorious prospect lies before India! I see India flinging away superstitition, sloth and intellectual inertia. I see her taking up the scientific spirit, and the energy of Europe. I see her assimilating the excellencies of both the East and the West, and rising in the scale of modern nations, preserving all the while the integrity and the pristine purity of her spiritual self!

CAN WE SAVE OURSELVES YET?

ALMOST a total absence of any discussion or papers on the subject of our vitality as a race would seem to show that either we are very much alive and kicking, or—the reverse. Certainly we have recently had a paper or two, such as on the Decay of the Bengali Hindus, but statistics are hardly a true index as to whether a race is really flourishing or dying. For statistics can be made to prove almost anything, and it may not be difficult to prove by means of figures either that a race is flourishing or that it is dying, according to the side of the question that a writer chooses to take. But what should concern one who is really interested in the welfare of his country, is

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not whether the population of his country is increasing—whether his countrymen and women are increasing in mere numbers—, but whether they are really alive and thriving, or whether they are in a mere dead-and-alive condition. For in the latter state multiplication only means additional burden, poverty and misery. Every one will agree that it is better for a person to have two well-grown, strong healthy boys than a dozen of ill-grown, ill-developed, sickly boys; for while the two former will be of use to the community, the latter, instead of being useful, can only increase the sum of misery and poverty.

Hence clearly mere numbers are not enough to show whether a particular race is alive and doing well, or if it is really dying. Numbers will not count for much, unless the individual members of the race are sufficiently strong, active and energetic. For it is the general experience daily verifiable in a country like India, that a few strong men are able to scatter before them a mob of weak and sickly men like chaff before the wind.

It seems that there is a far simpler method of finding out the truth as to a race being dead or alive—a method that is ocular and direct—, and it is this:—Take your stand in any of the busy main thoroughfares of Calcutta, such as Chitpore Road, Bow-bazar Street or Cornwallis Street. The crossing of the Cornwallis Street with the Harrison Road is, for instance, a good locality, being, as it is, in the neighbourhood of some of the principal schools and colleges of the metropolis. A good many of the educational institutions are located in this part of the city. So by placing oneself here one would be in a position to observe not only the ordinary citizens but also the boys and young men, *i.e.*, the rising generation, who resort to the various educational institutions of the neighbourhood.

Having stationed yourself, watch now the streams of people that are passing up and down the street. Look at the boys and youths that are going to their schools and colleges, and please observe them closely and well. Now, do they look strong, full of life and animation and overflowing with health and energy, as they should at this time of their life, or do they look ill-grown, lifeless and poorly? Do you see in them that life and vivacity which characterises a normal healthy boy all over the world? Take an English boy, for instance, whether a street Arab, or one of gentle birth. Is he not full of pranks, and is it not difficult to keep down his exuberance of spirits? Do you see any of those characteristics in an Indian boy? The very appearance of the Indian boy would seem to indicate as if his body has not had a normal, healthy growth. The impression that will remain with you as the result of your observation would be that whatever may be the state of his mental equipment, his body is sadly in need of looking after.

Setting aside now the student class, observe the other citizens constantly passing up and down the street. Look at streams of young and middle aged men—clerks and others, who evidently make up the gentry or middle class,—proceeding to their places of business between 8 and 11 o'clock. Does their appearance show them to be possessors of a good physique, with strong and well-developed muscles and bones, or do they give you the idea that, instead of life being regarded as a gift to enjoy and be thankful for, life to them is a burden which they are evidently finding it rather irksome to carry? The tramcars are crowded with this class of people at this time of the day; get into one and by examining them at close quarters you may perchance find one strong, healthy, energetic person in a hundred, while the remaining ninety-nine will present a very poor appearance indeed, weak in limb and wanting in spirits. If you now transfer your attention to the remainder of the passers-by, the same thing will strike you, only perhaps in a greater degree, namely, that they are a sorry lot, with a very poor physique and with very little life in their bodies.

Repeat your visit to any other part of the town you like and your experience will be the same.

As Calcutta is the metropolis of Bengal as well as (hitherto) of India, the people you have seen in her streets may be taken as typical not only of the inhabitants of Bengal, but fairly also of almost the whole of India.

Now after a careful scrutiny of the gene-

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ral appearance and physique of the vast mass of people that are seen crowding in Calcutta, from the shrunken, bent, old men down to the little ones playing about in the streets and bye-lanes, does it strike an observer that this people belong to a race that is thriving physically and materially, or does it look as if the race was rather going down and going down at a pretty fast rate, along the broad road of physical decay and degradation?

A people who are weak in limbs, that present the appearance of lifelessness and of debilitated physical condition; that look as if the joyousness of life had departed from them for ever—such a people as this must really have something serious the matter with them. Can it then be that they are indicative of a degeneration and decay, which unless checked promptly and effectively, must end before long in the total ruin and extinction of the race?

There can be no question that the Bengali is no longer what he was before—that he has degenerated considerably. That the degeneration has been very marked and rapid within the last fifty years will also be apparent to many.

Physical degeneration does not go alone; it brings along with it its fellow, *viz.*, moral degeneration. A weak-limbed man is also thus likely to be a moral coward. The very weakness of his body tends to make him morally weak. Perhaps he cannot help it. Is anybody about to threaten or attack him? Being physically weak and thus unable to defend himself (the notion of aggression on his part being generally out of the question), the first thing he is prompted to do is to take to his heels. If he sees a fellow man or citizen unjustly treated or tyrannised over, does he at once go to his assistance, as every man worth the name ought to do? No, he takes himself out of the scene of danger as fast as he can, because physically and morally he is without that courage which normally belongs to every man and which enables him to stand and defend himself and others against injustice and aggression. If a man can not defend himself how can he be expected to be able to defend his wife and children? And if he is unable to defend his wife and children, certainly he has no right to marry. Yet he goes on marrying and multiplying and bringing into the world beings as weak and helpless as himself, utterly regardless of the amount of misery he is creating for himself and society. There is little doubt that it is this inability to protect his wife and family that is mainly accountable for the origin of the zenana system.

Can anything be more degrading or humiliating to a man than to feel that he is unable to defend himself and those belonging to him and that the least sight or sign of danger is likely to make him run away from it? Whoever wrote the line: 'आत्मान' सततं रचेत् धनैरपि दारैरपि', it expresses the very height of degradation, physical and moral, of the society to which he belonged. For even the bird of the air or the beast of the field will make a stand and fight for the protection of his mate and offspring from aggression and harm. It is this want of physical and moral courage and the condition of physical degeneration we have arrived at that has earned for us, and rightly so, the contemptuous epithets of 'native,' 'babu' oleaginous and otherwise) and so on. If a clerk (a 'native' or 'babu,' of course) is kicked or cuffed or otherwise abused, does he retaliate in any way? Not as a general rule. However unjust his treatment may be, in almost all cases he submits, even without a protest. And why? Because, (1) he is physically weak and conscious that he will only come off second best in an encounter; (2) he has a wife and children and relations at home whose very bread depends on whatever wages he can earn (that the 'native' clerk is exceedingly ill-paid is notorious), and this thought makes him even a greater coward than he might otherwise be. And thus he puts up with whatever insults may be heaped on his head. Probably he would not have submitted so tamely if he had been unmarried and unburdened with the maintenance of a wife and family. But weighed down as he is so heavily, he meekly submits and pockets his insults, even though his spirit might revolt. When he is seen to take his insults thus lying down, the 'native' is naturally looked down upon and regarded as something below human level.

One often hears of 'natives' being ill-treat-

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ed while travelling on railways. The 'native' complains that he has paid his fare and yet he is often ousted from his seat or compartment by an English soldier or civilian. Everyone has heard of the story that a certain 'Raja' travelling in a 1st or 2nd class compartment was made by a soldier to shampoo his (soldier's) legs. As for a 'native' being made to vacate a compartment by an Englishman, simply because the Englishman dislikes being in the same compartment with the 'native,' that is a matter of frequent occurrence. But whose fault is it? Why do these 'natives' vacate the seats they have been occupying or why did the 'Raja' (a fine 'Raja', he must have been! But one is afraid many of these Indian Rajas are of this description) shampoo the soldier's legs? Simply because they are frightened and AFRAID. Weak-limbed and weak-bodied, we have not the physical courage to stand up and assert our common rights. As moral degeneration generally accompanies physical degeneration, we have neither physical nor moral courage. Thus frightened at the least show of superior physical force, we at once give in, either humbly vacating the seat or compartment, or staying to shampoo, as the case may be. The bare truth is that the 'native,' wanting in moral and physical courage, is frightened out of his wits by the least sign of an Englishman's scowl and is thus treated as he is reported to be.

The fact is the fault is entirely our own. We have so gone down physically as well as morally that we have not any courage, in any shape or form, left in us. The love of truth and justice, of all that is good and noble, upright and brave, is no longer a preponderating note of character with us. We have so long been cringing on all fours that we seem to have forgotten how to stand upright and it appears to have become habitual with us to stoop, cringe, fawn and flatter, so that we might by some means or other, earn "two pice," wherewith to feed ourselves or to add to the little stock we might possess. When an Englishman arrives first in India, he is surprised to find people so obsequious and so 'salaaming' him on every side. So great is the amount of servility and obsequiousness he meets with on every side that after a little while he becomes quite naturalised to this atmosphere. Not only so, but he gets so accustomed to it that he cannot live without it, and, when he happens to be not of the nobler sort, his 'liver' is at once upset at the least sign of what he has come to look upon as a sign of disrespect to him, such as a 'native' not calling him 'Hazur,' or not salaaming him promptly, or not even shutting up his umbrella while passing by him in the street, or not taking off his shoes while coming to his august presence,—a very serious offence indeed,—and his upset liver makes him at once go for the 'native' who dare thus offend him. And this, I say, is a consequence that the natives of India have brought upon themselves through their own conduct and behaviour. The fact seems to be that to an Englishman manliness is principally associated with physical strength, his ideal of manhood referring to the possession of a large amount of physical strength and courage as an essential constituent. If you cannot stand up to him but can only cringe and crawl instead and thus try to propitiate him, you have not only lost his respect for ever but earned his greatest contempt. Upon a person wanting in physical strength an Englishman might look with compassion and philosophically regard him as man and brother, but philosophically only. Hence no amount of instructions from the Viceroy to the officials under him, and no amount of pious expression of good will as to the kindly treatment of the 'natives' from higher authorities still is likely to do much good until the root-evil is eradicated, that is, until we have mended ourselves. Whether this can be done, and if so, how it can be done, is now the question.

If a people have to live more or less on a semi-starvation diet and are besides constantly subject to some ailment or other in consequence of a hot and enervating climate such a people must necessarily be physically weak.

Weakness begets fear, and fear lies at the root of most of the evil and mischief that we see around us. "I am afraid" will be found to be responsible for the commission as well as perpetuation of many a wrong and injustice, social, moral, religious, or of any other sort. I know and feel that I ought to do such a thing, but I refrain from doing so because 'I am afraid' what my neighbours, friends or relations

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might think! I feel I ought to go forward and help a friend or stranger in distress, but I don't do it because 'I am afraid' my intentions might be misconstrued and I might get into trouble! I am convinced that the society I live in permits things which are cruel and unjust, but because 'I am afraid' of the society I also go on doing as the others do and help to perpetuate what I know to be cruel, wrong or unjust. Thus fear is responsible for most of the evils in this world. He who is thus afraid to do right is the true coward; and a coward has ceased to be a man.

How then to rescue a people from its physical weakness, inevitably attendant on which are its moral and other weaknesses, becomes then the root-question.

If I have a number of seeds of a particular plant and want to grow some more plants from those seeds, what do I do? I put them in the soil. But if I am a wise man and know something about gardening, I shall not indiscriminately or hurriedly put all the seeds in the soil, but before putting them there shall take a little time and care to examine them. And on examining them I shall find that they can be sorted into—

those that are good and mature;
those that are not mature;
those that are worm-eaten or otherwise diseased.

Thus I shall have three classes of seeds before me, namely:

(a) Mature seeds, (b) Immature seeds, (c) Worm-eaten or diseased seeds.

Now everybody knows (or might easily know) that each species of plants loves best, that is, grows best on, a particular soil. For instance, some plants will grow best on a sandy soil and others on a clayey soil, others again will thrive most on a calcareous soil (with lime in it) and so on. Now for my particular seeds I must prepare the particular soil that will suit my seeds best. Thus I will prepare a well-manured good soil for my seeds. On this being done, I will divide the prepared soil into 3 plots of equal size, marking them (1), (2), (3). Into the plot (1) I now plant some seeds from my (a) class of seeds; into plot (2), some seeds from (b) class, and into plot (3), some seeds from class (c); thus...

Seeds ...	(a)	(b)	(c)
Plot ...	(1)	(2)	(3)

After having put our seeds into these separate plots of the same kind of well-prepared soil, we will water them regularly, having also taken care that all three plots are equally well situated as regards light and air. Then if after a sufficient interval of time we come and examine our plots, we shall find that—

On plot (1)—Are growing seedlings (little plants), which are most healthy looking, strong and vigorous and as large as can be expected from their age;

Plot (2)—The seedlings here are much less numerous, smaller in size and looking less strong and healthy than the seedlings on plot (1); that is, the seedlings here are decidedly poorly and sickly compared with the little plants on plot (1);

Plot (3)—Hardly any plants are growing here at all, but if any are growing, they are tiny and sickly and looking as if they could not live long.

We will now again take some more seeds from classes (a), (b) and (c), and put them this time, not in a soil well-manured and well-prepared, but in a bad soil, that is, a soil that does not suit them, that is, in which they do not thrive well, marking these plots as 1′, 2′ and 3′. Here also the plots have been so selected that they get an equal amount of sunshine and air. On examining the plots after a sufficient length of time, we shall find that

On plot (3′)—there are hardly any plants at all, and—

On plot (2′)—there may be a few plants, but very dwarfish and sickly,

On plot (1′) the plants that are growing are not looking strong and vigorous, but rather undersized and poorly.

That is to say, the plants on plot (1) (*i.e.*, of the first experiment) are larger, healthier and more vigorous than on plot (1′) (of the second experiment), the difference between the plants on plots (1) and (1′) being due to the soil of plot (1′), which is inferior to the soil of plot (1).

Thus we see—

(i) That a full-grown, mature seed will grow a healthy vigorous plant;

(ii) That the less mature the seed, the less healthy and strong will be the plant from it;

(iii) That an immature seed cannot produce a strong, vigorous plant; but that

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the plant from an immature seed will be undersized, sickly and poorly;

(iv) That the nature of the soil and abundance or otherwise of sunshine and pure air will affect the growth of a plant; *i.e.*, goodness of soil and enough of sunshine and air are also essential for the proper growth of a plant, and a plant cannot grow well and cannot thrive unless these necessaries are supplied. But none of these things, even of the best quality, will enable a plant to grow well if the original seed itself had been immature.

Thus if we wish to grow a healthy strong plant the most important and essential thing is that the seed should be fully grown and mature. Ill-developed and immature seeds can only produce poor sickly plants.

This principle will be found to hold good throughout the whole of the animal kingdom and we see it illustrated everyday. For instance, if we wish to have good large mangoes, we select seeds from mangoes that are full-grown, large and fine, and not from mangoes that are small and ill-developed. If we wish to breed fine bullocks, we select only full-grown strong and healthy bulls and cows as parents, and we never expect that a half grown and sickly bull and a sickly cow will produce strong healthy young ones. Coming to man himself, do we not daily see that where both father and mother are vigorous, healthy and strong, the children born of such parents are also healthy and strong; that where parents are sickly and weak, the children are generally sickly and weak; that where parents are undersized or deformed in any way, the children are also generally similarly undersized or deformed? Thus it is plain that only strong healthy parents, that is, whose physical growth and development have attained maturity or completion, can produce strong healthy children; and that where boys and girls, *i.e.*, before they have become full-grown men and women, become parents of children, such children cannot be healthy and strong, but must necessarily be constitutionally sickly and weak.

Now in India of the present day we find the people mostly sickly and weak, with only a very small percentage of them who can be said to be healthy and strong. With this state of things there is the prevailing custom of child-marriage, and as a necessary result we have not adults propagating the race but children giving birth to children. The present awfully deplorable state of the country is thus the consequence.

Can anything be done, and if so, what can be done, to make India physically strong again? For unless and until the people of India can become physically strong, all talk of progress in any direction is the veriest moonshine. Nothing else can regenerate India until and unless she regenerates herself, physically in the first instance. Therefore the question of questions is, what can we do to save ourselves?

In considering how to improve the physical condition of a people, old persons and persons that are past the period of growth will not count, for obvious reasons. Hence for the regeneration and reformation of a people the only hope left is in the youth and children—*i.e.*, Boys and Girls. The question therefore becomes—'How to secure the best growth and development, physical and otherwise, of our Boys and Girls'.

(i) Boys.—The first thing to see about the boys is that they grow up sturdy and strong physically. The growth of the body should be the first care of the parents. They should see that their children have plenty of wholesome food and exercise and that nothing is done to interfere with their free and normal growth. At this tender age, that is, while the body is growing fast, do not load his brain with too much information in the shape of book-knowledge. It is certainly necessary that his intellect should be cultivated, but this must not be at the expense of the body. If you put too much tax on a boy's brain in the way of book-work, you interfere not only with the growth of the body but also with that of the brain. And this interference at such an age will often mean ultimate permanent and irretrievable injury to the whole physical system, and instead of the boy growing up into a sturdy and vigorous young man, with a sound body and a sound mind, you will have an ill-grown, puny, sickly young man, looking prematurely old, and quite unfit to fight the battle of life, that is, a mere wreck of a man, of no good to himself or anybody else and only an incumbrance to society. Hence parents and guardians can-

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not too often bear in mind that the physical growth of the boy is the primary and most essential thing to attend to. Take care of the physical growth of the boy and it will be easy to take care of the rest.

As the boy grows, see that he developes good and pure habits. Above all, see that he does not contract the bad habit, which is the ruin of a good many of our boys. Tell him plainly and without reserve that this habit saps the very foundation of manhood and brings on death, or a condition akin to death, physical and mental, as surely as night follows day; that if he wishes to grow up into a man, ready not to flee at the slightest intimation of danger but to fight courageously all the battles of life as only a man should fight; that if he should have any ambition to distinguish himself in any walk of life; that in fact should he have any desire to make himself useful and to contribute in however humble a manner to the well-being of the community of which he is a member and of the country of which he is a citizen, then he must shun that habit as even more dangerous than poison, and live a perfectly pure and clean life. You may devote your best energies, spend as lavishly as possible your time and money in the education of your boy, but remember *everything will be lost and nothing will be of any avail should you fail to save him from this habit.*

As the boy grows, it will be necessary to see that his intellect is cultivated too, but this must not be overdone, a point already drawn attention to. But whatever attention you may pay to his mental culture, greater attention must be given to his moral culture: that is, teach your boy, above all, to be truthful, courageous and manly; to hate falsehood, cruelty, oppression and injustice; to love and revere all that is good, noble and true; to hate meanness and selfishness and to value the service of others before all else. In a word teach him to avoid all that is selfish and mean to love truth and justice, and to be brave, pure and noble. This moral culture is of immensely greater value than any amount of mental equipment without it.

(ii) Girls.—A nation consists of men and women, and not of men alone. If a nation could consist of men alone, it would not then matter how the men brought up their girls and treated their women. But since such cannot be and since in some important respects women count for even more than men, it is essential that the bringing up of girls should also be very carefully attended to. In early infancy the influence of the mother on the moulding of the character of the child is very much greater than that of the father. Hence it ought to be clear how much of the welfare of a nation depends on the education, physical, moral and intellectual, that a girl, the future mother of the race, receives during her childhood and youth.

Just as a sickly boy cannot, as a rule, be expected to grow into a strong vigorous man, so, we cannot expect a sickly girl to grow up into a healthy, strong woman. And just as only a healthy strong man can satisfactorily perform his duties as a citizen and member of society, so it is only a healthy strong mother that can well do her share of the duties to the community, among the most important of which is the rearing and bringing up of children. Therefore it is essential that during her chidhood and youth a girl should have plenty of physical exercise and have the same freedom of movement as the boys. Thus only can they be made strong physically.

If a girl is always kept indoors, is not allowed to move about and play perfectly freely and to her heart's content, her whole physical system remains weak and will not be able to bear any great physical strain, but remain easily susceptible to attacks of disease, her health breaking down under the least physical or mental strain. This will explain why our girls are universally so delicate in health, why they suffer so from such distressing headaches (especially those who go in for a little study at school or college) and why they so easily fall sick. All this will be obviated if we will allow them liberty to run and play in the fresh air as heartily as we allow their brothers, as only a free exercise of the body can make it grow well and strong. But instead of allowing them this liberty, we keep our girls confined indoors without free play and fresh air, in subjection to the tyranny of the zenana system and also perhaps under the false impression that they will thus grow up 'ladylike'. The result is the

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universal crop of ill-health and disease in our families.

As the little girl grows, you should instill into her mind the same moral principles as you are doing with your boy. Teach her to love truth and to hate meanness and falsehood above all else; to love all that is good, noble and brave and to hate all that is selfish and low. With these few elementary principles firmly planted in her mind, she will be enabled to discharge the duties of a mother well and truly. For then will her own children have not only the benefit of the tendency of inheriting these qualities by birth, but also the mother will be the better prepared to teach her children these principles when they are growing up. As in the moral education of children the mother's influence counts for so very much more than that of the father, the advantage accruing to society from thus morally educating the mother while she is herself a child is obvious.

Thus in the case of girls, as in that of the boys, the first requisite is sound physical health and the next is a good grounding in sound elementary moral principles. The cultivation of the intellect is no doubt very necessary and important, but it should occupy a subordinate position to the physical and moral education.

MARRIAGE.—Next to the healthy and vigorous growth of boys and girls comes the question of marriage. In the growth and development of a race the subject of marriage is as vitally important as anything can be, if indeed it is not the most vital. Hence it is necessary to see if the form of it now prevalent over the greater part of India is conducive or otherwise to the well-being of the people.

A child-marriage is a marriage contracted between a boy and a girl, that is, marriage between children, *i.e.*, persons who have not attained adult age, that is to say, whose physical growth has not yet attained maturity.

And this is the form of marriage now prevalent over almost all India.

Among the Hindus the age of girls at marriage is generally between 6 and 12 to 13 (in certain parts of India girls even younger are given in marriage), while that of the boys is between 15 to 20 or so (in rich families as well as among the lower classes it is not a rare thing to see boys of 8 to 12 being married). That is to say, the girls when they are given in marriage are mere children and the boys too are hardly any better.

A boy, although he enters manhood at 21, is hardly full grown before 25 and a girl before 18 or 20. If this is so, what is then the condition of their bodies when a girl of, say 10 or 12, is wedded to a lad of 16 or 18, to say nothing of children that are made husbands and wives at a still tenderer age? Their bodies are then but half grown, that is to say, the bones and muscles of the body are growing and have yet a good deal to grow, and all the organs of the body are similarly in an unfinished state of growth and development. That is to say, the whole physical system is yet thoroughly immature.

Now what is the object of marriage? The object of marriage is admittedly and assuredly the propagation of species. In plain words, you marry your son with the object and view that he may continue your race (वंश), and your wish and prayer is that your grandchildren may live long, that is to say, they may be born healthy and strong and that these sturdy little babies—your grandchildren—may grow into healthy strong young men and women and live to a great old age and thus successfully carry on your name and fame. But have you considered that your prayers and actions tend in contrary ways, that is to say, while you are praying for one thing, you are acting in a way that is the very opposite of what you are praying for? You wish and pray that your grandchildren may grow strong and live long; but by marrying your son or daughter, as the case may be, while he or she is so young, you are ensuring that your grandchildren shall be born weak and sickly, and die early. That is to say, by marrying your children so early in life you defeat the very ambition of your life—which is, that your grandchildren and their children and so on, that is, your posterity may live long and die happy.

Evidently you have not taken into your thought that in order that your grandsons and granddaughters may be born sturdy and strong, it is necessary that your son when he marries and also the girl whom he marries, should themselves be strong

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and vigorous, that is, they should themselves be fully grown and developed in their bodies? If the bodies of your son and daughter-in-law have not attained their full growth and development, if their bodies are still immature, how can you expect that their children should be healthy and strong? If from a weak and immature seed you cannot expect to grow a strong and healthy plant, how can you expect that your son and daughter-in-law, while so young and children themselves, that is, so immature in their minds and bodies, will produce grandchildren for you who will be strong, vigorous and healthy? Just as from an immature seed never grew a strong vigorous plant, so an immature pair of animals, whether man or otherwise never yet produced sound and healthy offspring. For so far as the growth and development is concerned, whatever laws apply to the plants and lower animals the same laws apply equally to man. Such being the case it is easy to perceive that the children of fathers and mothers, themselves physically immature, cannot necessarily be sound and vigorous in constitution; that is to say, such children will be ill-grown, small and sickly. This will explain why our children —children of India—are so small and weakly, so lifeless and spiritless. A boy-father and a child-mother cannot of course produce sturdy and strong children. It is against all rules of nature. Giants only can produce giants, and pigmies can produce only pigmies. As the father and mother, so the child; and as the child, so the man or woman that is to be. Hence one ought to be able to judge of a nation by its children alone; and so indeed one can. Look at the nations of Europe: take the English for instance (we are talking of the English in England, not in India): you will see how lively and irrepressible even the street urchins are. They will make fun of anybody and of anything, even of the big giant-like policemen standing in the street corners or stalking quietly along. They are not afraid of anybody, nor are they easily scared. The Indian children are, on the other hand, the reverse of lively and spirited, are easily cowed down and frightened out of their wits. As for their poking fun of the police, why adult Indians dare not utter anything which might be construed as derogatory to the majesty of the 'paharawalla' and land him in 'hajat' in no time! And what is the cause of this difference between English and Indian children? One of the main causes of this difference is that the English children are born of parents who are fully grown and developed, while in the case of the Indian children the fathers or mothers or both are as yet children themselves and have not attained full growth and development, physically or mentally. And hence the Indian children grow up into sickly, spiritless boys and girls and these in their turn into the weak-limbed, weak-bodied, spiritless men and women which we see peopling the India of to-day. That child-marriage is at the very root of the causes that have produced and are now producing the lifeless invertebrate people that now inhabit India there cannot be the slightest doubt.

The ZENANA or SECLUSION system.—The birds of the air and the beasts of the field are free to move about and enjoy the sunshine and air that the Creator has provided for all. Just as on the sun and air depends the very existence of all plants and lower animals, so is man equally dependant on the same for his very breath and life on this earth. So we find everywhere on this earth men and women moving about as freely as any other animals. Did I say 'everywhere'? I beg the reader's pardon. There is one spot on this fair earth which furnishes an exception to this 'everywhere' and that is Bengal. Outside Bengal go wherever you like and you will see men and women going about more or less freely and discharging their respective duties. But when you come to Bengal, a strange sight meets you. You see only men and naturally wonder what has become of the women? Although they are invisible, they must exist; and they do exist, only their existence is confined within the walls of their homesteads. They do not come out and go about freely. Except for occasional outings, and then only in closed carriages, they stay indoors, day in and day out, continuing this cribbed and confined existence till death relieves them of it. In the villages there is certainly greater freedom of movement among the womenfolk, but in towns and cities fairly strict seclusion is the rule.

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Now I want to ask you, you menfolk, how do you feel if for any reason you can not go out of doors, say, for a day or two? Do you enjoy this confinement indoors? When you are unable to go out, even for a short constitutional, do you not complain of a general want of appetite for your food, of a general uneasiness, discomfort and malaise? Do you not declare that you will be unfit for any work if you cannot come out and have some fresh air and exercise? Do you not feel that it would be a torture to you if you had to stay indoors day after day and that if such confinement continued for any length of time it would gradually undermine your health and spirits and render you totally unfit for work?

Now think of your womenkind. They have to live, day after day, month after month, year after year, that is, all their lives through, this confined indoor life. Custom does not permit them to come out of doors and have a little fresh air, such as it is, in towns and cities, whenever they like, but compels them to spend all their time within the walls of their homestead, whether they like it or not. Place yourselves now in their position and see how you would like the life they live. I do not say that your women fret and fume and complain of the constant confinement and restraint in which they pass their days. Probably they will declare that they are quite happy as they are. But the very absence of any complaint or murmur on their part is evidence complete of their having attained a deathlike still and passive condition, the result of years of obedience to the seclusion system. From their childhood they have got so accustomed to this mode of life that they have come to look upon it as the most natural and proper mode of existence. But think of the great harm you are inflicting on them, and through them, on your posterity and your race. The physical organisation of women is naturally more delicate and is thus more easily susceptible to any injury inflicted either through diet, or the atmosphere they live in, or through any other factor or factors affecting their environment. Hence by making them lead an unnatural and unhealthy existence, the propagation of a healthy race is rendered impossible. It is not difficult to imagine that want of fresh air and exercise and confinement to the same set of living rooms, which are perhaps not over large or over well-ventilated, not to mention other circumstances which will occur to every one who knows the poverty of the average Indian, are bound to tell on the health of the girls and women. That our women and girls are almost always suffering from some indisposition or other we all know; it needs no extraordinary intelligence to perceive that the children of a sickly mother will not be healthy and strong but are bound to be sickly and weak; and that when such mothers are themselves physically immature, as it must necessarily be the case in a country where child-marriage is the rule, the injurious effect on the children will be very much aggravated.

Do you then realize what the above state of things means? It means that your race is gradually losing in strength and vitality, that it is gradually but surely deteriorating and deteriorating to extinction through ill-health and poverty and their necessary and constant attendants. As evidence, look at the weekly figures of mortality through what is described as 'plague' alone on India. And what is plague but disease or pestilence that attends on ill-health and poverty? Even wars are not often so destructive as this plague has been proving to India. These mortality figures would have startled any other country or nation out of their apathy, and this listlessness and apathy on the part of India is nothing but an indication of the death that is stealing over its people. And this deterioration to death and extinction is bound to go on apace unless you can quickly pull yourselves up together and take prompt steps to check it, that is, if it is not too late already. For can you not see that a sickly mother cannot but bear sickly children, and children, if they are sickly from their birth, cannot turn out into healthy and vigorous men and women? Now if these mothers even if sickly, were adults, that is to say, if they had attained full physical development before they became mothers, the case would not be so bad. But as it is, they are themselves physically immature when they become mothers, and this added to the conditions of ill-health, confinement and restraint and of the climate under which they live, acts doubly injuriously on the issues they bear. Thus are

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children from immature and sickly mothers born into this world with a physical foundation which cannot permit them to grow up into healthy boys and girls and later on into vigorous men and women. Thus is the country being peopled with sickly, dwarfed, lifeless men and women. And if the conditions which have led to the present state of things are allowed to continue, the degeneration, which, under similar conditions is inevitable even of the finest race of people, is bound to proceed with us at a faster and faster rate, until from a race of sickly cowardly spiritless men and women, as we are to-day, we shall pass into a sorrier condition still, finally disappearing from the face of the earth, the extinction being helped on by famine and pestilence, which have already established themselves on the land. That a race weighted with the double offence of child-marriage and woman-seclusion, is bound to degenerate fast, lose all along in the battle of life, and eventually disappear from the face of this planet in anything but a glorious manner ought to be patent to every thinking person.

SOCIAL EVILS of Child-Marriage, as apart from the question of immediate Race degeneration.—As if the evils already referred to as immediately connected with race degeneration resulting from the practice of Child-marriage were not serious enough, we have a further aggravation of them by the conditions of joint family life under the peculiar conditions prevailing in this country. For example, a boy is thrown into the bonds of matrimony and becomes a father, that is, long before he is able to maintain himself, to say nothing of a wife and children. He with his wife and children has thus to depend for his very bread upon his parents or other guardians, and it is hardly necessary to point out that this very circumstance of dependence upon others at a time when he is emerging into manhood is as demoralising and hurtful to himself and as destructive of all his self-respect and other qualities that go towards making a man of a lad as anything can be. The time when a lad is emerging from youth and entering into manhood is the time when he should be most free, for thus only can he begin his fight with the world with all the energy and strength at his disposal. But if at this critical moment, when he ought to be thoroughly unfettered and free, he is weighted down with the burden of maintaining a wife and family, not to mention others belonging to the joint-family, why you have not only thoroughly crippled him but have made him a slave, having taken away all his liberty of thought and movement. By taking away from him his freedom and fettering him hand and foot (and that even far more securely than if the fetters were of the hardest steel) with ties thrust upon him all too prematurely, you have turned him from a free man into a slave, a slave for whom there is no hope of escape from the bondage as long as he is upon this earth.

Child-marriage is a drawback to advancement in every walk of life. If the boy is given in marriage while still at school or college, his studies either receive a full or partial check there and then, or if they are continued, his career as a brilliant university student is practically over. And supposing he is able to finish his university career with tolerable credit, his love of further studies or ambition to excel in a fresh field is bound to leave him, seeing that his main thought would now be as to how to provide for his wife and family and dependants. Thus at the very entrance into manhood, all love of adventure or ambition to strike out a new line for himself or do something for his country is forced to depart from him, and all that is left in him is the anxiety as to how to bring in a few rupees, so that those dependant on him may not have to starve.

Thus placed, he has to leave aside all considerations of self-respect or dignity and accept any situation that will supply the immediate needs of his family. Though his need may be urgent, applicants like him are many. Hence the pay he can command from clerkship or similar employment is wretchedly small. But however low the pay, he is obliged to accept it, as otherwise he knows his people would starve. So he accepts it and slaves at it from morning till night. As the smaller the pay the harder the work is the rule in many an office, the poor devil has to slave at it pretty hard. But should he make any slips (as it may sometime happen when a man is worked at high pressure) he comes in for abuse verbal and manual (and

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occasionally also pedal), abuse enough to make him wish that he had never been born. But whatever the insult, he dare not protest and give up his post lest those that are dependent upon him should starve. So he pockets the insult and continues in the occupation. Thus goes his self-respect and gradually follow suit all those qualities that make a man. Life crushed out of him by the pressure of earning enough money to live on, his sense of honor, and with it his love of justice and fairness and courage to stand up for what is right and fair, in fact, all manliness, gone from him, he is left a mere servile obsequious, spiritless creature. Such, sad to say, is the 'native', the 'mild Hindu' or the 'oleaginous Bengali Babu', so often laughed at, ridiculed and held up to scorn by Anglo-India.

The struggle to earn enough money to support his dependants crushes all the life out of the wage-earner on the one hand ; and on the other he is simply increasing the sum of misery by not only having children himself but by also helping to support others belonging to the joint-family who may be doing no work except that of marrying and multiplying without restraint. They say that the poor breed more and quicker. The result thus is that poverty and degradation are thus helped to spread in the land with an alarming rapidity.

Thus child-marriage with woman-seclusion and the joint-family system is responsible for—

(i) Race-degeneration, through propagation by physically immature parents ;
(ii) Loss of manly qualities and virtues,
  (1) partly hereditary (moral degeneration attending on physical degeneration through propagation by immature parents) ;
  (2) partly through pressure of providing maintenance for a wife, family and other relatives at the very entrance to manhood ;
(iii) Spread of poverty,
  and the above three, *viz.*, (i), (ii) and (iii) as indicated above, leading inevitably to
(iv) Spread and Prevalence of Pestilence and Famine.

And evils, such as the above, are enough to bring a people to a lifeless degraded condition, such as that of the present India, and then to extinction.

All biological processes are slow in their operation. Introduce a new factor in the life of an animal and it will be sometime before the effect of the new factor is apparent. Similarly any action affecting the life of a society, which is a complex body composed as it is of a large number of individuals, will not show its results until after some considerable time. So simply because the evil spoken of as resulting from child-marriage, woman-seclusion and joint-family system as existing in the present day Hindu society, may have not made themselves very conspicuous yet, people unacquainted with the slow operation of social laws might be inclined to think that either those evils do not really exist, or if they do, they are much exaggerated. But if all of the evil results have not yet shown themselves, there are one or two that are patent to almost everybody. Within the last 30 years or so there has been a marked falling off in the longevity of the people, especially among the middle and upper classes in Bengal. Elderly or middle-aged persons of the present generation will be able to tell you that their fathers and grandfathers were decidedly of a better physique and longer-lived than the present generation. People are appreciably shorter-lived now. Sickness is also plainly on the increase ; there is a general complaint of ill-health (and of poverty) on all sides. Diabetes, for instance, a disease hitherto unknown or seldom heard of, is now carrying off many of the most promising of our young men. You hear in fact of the struggle for existence getting keener and keener on every side.

That poverty and sickness are on the increase is pretty obvious. The fact of such a large number of our young men betaking themselves to petty clerkships and employment of a like character that will barely bring them subsistence allowance shows how difficult people are finding it to make both ends meet. That this kind of work does not tend to elevate one's character may be taken for granted, for the motto 'like office, like character' may be taken as generally true. Put a man in the chair of a ruler of men and it will not be long before he learns how to put on the dignity and often

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make himself deserving of the office. Set some body who has been a ruler of men to do the work of a petty clerk or street-sweeper and it will not be long before he will have been found to have lost the characteristics of a ruler and assumed those of a petty clerk or street-sweeper. In short the qualities and character of a people will largely accord with the kind of occupation they find themselves engaged in.

That a good many of the ills we suffer from are due to our climate is undoubted. For instance, most of the fevers, much of what are termed 'bowel complaints', are due directly or indirectly to the heat. Again it is well known that much moisture, with heat, in the air has an enervating influence; that even heat by itself has a depressing influence and is largely responsible for the lethargy, langour and inactivity that we see prevailing amongst us. We know from experience that when one is in a cold climate, the cold itself acts as a tonic to the nerves, urging one spontaneously to activity, and making activity (physical as well as mental) itself a pleasure; but that on the other hand the moment you transfer yourself to a hot climate, even ordinary physical movement seems a burden, and to engage, under a high temperature, in a task requiring continuous, steady mental or physical application for any length of time is a matter of great difficulty. Being however where we are, those natural disadvantages must be put with and fought against as much as we can. So with these disadvantages of nature against us, it behoves us to be all the more careful as to how we regulate our lives. We must not, that is to say, do anything that of itself is likely to weaken us, physically, mentally or morally. But should we, living in a climate like this which is itself so enervating, choose to live in a way clearly calculated to predispose us to debility and illness; that is to say, by having social customs that will degenerate and destroy any race however manly and vigorous originally, and that in any climate however bracing, and by engaging ourselves in occupations that instead of helping to raise us are likely to lower us physically as well as morally: then nothing on earth or in heaven could save us. And even as the decay in the tropics of an organism, vegetable or animal, is comparatively rapid owing to the hastening action of the heat and moisture, even so the degeneration, brought on through the breach of physical and moral laws of a tropical people will be quick and rapid.

Now can anything be done? Is it too late for reform and regeneration, or can anything yet be done to save the people from extinction that plainly and clearly stares it in the face, unless the present ways of our life are altered according to the light that reason and biology plainly holds before mankind?

If it is not yet too late to mend, then our first and immediate care should be to secure the growth of a vigorous race and regulate our lives so that anything that might tend to weaken such growth may, without question or hesitation, be weeded out and the goal pressed forward to at any cost and under all circumstances. And unless some such step be taken and followed up with resolve and determination, there can be no help for India.

For our object in view, namely, the regeneration of the race, the following then are some of the points that require urgent and immediate attention:—

I. Education of Boys—

(i) Physical,

(ii) Moral.

If a vigorous race is the objective, then the physical education of our boys should be our first care, coupled with a thorough grounding in elementary moral principles. For only he who is himself a lover of truth and justice firmly believes and knows that justice and truth will prevail and triumph and are bound to triumph in the end; and such a man is immeasurably braver and stronger than another individual who may be physically as strong but morally a coward. If you therefore wish that your boy should grow up into a brave and strong man in the real sense of the word, his moral education should be as much attended to as his physical. Not only must he be taught to love and speak the truth above all else, he must also be taught to cultivate pure habits and must live a clean pure life. Thus and thus only can he grow into man who will be serviceable to his community and country.

Abolition of child-marriage.

This custom of child-marriage which is

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at the root of the present race degeneration and is mainly responsible for the sickly and dwarfed growth and the weakly physique of the people must be given up if we would rise above our present condition of physical degradation at all. For any kind of progress, physical, mental or spiritual, physical strength is essential and necessary. Remember, a weak people is never counted in the scale of nations! Go where you like, whether in Europe, America, Africa or other parts of Asia, you will not find child-marriage prevalent anywhere. And among the nations that are strong and independent or are considered to be in the fore front of civilisation at the present day, you will find marriage in adult life is the custom and the rule, and not marriage among children, which is against reason, nature and common sense.

If you go to the animal kingdom, you will find the same thing, that is, they do not mate until they are full grown.

If such then is the rule throughout the animal kingdom (and man belongs to this kingdom), then India cannot violate it without bringing on its head all the dire consequences that the violation of such a fundamental law involves. Naturally, and as one of the results of this violation, India enjoys the distinction of being the weakest and best despised of all nations at the present moment.

Hence the abolition of the custom of child-marriage is the corner stone of all Indian reforms. Rectify all other customs and habits of the people but leave this custom untouched, it is as certain as day follows night that we shall never be able to rise, politically or otherwise, but remain condemned as the weakest of all peoples and races, let our politicians or other wiseacres say what they may. But do away with child-marriage and you will have laid the foundation for the regeneration and progress of the country.

The difficulties in the way of abolishing this custom are certainly great, seeing that the Hindu society is such an old one and that rules and customs therein have got so ingrained in it that they form part and parcel of the life—which is essentially a religious one—of the people. The reformers in this direction must win over the pundits first and get them to tell the people that the marriage of a girl after puberty is not a sin entailing hell for her forefathers to the fourteenth generation. In ancient India there was the स्वयम्वरा प्रथा and other similar customs, which would seem to show that girls used to marry after they had attained the age of full discretion. That is to say, get the pundits to explode the 'अष्टवर्षभवेत् गौरी' shastra. When this is done, the present Hindu society which, especially in Bengal, is groaning under the pressure of having to marry the girls as early as possible will be relieved of a very great burden and strain, and the cause of a vast amount of distress, poverty and misery will have been removed and foundation laid for true regeneration of the land.

Abolition of the Zenana system.

Be a strong, bold people and you will not need to keep your womenfolk shut indoors. This custom which deprives the womankind, who make up half the nation of their freedom of movement and is therefore as cruel as it is unnatural, inflicts a deep, abiding and progressive injury on the nation, for the women are the mothers as well as physical and moral custodians of the coming generation, and any injury or suffering inflicted on the mothers reflect directly on the children. Evils arising from the Zenana system are broadly (i) Physical and (ii) Moral.

(1) Physical.—That confinement within the four walls of a house does not tend to the preservation of good health, but is on the contrary, productive of ill-health and disease is very plain and obvious. As regards the health of the body, what applies to man applies equally to women. It is a matter of daily experience that one must daily have a certain amount of physical exercise if he would keep in good health. For one's health fresh air, again, is as necessary and important as food, or perhaps more so. Deprive a man of his fresh air and daily physical exercise, it will not be possible for him to preserve sound health. These remarks apply equally to women. In fact considering the greater delicacy of her constitution and the share she has to bear in the continuance of the species, it is even more important, from the point of view of the welfare of the future generations, that they should enjoy good health

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and spirits in even a greater abundance. But how is it possible for them to do so if they are not allowed even to go about freely and without restraint? So, living as they do now, confined within the walls of the homestead, it is no wonder that our womenfolk should suffer from general ill-health and that the children born should be so sickly and wanting in vitality and that the infant mortality be so high. Therefore for the sake of the children at least and the posterity, if for nothing else, this most unnatural custom should be done away with.

(2) Moral.—Apart from the physical evils attendant on the Zenana system, there is a moral side to the question, and the evils in this connection are no less important or less far reaching than the physical.

That the mode of living by which one is cut off from all communication with the outside world is likely to beget timidity, fearfulness and diffidence need not be disputed. It also goes without saying that it is only by coming in contact with the outside world one can learn to be self-reliant, courageous and brave. That our women are therefore likely to be deficient in self-reliance and courage and are really generally very timid and diffident, no one will venture to dispute. It will also be conceded that many of the personal qualities of parents are often transmitted to the children. Hence the inference is that the children of such parents will also be diffident and timid and wanting in self-reliance. And that as a matter of fact our boys and young men are very timid and wanting in self-reliance, not even our worst enemies and sincerest ill-wishers will deny.

That a good deal of the timidity and want of courage of children and youths is inherited from their parents the writer will try to confirm and demonstrate by a concrete example. The writer knows Bengal being himself a Bengali; but he has travelled considerably in the Central Provinces of India and thus come to know a good deal of it fairly intimately. And his experience is that the Central Provinces, at any rate the parts he has visited, are very much poorer than Bengal, so much so that in the districts visited by him the ordinary daily wages of men and women are annas 2 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ respectively and that the majority of the people are half-starved, not being able to afford more than one relatively substantial meal during 24 hours. This the comparatively substantial meal of the day is taken in the evening, drinks of rice-water being depended on to keep down the cravings of hunger during the rest of the day. The result of this insufficiency of food is that men and women have not much spare flesh on them and are more like walking skeletons than anything else, and it is a very rare thing indeed to come across a man with good muscles and bones in those parts. But though the food is wretchedly insufficient in quantity (we will say nothing about the quality), so that they seem to be going hungry all day and have not enough for the full growth of their bones and muscles, their women are as free to go about as the men and are often as hardy, fearless and self-reliant in consequence. And the result is that the children, though going half-hungry and of slight build and not possessed of much spare flesh or bone (like their parents) are fearless little fellows, quite unabashed at the sight of strangers and devoid of that timidity that characterises the children of Bengal. What may be the cause of this difference? In Bengal the poverty is certainly less and the children better fed. Yet the Central Provinces children, inspite of the deficiency of food and nutriment are braver and more courageous than their fellows of Bengal. The climate of the Central Provinces, being drier, is certainly in favour of the C. P. children, but that will hardly account for the difference. The real cause seems to lie in the fact that the mothers are not zenana bound but can and do move about as freely and fearlessly as the men, and as they are courageous and devoid of timidity themselves the children born of them are in consequence bold and fearless little fellows.

Timidity is a kind of illness, a defect of constitution. As a sick mother will give birth to a sick child, so we have timid mothers necessarily having timid children. Thus we have timid parents giving birth to timid children and thus continuing a weakly and timid race of human beings.

A timid people is always looked down upon and despised. For rights it has none: a right being, as the world goes, what one can get hold of and keep. Thus it is no wonder that the 'Bengali Babu' has become

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a proverbial term of reproach and rightly so. So if Bengal wants ever to make any progress, she must give up the zenana and other similar customs that lie at the root of her degradation and are dragging her down.

Abolition of Heavy Dowries and Extravagant Expenditure at Marriages.

Another matter that is eating into the vitals of the Hindu society at the present day and reducing it to penury and destitution is the custom of heavy dowries and other heavy expenditure in connection with a daughter's marriage.

Some 25 or 30 years ago it was difficult for a young man to marry unless his parents could pay a certain sum of money to the parents of the girl: that is to say, the girl had to be paid for. But now quite reverse is the case, and that with a vengeance. The party that has to be bought now is the boy's and very expensive the buying has become. The charges that are demanded by the boy's people are daily getting as unreasonable as they are exhorbitant. The hardship, difficulties and impoverishment that the father of a girl is put to when he wants to give his daughter in marriage are well known. The general belief among the orthodox Hindu society is that a bridegroom must be found for a girl before she is 10 or 12, otherwise not only the father but also the forefathers to the extent of 14 generations will go to perdition, in the next world, besides the penalty of excommunication incurred by the father in the present world. Hence the birth and growth of a girl in an orthodox Hindu family, especially where the purses are slender, is looked upon with anything but joy and satisfaction. For the father knows only too well that whatever his circumstances he must marry his daughter or daughters and that as early as practicable. If there are more daughters than one, his anxiety is proportionally great. Many a father has often to mortgage or sell his very homestead and all, so that he might marry the daughters and thus save his reputation and "kul", though he might be and very often is left a veritable beggar himself after the marriage, *i.e.*, with no means left to live upon. The amount of misery and poverty that are thus being caused solely on this account is appalling. But the father with the wife and other children, thus left beggars, is not the only sufferer. The custom brings misery and unhappiness often on the girl herself as well, for whose marriage the father may have impoverished herself. For a father who is not in very flourishing circumstances and is compelled, by fear of perdition in the next world and of loss of caste and honor in the present, to give his daughter in marriage is often driven to desperation by his inability to provide a large sum to pay for a young and suitable son-in-law and thus obliged to give her to an old man or to one diseased or lame. The father thus certainly saves his own social honor and that of his family, but leaves his daughter in the hands of "Fate", that is, lifelong misery and unhappiness, the misery that may befall a girl after marriage being regarded as what had been pre-ordained for her! And even if the old or sick husband might die the day after the marriage, as not unfrequently happens, the girl is never allowed to marry again. And who has not heard of India's child widows?

The first duty then of the social reformers will be to combine and frame regulations that would be binding upon every one belonging to the society, abolishing the dowry system and making the acceptance of dowries socially penal. This will bring unspeakable relief to the vast majority of the Hindus, and lessen poverty, misery and degradation all round. Almost every father is groaning under the intolerable hardship of the present conditions and urgently feels the necessity of some kind of reform and relief; but nobody dares to raise his own voice in protest. The call is now for the reformers, for men with influence and power, wealth and social position; the call is for all these to come together and save the community. Abolish not only the dowry system, root and branch; but also the stupid and idiotic custom of simply throwing away large sums of money in processions, bands and other similar childish *tamashas*. Look at the huge sums wasted on these things alone in a single marriage! If the money thus thrown away were saved in making some provision for the married couple, there would be some sense in that. But to waste money in bands, lights and procession is waste indeed and bespeaks a

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thoughtless and improvident condition of the people that is well nigh hopeless.

STOPPAGE OF IMPROVIDENT MARRIAGES AND KEEPING DOWN OF POPULATION.—One of the most fruitful causes of increasing poverty and therefore of misery amongst us is the multiplication by everybody, including the halt, lame and the maimed. Anybody, whether or not he is physically unfit or whether he is unable to earn his own living, is allowed to marry. That is to say everybody must marry. Of a man (speaking of the Hindu society), he must marry so that he may have a son, for unless he has a son he cannot escape being sent to a particular purgatory or hell; that is to say, the offerings by a son for the salvation of his father's soul being necessary, a man must marry. As for a girl, she must be given in marriage before she attains puberty, otherwise her father stands to lose caste here on earth and the ancestors are doomed to perdition. So every one must marry, whether he or she is a fool, idiot or cripple and incapable of doing anything for himself or herself. The result is the increase of an incapable, useless, starving population and increase of poverty, misery and degradation in corresponding ratio all round. As a consequence pestilence which always attends on extreme poverty is now carrying away thousands every week in the shape of plague, cholera and small-pox.

This thoughtless increase of population must be put a stop to if India is to rise at all, and the first step towards it is the prevention of the lame, halt and maimed and the incapable from marrying. The reformers must get the Shastras to show that everybody need not marry; that celibacy is no sin, that the marriage of the incapable is a positive sin; that one's salvation does not depend on his son but upon himself alone; that the marriage of a girl after puberty is no sin and does not involve her parent or ancestors in a doom of perdition, and that no one has the right to marry who has not the means properly to feed, clothe and educate his children. That is to say, marriage by the diseased, the cripple and the incapable should be prohibited and made socially penal.

SPREAD OF SANITARY KNOWLEDGE.—Considering the hold that the epidemics have got on the people and how steeped in ignorance the people in general are about elementary rules of health, it is essential, if India is to be preserved at all from utter destruction, that simple rules of sanitation should be within their reach, so that they might protect themselves.

For unless something of this sort is done and done quickly, the annihilation of India by famine and pestilence is a matter of no distant date.

A people that lives in a tropical climate; marries while yet immature; must marry whether diseased or destitute; keeps its womankind in confinement (zenana): such a people is bound to be weak, spiritless and invertrebrate as the natives of India at the present day are. Their days must be numbered, for their social habits and customs, as indicated above, are sources, not of strength but of weakness. Physical decay therefore is inevitable, and that moral decay follows the physical is but too apparent about us. Hence it ought to be plain to every thinking person that noxious social customs must be altered and reformed if decay and death is to be averted.

It behoves then the reformer to see, in the first instance, to that which will prevent decay and death and make the people physically healthy and strong. Make a people strong, physically and morally, and other reforms will follow it themselves. Without physical strength nothing was ever achieved. Therefore the duty of an Indian reformer, if he hopes for better days for India at all, will be to see how he can make his people strong and brave. Physical and moral strength is the only genuine basis on which any other reform, such as political, was ever, or could ever be, established. Nothing stable can be built on a weak physical basis—that is, if a people is weak physically and morally, no other reform, political or other, is possible. Remember therefore that in physical and social regeneration alone lies India's salvation. Otherwise complete ruin and death are not distant for her, however glorious her past may have been.

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ITALY'S WAR FOR A DESERT*

A brief year ago we were rejoicing with Italy in the festival of her Risorgimento. We thought of her visible unity less as a material and political achievement than as the symbol of her ardent, selfless soul. We believed that Mazzini was but the mouthpiece of Young Italy when he declared "'God wills it' must be the eternal watchword of every undertaking like our own, having sacrifice for its basis, the people for its instrument, and humanity for its aim."

Today this same Italy is scorned and detested by the whole civilised world. Her shame is the deeper, her barbarity the more loathsome in that Liberty and Humanity have been so closely associated with her name. We have received a wrenching shock to the finer susceptibilities which enshrine our faith in those whom we would fain believe, are made perfect through suffering.

"It is perhaps well that it should be Italy and none other to read us this much needed lesson—Italy the flower of our Western world, whom we so much loved and pitied fifty years ago. It is well that we should be reminded of our folly in that we believed in her tears and thought that liberty would be a cure for her secular griefs. Her tears are dry enough now, and she stands before us hard-eyed, brazen cheeked, the harlot of Europe boasting with loud tongue her shamelessness."

This raid on Tripoli is the most flagrant exposure in modern times of the moral decadence of Europe. Yet it would seem that even Italy, ruthless in her pillage, shameless in her orgies of blood, was haunted by the memory of the light she once hailed. Never has news been so rigorously censored, so dilligently perverted. Correspondents who attempted to tell the truth were summarily expelled: Every Italian defeat—and there were many—was transformed into some extraordinary feat of "irresistible heroism" on the part of the invaders. Therefore we are the more indebted to Mr. McCullagh for his plain, straightforward and temperate account of the situation. Without it we should perhaps never have understood why the Turks with quantities of stored ammunition and 3,000 well armed Arabs at their disposal left the town of Tripoli instead of waiting to cut down the Italians as they landed.

Mr. McCullagh tells us how the foreign Consuls besought the Turks to withdraw from the town rather than bring upon the defenceless Europeans still left in it—mostly women and children—the horrors of bombardment by the Italian fleet. They found it "very hard to shake the Turkish officers in their resolve to remain and conquer or die in the Tripolitan metropolis." But at last Munir Pasha gave way and induced his companions to do the same. "There were tears in the eyes of some. One of them, Reschid Effendi, said bitterly: 'We shall leave after a few shots from the batteries, after little more than a formal protest against the Italian landing. But we know that the Italians will misrepresent our action (which they did) and impute it to cowardice'". And so to their undying honour these brave men abandoned their capital rather than expose the unprotected Christians to the horrors of siege and massacre. They lost a military position. They won an immortal victory.

"Ever since the beginning of the war," says Mr. McCullagh, "it was the unspeakable Stamboul which had been prudent, careful of life, merciful: it was the Holy and Royal Rome which had been addle-headed and inhumane.... Before the bombardment on October 3rd and 4th Nesciat Bey and Munir Pasha had kept order most admirably in the town. The Englishmen who lived in Tripoli during these critical days assure me that the Turkish authorities behaved on that occasion with a self-possession, an energy, and a capacity which surpass all praise."

We read further of the old fighting courage of the Osmanli and their desert allies—no cowards these, whom the foreign Consuls persuaded to mercy. How at the battle of Sharashell 250 brave Arabs broke the Italian lines and scattered the famous Bersaglieri "like deer." How at the Battle of Sidi Messri 1,500 Arabs attacked an army of 20,000 Italians, broke their line and forced a retreat: an almost incredible feat when we remember the condition of the rival armies.

"The Turks had seven old guns which were not in action on the present occasion. Against these seven old guns the Italians had a fleet which could throw any number of ten-inch-shells among the enemy. On land the Italians had at this time seven batteries of magnificent field guns, nine batteries of mountain guns, sixteen machine guns, naval search-lights to sweep the seashore at night, search-lights to sweep the desert, wireless telegraphy, telephones, all the resources of science. As for the Arabs they were refused all quarter, they were not recognised as belligerents, their white flags were not respected. On the Italian side there are four and twenty big brass generals with a general staff. On the Turkish side there is one colonel and a few staff-officers devoid of all technical appliances."

Our heart goes out to those unnamed heroes who fell fighting against such tremendous odds. They had no special correspondents to recount their valour, no press to blazon their glory.

"Not a single Turk or Arab of the two gallant bands which twice broke the Italian line ever returned to tell the tale, and all the deeds of heroism which they performed during their last desperate struggles in the oasis will never be known."

All this and much more we should never have realised but for the writing of the book before us. A catholic and predisposed in favour of the Italians,

* By Francis McCullagh. Herbert & Daniels. 10/6 net. London.

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Mr. McCullagh went out as war correspondent with the Italian army, and remained with it all through the bombardment and occupation of Tripoli by the Italians, the battles, the burning of the Bedouin village, and that culminating outburst of barbarity—the purging of the oasis. After witnessing that final act of atrocity he felt "he could not associate any longer with an army that is no army but a gang of marauders and a band of assassins" and accordingly sent in his papers to General Caneva. On his return to England since the British Press as a whole had either been unable to obtain information as to the real facts or had been terrorised by political expediency into suppressing anything which might seriously diminish Italian prestige, he wrote down from his diaries this plain, unpretentious account, without care for literary style—(indeed we might say culpably careless in this respect) or regard for dramatic possibilities, but "just to tell us what happened in Tripoli in October, 1911."

The opening chapter, brief but important, explains the psychological situation in Italy, which made possible a war so alien to her supposed ideals. "It is extraordinary to find the one nation in Europe whose claims to respect are based wholly on its artistic and literary achievement suddenly and of its own accord rattling into barbarism."

The explanation is very significant. Modern Italy was created through the sentiment of the Powers who befriended her. She did not grow from within. Mazzini thrilled Europe as he stirred the sluggish blood of his countrymen to heroic action and inspired them to a momentary idealism: but Italy was not ripe for the nobility of his message. In the first generous rush of sympathy she was placed in a position she was unable to maintain: her fall, now her real nature has revealed itself in all its crudity, is all the more tragic.

"It was France and to some extent England and Prussia, which made Italian unity, but it was not Italy. It was Magenta and Solferino, and not the battles of Garibaldi. Italy therefore felt herself much in the same position as Greece. She had started her career with the fatal disadvantage of having won her independence at the hands of another people."

Italy is a grave warning to all who would cheat nature by seeking to receive as a gift that which can only be won. Every soul and every nation must win freedom for itself, and having won, must guard that freedom with the purity of its spiritual insight, and the consecration of a tempered but indomitable will. There exists no other way, no more royal road.

We do not propose to follow Mr. McCullagh in his account of the terrible cruelties perpetrated by the Italians on all men, women, and children—who fell into their hands. The soldiers were drunk with blood and frenzied with terror. Their officers and priests looked on unmoved—fit successors of their barbarian ancestors who rejoiced to watch brave men and helpless women "butchered" to make their holiday. The sick and wounded of all ages,—old women, young girls, children, were left to die half-naked in the very streets under a scorching sun, amid the jeers of a ribald soldiery, while not even a priest would bring a cup of water to quench their awful thirst. "Let him die" was the answer given by one father Bevilaequa in response for aid for an Arab boy of thirteen or fourteen left moaning in the road not twenty yards from a Red Cross hospital. He lay there a whole day exposed to a pitiless sun and tormented by flies. The next morning he was dead. An Arab girl of sixteen or seventeen was dragged along the ground by her feet, the officer and soldiers jeering at her bare body which was thus exposed. They left her to die at the gate of the hospital, "begging piteously for a drink of water—which was not given—from a group of soldiers and officers who stood inspecting her critically, for she was a very beautiful girl". We shall not go into details of how these unarmed Arabs of the Bedouin village, were murdered in piles, in batches, "merely as a precautionary measure—lest they might become rebels later on". Men shot side by side with their wives, children with their parents, facing death unflinchingly, unconquered children of the sun, worthy of the untameable desert from which they sprang.

"Vengeance is mine: I will repay" is the word of the God to whom these Christians give allegiance. Who among them will abide the day of his reckoning?

We leave our readers to pursue, if they must, in the pages of the book itself, the hideous tale of this "hell let loose". We are now concerned with the deeper question of the relation of this apparently unprecedented raid to the purpose of European politics and the trend of modern civilisation.

The salient feature of the whole nefarious proceeding is the complicity of the Great Powers and particularly of England.

The British Government replying to the attacks made upon it, has inevitably denied any knowledge of the intended raid, but it has been totally unable to defend itself against the overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Had the Foreign Office been left in ignorance or misinformed of Italy's intentions, it would certainly have recalled its Ambassador at Rome, Sir Rennell Rodd, for such serious inefficiency. Instead we find Lord Kitchener sent to Egypt at the very moment when a "strong man" would be needed to enforce neutrality and to prevent the perfectly legal passage of Ottoman troops through Egypt to Tripoli. In the firmans regulating the relations between Egypt and Turkey it is expressly stated that "If Turkey is at war, the Egyptian army may be called upon to fight in the cause of the Sultan in which case it may be increased according to the requirements of the moment". Turkey was not in a position to insist upon her rights and Lord Kitchener effectually prevented the Egyptian Mohammedans from rendering any assistance. Even the Italians admit that "the British Foreign Office has been most friendly to them all along;" while in every subsequent question that has arisen England has agreed with the other Powers "to place no impediment in the way of Italian plans." Again it was a strange interpretation of neutrality which allowed "any amount of German Amunition, any number of French aeroplanes to pass into Italy, but did not so far as lay in its power allow a single cartridge to cross the Egyptian or Tunisian frontiers."

The position is all the more significant when we remember that the greater part of England's empire depends upon the loyalty of her Mussulman subjects. Viewed in this light it seems almost incredible that she should so callously betray any trust that Turkey may have put in her professions of friendliness, so openly show to Islam that as far as she is concerned it may be left to its heathen fate.

But on the other hand England is becoming aware that she will have to face a growing menace to her

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Imperialism in the spread of Islam in Africa. Christianity and Islam confront each other as rival candidates for the favour of this virgin continent. Without drawing any invidious distinctions between the two religions—and we hold no brief for either—it cannot be denied that so far Christianity has only succeeded in depriving the African of his native virtues while rendering him an easy prey to the worst European vices, making him servile and denationalised in the profession of a code of life so alien to his needs. Whereas conversion to Islam seems to aid him along the lines of his own development, and he does not lose his natural virtues nor his native independence in becoming socially and morally organised to a degree which might well render him formidable to any European power seeking to threaten his liberties or exploit his interests. Consequently during the past few years there has been a steady anti-Islamic propaganda in England, religious in origin but with a strong political bearing. The British Government thus finds itself on the horns of a dilemma; on the one side the necessity of placating the Indian Mohammadans, upon whose continued loyalty it is so largely dependent, on the other the barely formulated fear of Islam in Africa and the welcome to any rebuff it may there receive.

Over and above these particular considerations, sudden crises such as this, strip off the veneer from the expediencies of Imperial profession and international morality. Blood is thicker than water and the urgings of primitive nature than the decencies of diplomatic convention. We have to admit that the diverse races of Europe are hedged round by centuries of such common social and religious polity as makes them homogeneous in their instinctive distrust and dislike of the East. In spite of the achievements of its civilisation, and such learning and culture as these may connote, we have to recognise that as yet the West is too ignorant and too bigoted to respect a culture it does not share, a philosophy it cannot grasp, a religion which differs from its own, or a mode of life which does not fit its own particular needs. The temper of the Crusades, combined with the lust for industrial exploitation and political jealousy still animates Europe. She will tolerate an Eastern nation weak enough to be used as buffer between her own rival jealousies, or exploited under her protection to enrich her coffers. But she combines all her members, in, as she fancies, self-defence, to prevent any Eastern nation from attaining that freedom and power which she severally enjoys. Therefore the Great Powers, though openly professing disgust and disapproval at the Italian war, secretly permitted and encouraged it.

"There are certain inalienable rights, and among them is the right of defence against an overpowering invader. It is never treason to combat *pro aris et focis*, no matter how one fights, no matter what are the *arae* and *foci* for which one combats."

Europe admitted this for Italy fifty years ago. She has yet to learn that if true for one, it is equally true for every nation under heaven.

HILDA M. HOWSIN.

SHOULD HARMONIUMS BE ABOLISHED?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MODERN REVIEW.

SIR,—Since my article on the inadequacy of the tempered pitch, and therefore, of harmoniums and their kind, appeared in your columns, I have received numerous letters from your readers, questioning its 'practical bearing' on the present state of music in India. The gist of these letters is that Indians 'may as well' study harmonium, since if they do not, they will certainly never apply themselves to vinā, fiddle, or kindred instruments; that 'anyhow', they 'may as well' begin by harmonium and study their own more difficult instruments later, and so forth. My correspondents do not seem to have much faith in Indian musical capacity, industry and perseverance, whilst most of them seem to have entirely missed one of the chief points in my arguments against tempered pitch,—namely, that it is even worse to begin music to a tempered instrument, than to take up its study at a later stage, since such early training ruins the musical ear, to say nothing of other musical capacities, at the outset. My article was based on independent conclusions formed during some fifteen years of wide and varied musical experience, but lest your readers should think that my ideas are merely fanciful, may I trouble you to insert a few opinions which I have since gathered from authoritative Western sources of widely divergent tendencies—classicist, academic, scientific, and ultra-modern—which directly favour, or tend directly to favour, the very system of Just or Natural Intonation, to the existence of which, as their precious birth-right, nearly all musical Indians are now so indifferent? Allow me to put the case for the archaic Indian scale conception, *as defended by Western scholars for the pro-*

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gressive development of modern Western music. But let me make it clear at the outset, that I fail to understand why Indians are not satisfied by the authority of their own ancient and some of their modern cultured musicians, into whose minds the idea of an artificial intonation never entered. In the course of some correspondence on matters connected with Indian music Sir Roper Lethbridge, for instance, lately wrote me the following :—

"When I went out to Calcutta I took up the study of Hindu music (with the late Mr. C. B. Clarke, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and sometime Acting Director of Public Instruction in Bengal) on mathematical lines. I found that the Raja Sourindra Mohan Tagore and the [then] chief Indian experts expressed (and with good reason) the opinion that *the European musical ear had become depraved by being accustomed to the false notes of the pianoforte*, which provides for no smaller division of musical sound than the semi-tone !"

In my article I pointed out, that much damage has been done over here by the use of keyed instruments and their tempered pitch. Turning up the section on "Temperament," by James Lecky, in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. IV, 1900, we find :

"*Temperament* is the name given to various methods of tuning, in which certain of the constant intervals, chiefly the Fifth and Major Third, are *intentionally made more or less false or imperfect*; that is to say, either sharper or flatter than exact consonance would require. If, on the contrary, all the consonant intervals are made perfectly smooth and pure, so as to give no Beats, the tuning is then called Just Intonation.

"When a piece of music containing much change of key is executed in Just Intonation, we find that the number of notes employed in each Octave *is considerable*, and that the difference of pitch between them is, in many cases, *comparatively minute*, [in other words, we get *srutis*]. Yet, however great the number of notes may be, and however small the intervals which separate them, all these notes can be correctly produced by the voice; as they may be derived from a few elementary intervals, namely the Octave, Fifth, Major Third, and Harmonic Seventh. Instruments like the violin and the trombone are also suitable for the employment of Just Intonation; because, in these cases, the player can modify the pitch of each note at pleasure, being guided by his sense of key-relation. *But it is otherwise with instruments whose tones are fixed, such as the pianoforte, organ, and harmonium.* Here the precise pitch of each note does not depend on the player, but is settled for him beforehand by the tuner. Hence, in these instruments, the number of notes per Octave is limited, and cannot furnish all the varieties of pitch required in Just Intonation. A few scales may indeed, be tuned perfectly; but if so, certain notes which belong to the Public Domain. CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri missing. Compromise then becomes a mechanical necessity; and it is found that by putting most of the consonant intervals, except the Octave, *slightly out of tune*, the number of notes required in modulation may be considerably reduced, without too much offence to the ear."

It should be remembered that modulation, or change from one keynote (স্বর) to another, has no place in the Indian system.

"This mode of tuning is called TEMPERAMENT, and is now usually applied to all instruments with fixed tones. And although voices, violins and trombones [and all such instruments] naturally have no need of temperament, *they must all conform to the intonation of any tempered instrument which is played in concert with them*,"

Hence, of course, the musical disaster which training to these keyed instruments must bring about.

The system of Temperament, as I pointed out, is of recent date. It is a mechanical, not a musical, device, and already bids fair to be supplanted by the Natural Intonation which has existed all the world over, as far as musical scholars can ascertain, for ages. Space did not permit me to indicate, in my article, the lines along which the most advanced Western musicians are even now trying to escape from "temperament." I sought rather to point out the havoc it had wrought, by which we are immediately surrounded. It should not therefore be concluded, however, that all Western artists are unaware of this havoc, or that the coming musical generation will tolerate it. Our keyed instruments, and so of course our schools, choruses, and orchestras, are everwhere tainted by its influence, but they know that they are tainted. They are not accepting tempered pitch wholeheartedly, like their Indian brethren, albeit their own immediate predecessors were responsible for it. Writing of experiments in the difference between tempered chords, Mr. Lecky says :

"It is only by making oneself practically familiar with these facts, that the nature of Temperament can be understood and its [dire] effects in the orchestra, or in accompanied singing, properly appreciated."

Again :

"*Its deviations from exact consonance* [*i. e.*, pure tonality] *though considerable*, can be concealed by means of unsustained harmony, rapid movement"...

Do we want unsustained harmony and rapid movement to dominate Indian music? If so, we must destroy the Indian system to its foundations.

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After an explanation of technical causes, which result in the deviation from consonance found in temperament, the writer continues :

"The Difference-Tones resulting from these tempered chords *are also thrown very much out of tune*, and, even when too far apart to 'beat', still produce a disagreeable effect, *especially on the organ and the harmonium*...

"From a commercial point of view, the change [to temperament] has been highly advantageous. It has enabled the maker of the pianoforte or organ to obviate a serious imperfection without disturbing the traditional structure of the instrument--"

It may be observed in passing, that the very most that can be claimed for this 'tradition', is that it can be traced back to the end of the 14th century !—

"While, on the other hand, alterations both in the internal mechanism and in the form of keyboard would have been necessary if musicians had insisted that the 'wolves' should be got rid of without abolishing the old tuning [*i. e.*, the meantone system, which was a closer approximation to Exact Consonance or Just Intonation]. *Trade-usage will, therefore, be strongly on the side of equal temperament for a long time to come*...[This, of course, was written twelve years ago. Things are changing rapidly now].....That the defects of equal temperament were not so noticeable then [in Bach's time] as now, may be attributed both to the different kind of instrument and different style of composition which have since been developed. The clavichord [a delicately constructed keyed instrument], which is said to have been an especial favourite with Bach, was characterised by a much softer quality of tone, and feebler intensity, than the modern pianoforte.* Again, composers of a century and a half ago relied for effect chiefly on vigorous counterpoint, or skilful imitation between the various melodic parts, and not on the thick chords and *sustained harmonies* [another approach to the East] which have become so marked a feature in modern music. Owing to these changed conditions, *the evils of temperament are greatly intensified now-a-days* [and conditions have changed further so rapidly since this was written, that those evils are still more aggravated], and the necessity for some remedy has become imperative. There is but one direction in which an efficient remedy can be found, namely in the use of some more harmonious form of intonation than that which at present prevails. It is only by the help of an instrument on which the improved systems of tuning can be employed in an adequate manner that the student will be able to estimate their value."

It must, however, be here insisted that for practical ends of performance or learning, no keyed instrument could be made to satisfy the need for *srutis*, as the technical manipulation of such an instrument would be far too complex even for the trained artist, and of course absolutely beyond the capacities of the beginner. For purposes of acoustical experiment such instruments may be used, but with this aspect of the subject my article was not concerned. Art revivals do not start in laboratories.

"*To carry out any system of temperament consistently in the orchestra is practically an impossible task.* Tempered intervals can only be produced with certainty on a small number of the instruments, chiefly the wood-wind. The brass instruments have an intonation of their own which differs widely from either of the temperaments we have described. Thus the French horn, whose notes are the harmonics rising from the sub-division of a tube, gives a Major Third much flatter than equal temperament, and a Fifth much sharper than the meantone system. There is necessarily a great deal of false harmony whenever the brass is prominently heard in tempered music. Again, the tuning of the string-quartet is accomplished by just Fifths (C—G—D—A—E), but as these instruments have free intonation, they can execute tempered intervals when supported by the pianoforte or organ. In the absence of such an accompaniment, *both violinists and singers seem unable to produce equally tempered scales or chords.*

This is precisely what might have been expected on theoretic grounds, as the consonant relations of the different notes being partially lost through temperament, the altered intervals would naturally be difficult to seize and render. [This I pointed out. But unfortunately, in the realm of actual musical practice, our Western singers and players are compelled to cultivate an approximation to tempered pitch even apart from the piano, for the reason that they cannot alter their *technique* every time they play with a keyed instrument. The results are musically paralysing. Fortunately, we have positive facts to prove the truth of this deduction. The subject has been recently investigated by two French *savants*, MM. Cornu and Mercadier.* Their experiments were made with three professional players, M. Leonard, the Belgian violinist, M. Seligmann, violoncellist, and M. Ferrand violinist of the Opera Comique, besides amateur players and singers. The results showed that a wide distinction must be drawn between the intervals employed in unaccompanied melody, and those employed in harmony, [the latter, as hitherto conceived. See end of this article]. In solo performances, continuous variety of intonation was observed [in other words the *srutis* for the highest purposes of spontaneous art are indeterminable.] The same pitch was seldom repeated, and even the Octave and Fifth were sometimes sharpened or flattened. So far as any regularity could be traced, the intervals aimed at appeared to be those known as Pythagorean, of which the only consonant ones are the Octave, Fifth, and Fourth."

Pythagoras is said to have brought his scales from India. It is significant, indeed, that modern Western musicians, when untrammelled by piano or organ, should, under certain melodic conditions, revert to the Indian intervals learned in Greece by

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* Bosanquet, 'Temperament', pp. 28-29.

† See Ellis's appendix to 'Sensations of Tone,' page 787.

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their far ancestors! The Octave, Fourth, and Fifth are, too, the only regular or 'immutable' intervals recognised in the great South Indian system. These facts speak for themselves.

"In two-part harmony, the players with whom they (Cornu and Mercadier) experimented invariably produced the intervals of Just Intonation. The Thirds and Sixths gave no 'beats', and the Minor Seventh on the Dominant was always taken in its smoothest [non-tempered] form, namely the Harmonic Seventh."

Again, as showing the scientific viewpoint:

"'I have myself observed,' says Helmholtz, the great physicist, 'that singers accustomed to a pianoforte accompaniment, when they sang a simple melody to my justly-intoned harmonium, [an instrument for acoustical experiment], sang natural Thirds and Sixths, *not tempered*, nor yet Pythagorean. I accompanied the commencement of the melody, and then paused while the singer gave the Third or Sixth of the key. After he had given it, I touched on the instrument the natural, or the Pythagorean, or the tempered interval. The first [just intonation] *was always in unison with the singer*, the other gave shrill beats.'"*

Mr. Lecky remarks:

"Since, then, players on bowed instruments as well as singers *have a strong natural tendency to Just intervals in harmony, it is not clear why their instructions should be based on Equal Temperament as has been the practice in recent times.* This method is criticised by Helmholtz...."

Helmholtz finishes his criticism with the words:

"Practised violinists with a delicate sense of harmony know how to stop the tones they want to hear, and hence do not [or rather, should not] submit to the rules of *an imperfect school* [*i. e.* the cult of tempered pitch].

Mr. Lecky continues:

"Helmholtz found, by experiments with Herr Joachim, that this distinguished violinist, in playing the unaccompanied scale, took the Just, and not the Tempered intervals. He further observed that 'if the best players, who are thoroughly acquained with what they are playing, are able to overcome the defects of their school and of the tempered system, it would certainly wonderfully smooth the path of performers of the second order, in their attempts to attain a perfect *ensemble*, [*i. e., playing together*] *if they had been accustomed from the first to play scales by natural intervals.*'"

The author then proceeds to show that Helmholtz applied the same cosiderations to vocal music.

"'In singing' wrote Helmholtz, 'the pitch can be made most easily and perfectly to follow the wishes of a fine musical ear. Hence all music began with singing, *and singing will always remain the true and natural school of all music*:...But where are our singers [Western—now, too, it seems Eastern also] to learn Just Intonation, and make their ears sensitive for perfect chords? They are from the first taught to sing to the equal tempered pianoforte [or harmonium]....*Correct intonation in singing is so far above all others the first condition of beauty*, that a song when sung in correct intonation, even by a weak and unpractised voice, always sounds agreeable, whereas the richest and most practised voice offends the hearer when it sings false....*The instruction of our present singers by means of tempered instruments is unsatisfactory*....When we require a delicate use of the muscles of any part of the human body, as, in this case, of the larynx, there must be some sure means of ascertaining whether success has been attained. Now the presence or absence of beats gives such a means of detecting success or failure, when a voice is accompanied by sustained chords *in Just Intonation* [*as, pre-eminently, the chords of tambura*]. But Tempered chords which produce beats of their own *are necessarily quite unsuited for such a purpose.*'"*

Mr. Lecky remarks:—

"If Just Intonation does not permit the use of certain progressions which belong to other systems, *it surpasses them all in the immense variety of material which it places within the composers reach.* In many cases it supplies two or more notes of different pitch where the ordinary temperament has but one. These alternative forms are specially useful in discords enabling us to produce any required degree of roughness [by a change of *sruti*], or to avoid disagreeable changes of pitch."

The following passage shows the respect with which our Western musical scholars approach Oriental conceptions of tone. Why do Indians allow missionaries and tradesmen to set false musical standards? Mr. Lecky writes:—

"We have seen that even in those parts of the world *where equal temperament has been established as the trade usage*, other systems are also employed....Many among Oriental nations, whose culture has come down from a remote antiquity, characteristic styles of music are found which are unintelligible to the ordinary European, only acquainted with equal temperament. Hence, transcriptions of Oriental music given in books of travel, are justly received with extreme scepticism, unless the observer appears to be well acquainted with the principles of [Just] Intonation, and specifies the exact pitch of every note he transcribes."

He then criticises the works of two well-known European historians of Oriental art, adding:

"Yet it would have been easy to denote the Oriental scales and melodies, so as to enable us to reproduce them with strict accuracy, had these authors possessed a practical knowledge of untempered intervals."

Thus recognising that these intervals are the proper Eastern ones. Unfortunately Mr.

* 'Sensations of Tone,' pp. 505—510. 'Beats' are kind of pulses or throbs, usually audible, which indicate that a note or chord is out of tune.

* 'Sensations of Tone,' p. 40

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Lecky would find little difficulty in recording modern Indian music. Only too many ardent students would be willing to assist him, with gramophones and harmoniums!

The North American Review for November, 1907, contains an article from the pen of one of the ablest musical critics in the United States, Mr. Reginald de Koven. Under the title "The Modern Revolt in Music," he discusses the influence which present-day composers, headed by Richard Strauss (Germany) are exerting on several of our Western musical theories, hitherto regarded as invulnerable. The whole article bristles with interest and suggestion, and is well worth study by Indians who would employ the most vital tendencies of the West to their own present educational purposes. Subjoined are a few extracts:—

"Vivid, virile, vital, it [the music of Strauss and contemporaries] is pregnant with that forceful creative energy which makes for progress and development, which leads great movements; and to-day it waves the red flag of revolt over the [Western] musical world.... To understand the forces against which Strauss has chosen to array himself, and to appreciate the bearing and possible results of his vigorous effort to change existing conditions, *which seem, in his opinion, to limit the development of his art*, one must, at this point, take up and explain certain technical aspects of the theory and practice of music....What the foot or yard measure is to the surveyor, the octave is to the musician,—the basis and standard of tonal measurement the musical world over, even in those countries whose musical system differs from our own. According to the tonal relations established by the so-called 'equal temperament' [we get]....an aggregate of some eighty tonal units [forming the chromatic scale of about seven octaves, that is, all the notes of the pianoforte which the composer has at his command to express his thoughts]....*Bound by these various limitations* [*i.e.*, limitations which arose out of the inter-relations of these eighty tonal units], and so believing that a boundary-line of development had been reached, Sir Frederick Gore-Ouseley, a scholiast himself, and deeply imbued with the spirit of the schoolmen, *declared music to be a dead art*, because all the possible combinations of these [artificial] tonal units had been exhausted, and an entirely new and original musical thought was therefore an impossibility."

It is to be hoped that before making a wholesale adoption of artificial pitch, Indians may ponder Sir Frederick Goro-Ouseley's declaration.

"...But while ringing the death-knell of music, Sir Frederick Gore-Ouseley lost sight of the fact that *merely arbitrary limitations* [in this case the tempered scale]...*could have no lasting place in art*....

"...Let us admit, then, that *all possible combinations of the tonal units forming our scale have been exhausted*; let us admit further, as we may, that all other restrictions imposed by previously accepted tradition [that is, the tradition in the sense of a few hundred years], convention, theory and practice, *have been removed and set aside as arbitrary and unnecessary*—and a glance at the score of [Strauss's] 'Salomé' will be sufficient to prove that they have been so set aside—what then? Are we to say that this score represents the last word in music; that another boundary-line has been reached to bar further development in the art? Not so; for this score in itself contains evidence pointing to possibilities of further development that are practically limitless; to a still further change in existing conditions—a change so radical, so momentous, that, like a second Deluge, it bids fair, if carried out, to alter the face of the [Western] musical world.

"For many years the most modern thinkers have looked upon Bach's 'equal temperament'...as a clever compromise, *an ingenious makeshift, that would, in time, inevitably be superseded by a different order of things; and musicians who have spent their lives at the keyboard have realised the deficiencies and limitations of our present tonal system from an aesthetic standpoint.*...The tendency of modern music for years past has been in the direction of chromatic harmonies, and the *sub-division of intervals* [into *srutis*] thereby secured; and it would certainly seem as if Strauss [and his school] were meditating, or at least paving the way for, a revolutionary attack on the last stronghold of music as we know and have known it [*i.e.* in the history of modern music] the very basis and foundation of our entire system of harmony, the relations between the intervals which form our scale."

"...It cannot be doubted that we stand to-day on the threshold of a revolution *involving the reconstruction of our present* [tempered] *scale* so important and far-reaching that it bids fair to change the face of the [Western] musical world...."

"...Acoustically the octave is divided into some forty-eight parts appreciable to the ear, called 'commas', which when played consecutively produce a continuous sound. In Eastern countries, and more particularly in India"—

—why do Indians leave it to Western to extol their ancient system?—

—"there are a number of scales in use which differ so radically from our own that their intervals *are not reproducible on any of our keyed instruments*, though possible on the violin or any stringed instrument....To avoid technicalities in acoustics, it may be [roughly] said, that the intervals forming our [tempered] scale of twelve semitones proceed regularly in groups consisting of four commas each, while the Eastern scales, recognizing the possible sub-division of the semitone, move in irregular groups of more or less than four commas; so that there are scales in use in India containing as many as thirty or more tone-units in the same octave space, where our scale has but twelve. *The peculiar emotional effect of the more minute sub-division of the scale has been remarked and vouched for by many who have made the music of the East a study. There can be no question as to the possibiliy of such a sub-division. The notes obtainable by subdivision of the semitone all exist, and are appreciable to the ordinary ear....*

Now when we find even an unpractising Western musician declaring that the *srutis*

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are appreciable to the ordinary ear, what are we to say to those Indians who aver that even the *swaras* are not to be learnt without the aid of harmonium—that it takes two years to learn to tune the simple *tambura*, and so forth? It would seem indeed as if the Indian theory of *Srutis* were likely to be put into practice first in Europe.

"The conclusion seems obvious. If all the possible combinations, melodic and harmonic, of a scale containing twelve tonal units, are exhausted, and we expand that scale so as to contain, say, twenty-four tonal units—which could be done in several ways by varying the number of commas in each successive group forming a tonal unit or note—and so arriving at not only one new scale, but many,—

the writer here, of course, unconsciously defends the Indian system of many modes (*melakartas*), and of *srutis* as the bases of all music—

"would not the number of possible combinations be immediately doubled, and the scope of melodic invention broadened and enlarged by just so much?..."

Surely, it would. The great Indian theorists have always held the *sruti* to be indispensable to music. Mr. de Koven continues his remarkable vindication of the Eastern viewpoint, though of course he applies it to the needs of modern Western musicians :—

"But the scientific and acoustic aspect of a more minute sub-division of our present scale, its possibility, or effect on our present systems of tuning by equal temperamant, mean tone, or unequal or just temperament, is not so much the question, *as its effect on the melodic material which the composer has at his command. Melody is beyond question the starting-point and the end, the root and basis of all music;* harmony and everything else must follow in its train, for without melody there would be no music. If, therefore, we enlarge the scope of melodic invention by giving to the composer an increased number of what might be termed units of musical expression, the possibilities and value of the new melodic combinations thus secured can hardly be estimated....

"'What,' asks Mr. de Koven, 'are the indications of intent and purpose in the work of Strauss, or others, which would warrant the assumption that *a movement towards a sub-division of the scale was a dominant tendency of the most recent development in musical thought*? And, admitting its possibility, which can hardly be denied, is such a movement either practical or probable? ...A single instance, in itself so conclusive as to explain and justify the entire point at issue may be adduced for the layman. Several times in the score of his opera 'Salome,' which, whatever its defects, must be classed as an epoch-making work, Strauss has made his orchestra play in several different keys, or tonalities, simultaneously, thereby securing absolutely new tonal relations and sound-values, [new, that is, to the modern West], and *approximating in effect to the intervals of the sub-divided Eastern scales hitherto unknown to and unheard by most of us.... It must be confessed that these are the most thrilling, impressive, and original moments* of a score so original as to be absolutely unique. And when we admit this, *we also admit the practical downfall and wiping-out of all previous traditional theory and practice* [*i.e.*, tradition extending over some few centuries], and the beginning of a new musical era, when, all limitations and restrictions to the entirely free expression of musical thought having been removed ['Music,' said the ancient teachers, 'is the outpouring of the soul'], what is now a revolt will become a revolution, and will sweep all before it.'"

We would prefer the word 'consummation' to 'revolution,' since every step in this path of Western musical progress is a direct vindication of archaic Eastern teachings. Speaking of the art in general, the writer declares :—

"We must again insist, that *no purely arbitrary restrictions...which contain no inherent and self-evident element of aesthetic right or wrong, can be permanent in a purely emotional art like music...*

"Say what we will, think as we may,... the modern revolt in music...is with us, and advancing in importance and influence with giant strides."

If, therefore, in spite of the highest canons of ancient and modern music, artistic and scientific, Indians are still determined to sacrifice their art to a passing device of modern Western trade; if, knowing the facts, they persist in a downward way: is not the Western musician, even now re-awakening to the musical possibilities which Indians are trying to forget, justified in claiming the regeneration of music as the fruit of his own labour, and in relegating the modern Indian conception of the scale to the category of the barbarous?

"The musical world to-day," writes de Koven, "is confronted with an unusual dilemma. Either we must accept the music of Strauss, and all that implies, and thereby admit the possibility, at least, of such consequent organic changes in the art as have been outlined above; or we must reject it as outside the proper limitations of music, and admit that the boundary-line which cannot be passed has been reached, and the last word in [Western] musical form and expression spoken, and that after two centuries of constant sequential development, music has become a dead art.

"No; a thousand times, no!"

Are we to declare, that after five thousand years of splendid tonal freedom, Indian music is to be sacrificed to a dying Western fashion?

A thousand-thousand times, no!

I am, Sir,
Yours truly,
MAUD MANN.

Buxton, July 11th 1912.

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NEW DEPARTURES IN JOURNALISM

I.

OF all the bold and ambitious schemes that have sprung from the fertile imagination of a Bellamy, Owen, Wells, Stead, Neupauer, Rood, and other humanitarians of an ethical, Utopian or practical turn of mind, with regard to the future of the Press, there is probably not one that has the prospect of an early realisation. Nevertheless there is within the limits of practicability no lack of far-reaching possibilities in this field of modern culture. This has been proved, not only by Mr. Stead's remarkable though short-lived experiment "The Daily Paper," which appeared in London in 1905, but also by the Corporation of the City of Los Angeles in California with their interesting new Press enterprise, a weekly which was started on April 17, 1912, and constitutes an absolute novelty, perhaps destined to serve as a model and create a school which may more or less revolutionise the Press.

This newspaper is the outcome of the last municipal elections (Autumn 1911) in the aforesaid beautiful city whose inhabitants now number over 300,000 souls. These elections bore the impress of the socialist dynamite outrage which in the foregoing year had reduced the large building of the principal local newspaper to a heap of ruins. Out of these there arose a very progressive municipal body which has conceived the idea of publishing a municipal body which has conceived the idea of publishing a municipal weekly, the "Los Angeles Municipal News." And the reason why? "As a good public administrative body calls for a well-informed electorate, it must needs take upon itself the enlightenment of the electors, and as the press is the only effective means of instructing those entitled to vote, the Administration finds itself obliged to publish a municipal paper and, by distributing it either gratis or at exceedingly small cost, place it within reach of every elector."

The position of the Editor will scarcely be an enviable one! Primarily he has to subject himself to an unsalaried newspaper committee of three members elected, subject to the vote of the people, by the Mayor for four years. Secondly, he will have to submit to many an established restriction relative to the nonparty spirit of the paper in regard to the division of space. The paper will naturally deal in the first instance with city matters. The editorial policy will be that of the majority for the time being, but ample provision is made for the representation of the minorities. Every political party that has had, or will have had, at least 3 per cent. of all votes at the last election has placed at its disposal in every number of the paper a space of 45 sq. inches, that is about a whole column. The Mayor and every representative member of the city, may, if they so desire, lay claim to 20 sq. inches each weekly. Every candidate, whether it be for vacant seat or office, may buy 5 in. daily, at advertisement rate; should he succeed in securing at least 3 per cent. of all votes at the elections, such money is returned him. In discussing religious or political questions that are not of a purely municipal order, the Editor may neither advocate nor reject them, but must deal with them solely as items of news. In like manner he must preserve an unbiassed mind towards the candidate of each and every party. In short, a complete neutrality is demanded of him.

On personal application the paper is delivered gratis to every registered rate-payer. Other subscribers can receive it per post by paying the postage. It is delivered to newsvendors at a charge of only 10 cents per 100 copies, that they may be able to sell it for half-a-cent and make a sufficient profit in doing so. The paper will therefore not lack in circulation, but what about the cost of its production? Well, this will be defrayed partly out of the receipts for advertisements

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partly by an annual contribution of 36,000 from the Californian Treasury.

The "News" is a twelve-page paper, seven-columned, of the usual size, a typically American production. Its motto runs, "City business is *your* business," and the "Foreword" says, among others: "To the city, the state, the nation, and the world, we deliver the first municipal newspaper of the world—the first newspaper owned by the people of the community in which it is printed....Los Angeles herewith founds and furnishes a people's newspaper, created by the people and for the people and built for their control."

A brave show of advertisements appears in the first number representing all commodities. So far as the classified columns are concerned, they will be brought into line with rest of the paper. "Beginning with the second issue there will be in the classified advertising department, three columns devoted to free advertisements of 'Help Wanted' and 'Situations Wanted'." These advertisements are not to exceed 25 words each and, of course, trade and agency notices will be banned.

A terse comment in its advertisement columns serves to show the intentions of the management in this direction, "Patronize the firms who advertise in The Municipal News, 'the People's Paper.' Only reputable concerns are allowed to use its columns, and every advertisement in every issue is worth your consideration."

With the exception of the three columns of "situations" already mentioned, the advertisements are, of course, all paid for.

The second number, dated April 24, states that the paper has "now" bought its own press. "It is a Goss press, capable of turning out 24,000 copies of The Municipal News every hour." It was a second-hand press formerly used by The Evening Herald.

The circulation is now given as 60,000 copies, "a marvellous accomplishment, as great and pleasant a surprise to those who have directed the launching of the municipal newspaper as to those who have watched it."

Of course, no objection can be raised against the fundamental principle of the scheme, *i.e.*, if it is being really well carried out:—the Municipality ought certainly to supply its citizens with enlightenment on matter of interest to the community as a whole precisely with the same neutrality with which it supplies them with gas, water or electricity.

II.

Quite recently, there died, in his villa at Monte Carlo, Dr. Jose Paz, a man who had become a multi-millionaire owing to the great success of his Buenos Ayres paper *La Prensa* (= "The Press"), the most important daily in the whole of South America. It was started 47 years ago as a modest four-page sheet; at present every issue numbers between 40 and 50 giant pages. The circulation is 125,000 per day, and the yearly net profits amount to about £250,000. Thus we see that Dr. Paz's idealism is far from being unlucrative. And there is no doubt that he was an idealist, for he did what none of the wealthy "press kings" of London or Berlin, of New York or Paris ever did—or even tried to do: he put into practice Mr. Stead's idea of "making the newspaper offices centres of the social, intellectual, and political life of the community." He alone did it, and he did it with signal success from the time of the removal of *La Prensa*, in 1896, into an imposing marble palace of its own, erected at a cost of £500,000.

This splendid building is surmounted by an immense guilded bronze allegorical figure holding in its hand an enormous lantern the coloured rays of which, visible throughout the town, announce the latest and most important news items at night; *e.g.*, during the South African war a yellow light would stand for a British victory, a green one for a victory of the Boers. In excited times, the glass-covered court-yard, holding 2,500 persons, is being granted gratis for public meetings which the editorial staff are addressing from the second floor. In other ways too, this palatial newspaper office is made to serve, to some extent, as a People's Palace. In a luxuriously fitted hall the poor are given free legal and medical advice. Six physicians are here consulted by a daily average of 120 patients. There is, further, a Mercantile Museum for the permanent exhibition of all the agricultural and industrial products of the country, and a chemical laboratory where any and every citizen

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may apply for gratuitous analysis of those products. On the second floor, beside the editorial offices and the reception, smoking, and billiard rooms connected with them, there are a free public reading and writing hall, a legal, medical and engineering reference library open for seven hours daily and a room where lessons in Spanish are given without payment. The third floor contains a spacious hall for literary or scientific lectures and musical entertainments provided free of charge by the Prensa people, as well as a splendid suite of apartments placed, along with a staff of servants and a motor-car, at the disposal of distinguished visitors to Buenos Ayres invited to be the guests of Dr. Paz. On the top floor, apart from the compositors' and reporters' rooms, are located a fencing hall in which the reporters are taught fencing as a fine art three times a week, and a large dining room where the editorial staff – numbering 33 at present—are provided with meals at cost price. Every night at 1 o'clock everyone just happening to be on duty, from the machine girl to the editor-in-chief, is supplied with free coffee or tea. Notwithstanding all this the proprietor of *La Prensa* maintained that the running of his private People's Palace cost very little more than that of any other big newspaper office, beyond the original investment of £500,000. The legal, medical, and linguistic staff give their assistance for a trifle, emulating as they do the philanthropic spirit of Dr. Paz.

This clever organizer, by the way, was the original inventor of an efficient journalistic trick now-a-days common enough. During the Franco-German war, when the European mail was due at Monte Video, he would, in order to beat his rivals, get possession of the wire from that port to Buenos Ayres by keeping it at work with long random passages from the Bible until the "copy" was ready for transmission—a marvel of enterprise in those comparatively remote days!

LEOPOLD KATSCHER.

ON THE SHORE

White boats that set out on the sea,
Wild birds with white wings on the foam,
I watch the blithe speed of your flight,
Till ye melt in the halcyon dome
Of azure, implacable light.
But I know when your journey is done,
When the term of your labour is o'er,
You will come with the fall of the sun
To the sweetness and safety of home,
To the shelter and joy of the shore.

White soul that set out in the dawn,
I would my sad vision could trace
Your secret etherial flight
To realms of invincible space,
To lands of immutable light.
Alas! when your journey is done,
When you reach the bright end of your quest,
Will you come with the fall of the sun
To comfort the tears on my face,
To solace the grief in my breast?

Hyderabad, Deccan.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

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INFLUENCE OF MUSCULAR WORK AND RESPIRATION ON DIGESTION*

THE beneficial effect of muscular work and respiration on circulation is now well-known. It is also a fact that a dyspeptic considerably improves his disgestive power by taking regular physical exercise. This improvement, it is suggested, is caused by the more vigorous circulation due to greater muscular activity accompanied by greater respiratory activity also. It is intended in this paper to show that increased respiratory and muscular activity help digestion in a much more direct manner than has hitherto been recognised.

The anatomical structure and position of the alimentary organs point to this view. The Brain and Spinal cord are covered and protected by hard bones and not by tough membranes, because that would have interfered with their functions. The heart and lungs are kept in the thoracic cage, for external pressures would seriously hinder their efficient working. But the form and position of the stomach and intestines are such that they are extremely liable to be influenced by external pressure. Soft bag-like structures as they are, they are made to change their shape by every slight pressure that may be given to them. Every alteration in the posture of the body, every muscular movement and every descent of the diaphragm compress them in one direction or other. As every structural peculiarity is connected with some functional utility, it is rational to suppose that the easy compressibility of the stomach and intestines is of functional importance.

The stomach and intestines are compressed at regular intervals by the descent of the diaphragm and at irregular intervals by various muscular movements which may be so slight as mere change of position only, or such vigorous muscular exercises as dancing and running which make the stomach and intestines and other abdominal organs to collide with each other and with the abdominal wall with considerable force. The diaphragmatic compression will depend on the respiratory activity and also the individual type of respiration, being greater with the abdominal type.

The results of compressing any part of the stomach and intestine are, first to mix the different parts of the contents with each other and secondly to bring different parts of it into contact with the mucous membrane. Thus it would seem that the respiratory and muscular movements supplement the swaying movement of the stomach and intestine to a very considerable extent.

It is only in recent years that attention of the physiologists has been directed to the swaying movements of the alimentary canal. The importance of this is obvious. A lump of soluble matter surrounded by a solvent is much more easily dissolved when it is stirred than when it is kept stationary. The stirring removes already dissolved parts of the solid and exposes fresh surface of it to the action of the solvent. It is therefore clear that muscular activity during digestion so long it does not interfere with splanchnic circulation will be beneficial by helping the swaying movement of the intestine. This is borne out by ordinary experience that moderate work after eating helps digestion better than absolute rest. Severe muscular work interferes with splanchnic circulation, and is therefore injurious to digestion.

Another effect of muscular work is to start peristaltic movements in the stomach and intestine. The experiments of Starling show that a pinch at any part of the intestine acts as a stimulus and sets up peristaltic waves which travel from that point downwards. The more vigorous the muscular work is, the greater will be the force of impact of the stomach and intestine with the adjoining organs, and therefore the greater will be the stimulus for generating peristaltic waves. Thus healthy muscular

* Read before the Biological Society, Presidency College, Calcutta.

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exercise acting as a natural stimulus to the peristaltic contraction of the alimentary muscular tissue, improves its tone and efficient working.

We thus see how the chemical phenomena of digestion is helped by various muscular movements. We shall now try to see that digestion and assimilation are helped in another way—and that not a less important one, by the above factors. This is done by facility given by respiration and muscular exercise to the circulation of blood. Any pressure on the veins of the abdominal region will cause the blood to flow to the heart. Thus a new sample of blood comes into the capillaries. The function of this blood may be twofold. It may supply the glands of this region with necessary material for the preparation of a fresh sample of digestive juice. Or it may be charged with a fresh quantity of absorbed food material. The next act of respiration will displace this sample of blood thus making room for a new one. The utility of this process will be quite obvious from a consideration of the fact that substances which are prepared by the activity of ferments ultimately tend to put a stop to ferment activity. If that were not so a small quantity of ferment would have succeeded in transforming a large quantity of food material. Pffefer in his Plant Physiology records the results of some experiments made on germinating monocotyledonous seeds. He noticed that the *sentellum layer*, which is far away from the storehouse of food material and which is the ferment-producing layer, is of little use for the conversion of the main part of the stored food, which is transformed into soluble form by the activity of the cell protoplasm assisted by the suction action of the growing points. In some experiments the sentellum was removed and water was circulated round the cells containing stored food, and it was observed after some time that a great deal of food had been hydrolysed. In experiments where the water-supply was small, little transformation of the nature took place. From these experiments it will be clear that the two phenomena—digestion and absorption are interdependent—a fact which is seldom impressed with sufficient force in ordinary text books of physiology. They put the matter in such a way as to suggest that digestion takes place and as a corollary absorption follows. But what I want to impress upon you is that after the digestion of the first morsel of food absorption is started and this phenomena is now as much necessary for the digestion of the second portion of food as the action of the digestive juice itself. To put the matter in a clearer way I might say that a man suffering from dyspepsia may have got his disease primarily either by the derangement of the secreting glands or by obstruction to proper absorption. And I believe in this country majority of dyspepsia cases are produced by improper absorption rather than by the inactivity of the glands. Another evil effect of improper absorption is accumulation of fat in the abdominal area. In persons with sluggish circulation lymph saturated with fat globules remain stagnant for a long time in the abdominal region; the surrounding cells seeing a large store of fat nearby gradually build and accumulate new adipose tissue there. This is, I believe, the cause why in corpulent persons adipose tissue is found so plentifully in the abdomen, where the blood and lymph have a tendency to stagnate.

We have thus seen that respiratory acts and muscular movements are not only useful for promoting circulation but also help the digestion and absorption of food to a considerable extent. And we have also seen in the above inquiry how closely different organs of the body are connected with each other. Disturbance of the functions of one may produce far-reaching consequences.

I shall now conclude my paper by offering a few practical suggestions which may help people who are obliged at times to perform a great deal of intellectual work without taking any or very little of physical exercise. To students preparing for their examination or other members of literary profession working hard for some particular business, exercise must be devised which should cost the minimum of time and energy. They can't afford to take such exercises which may require a long time or which are tiring. I believe that these men and a good many dyspeptics also, unless they are addicted to the vice of over-eating, may remain perfectly healthy by practising various abdominal exercises. Any exercise that to a considerable extent moves and

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compresses the abdominal organs and makes the muscles of that region to contract, and stimulates the muscle fibres of stomach and intestine to increased peristalsis *are* the most healthful of exercises. Dancing and riding would probably be recognised as the most useful of exercises. During dancing all the abdominal organs are compressed and collide with each other. Shut yourself up in your room if you feel ashamed to do the necessary manœuvres in public and just hop on your legs for about five to ten minutes. Do this twice or thrice a day for some time and this will do more good to your dyspepsia than any medicine that can be prescribed. Contraction and relaxation of the abdominal wall are also good and cheap forms of muscular exercise. And deep breathing if properly practised (*e.g.*, without undue strain) is also a very good exercise. Sitting or reclining in a comfortable manner concentrate your attention on the respiratory process. Take a deep breath by first pushing the diaphragm down as far as it can go, the abdomen bulges out, then the ribs go up and the act of inspiration is now complete; then breathe out very slowly and repeat the process for a few minutes. Deep breathing practised several times a day would materially improve the digestive and absorptive organs of the body. And one would get astonished at the result.

NIBARAN CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

THE INFINITE LOVE

[From the Bengali of Babu Rabindranath Tagore.]

I have ever loved thee in a hundred forms and times,
Age after age, in birth following birth.
The chain of songs that my fond heart did weave
Thou graciously didst take around thy neck,
Age after age, in birth following birth.

When I listen to the tales of the primitive past,
The love-pangs of the far distant times,
The meetings and partings of the ancient ages—
I see thy form gathering light
Through the dark dimness of Eternity
And appearing as a star ever fixed in the memory of the All.

We two have come floating by the twin currents of love
That well up from the inmost heart of the Beginningless.
We two have played in the lives of myriad lovers
In tearful solitude of sorrow,
In tremulous shyness of sweet union,
In old old love ever renewing its life.

The onrolling flood of the love eternal
Hath at last found its perfect final course.
All the joys and sorrows and longings of heart,
All the memories of the moments of ecstasy,
All the love-lyrics of poets of all climes and times
Have come from the everywhere
And gathered in one single love at thy feet.

NOTE. This prose rendering is by the poet himself.

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PROFESSOR HOMERSHAM COX'S APPEAL TO MUSSALMANS: A RESPONSE

IN the August number of the *Modern Review*, Mr. Homersham Cox (until lately, Professor of mathematics in the Muir Central College, Allahabad) addresses a remarkable appeal to Mussalmans. The appeal, breathing as it does a genuine desire for the promotion of Indian Unity, deserves the closest attention not only of those to whom it is directly addressed but also those from whom it expects an indirect response. Professor Homersham Cox belongs to the small minority of Englishmen who have devoted their life to the quiet service of the Indians and brought to bear on what they know of the aspects of India's conglomerate life the impartiality of an intellectual temperament in pleasing contrast to the arrogant presumption of the traditional Anglo-Indian attitude. In early life, Mr. Homersham Cox scored very high success in the Mathematical Tripos in Cambridge and chose to come out to India as a recruit in the Indian Educational Service. His colleagues in the Service doubted if he did the right thing in coming out to India as they believed he could, with his attainments, make a greater name for himself in England. When after a meritorious service of twenty-one years, he retired the other day, he recalled at a meeting held to bid him farewell, the early doubtings of his colleagues and assured his audience that he considered his life best spent in the service of India's youthful sons for whom he had a great respect and whom he found, of all students the most painstaking and willing to learn. The peculiar character of Indian Educational System precludes the close and intimate relation which should subsist between the teacher and the taught. Notwithstanding the limitations of such a system, Professor Cox has been nearer to the students than many others in his position. Selfless in his life, he has been spending a considerable portion of his income on the education of necessitous Indian boys. Not long ago, one would meet, of an afternoon, in the spacious drives of Allahabad, a sparely built Englishman past the meridian of life sharing his carriage with Indian boys wearing the picturesque dress of their age and evidently enjoying the pleasure of vehicular locomotion. This was Professor Cox giving an airing to his self-imposed wards whom he fed, housed and as well as taught with all the care of an anxious parent. These bright juveniles, who were being initiated into the mystery of knowledge under the vigilance of a Cambridge scholar were drawn from a status of Indian society with which menial service in a *sahib's* bungalow is the glowing pole star of ambition.

With a mind "open-doored to every breath of truth," the Professor was early attracted to the study of Islam and has since continued in his endeavour to gain a thorough insight into the inner meaning of the culture associated through the long period of more than twelve centuries with the religion of the Arab Prophet. The readers of the *Modern Review* are familiar with the articles on Islam which have appeared from time to time in its pages from his erudite and impartial pen. The Professor has not yet given to the world any systematic and comprehensive work on Islam and isolated articles alone have been the signs to the outside world of his strenuous delving into the eventful past of a world-shaking creed. The sanity and fair-mindedness which characterise his published views on Islam are an earnest of the valuable character of any future contribution to the study of Islam from his pen. And such a contribution, we hope, has been delayed simply because the Professor, not content with the considerable knowledge he already possesses of what he has elevated into the subject of his life-study, is anxious to acquaint himself with Muslim thought in its original vesture of Arabic. With a view

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to this end, he proposes to spend some years in Egypt where the language of the Muslim Scriptures, though in its modern form, is used in daily speech. To his intimate knowledge of the Mussalmans of India, he will thus be able to add a first-hand acquaintance with the life and thought of another great and important body of Mussalmans, the dwellers in the ancient valley of the Nile. The zeal, with which the Professor has applied himself to a sympathetic understanding of what Islam means to its myriads of followers and how it has moulded their life and evolved for them a distinct culture, is discriminate in its method, equally distant from the *modus operandi* of the fiery partisan and the fanatical opponent.

His appeal to the Indian Mussalmans to sink their differences with their neighbours and "be united by a tie of common patriotism" is an opportune advice, coming from a disinterested quarter as it does, eminently calculated to vitalise the nascent tendency noticeable among all sections of the Indian population to bring about among themselves a greater solidarity of action and thought. We need not go far to seek the genesis of the centripetal force whose incipient magnetism is shimmering fugitively in the seething millions of India's vast congeries of human beings. Elements which constitute Indian Society have been brought together under peculiar circumstances in the course of centuries. A continued conflict of cultures has been going on with fitful energy. The latest combatant in the field of battle is the New Occident with its political and moral shibboleths, its Renaissance, its French Revolution, its Agnosticism, its supremacy of Reason and no less its practical political sagacity glorying in the achievement of a vast dominion over Asiatic nations. The entry, in the Asiatic arena, of the new knight of moral battle from the far West has altered the situation. In India, a new consciousness has been forced upon the varying nationalities. Whither are they drifting? What is their destiny? This common spirit of inward questioning characterising the thoughtful among the Indians of all classes, is bound to draw them together to a concerted attempt to probe into the meaning of their new being, to create *a modus vivendi* on which they can work out their common destiny. New India is disturbed with this mighty yearning and the common need of an ideal which would inspire enthusiasm, sustain action and synthesise divergent activities, may perhaps provide a common platform for the hitherto mutually repellant nationalities of distracted Ind.

Such a consummation, though devoutly to be wished for, is not without its inherent difficulties. In the distant sixteenth century the Moghul Philosopher-Prince, Akbar standing before the serried ranks of Mediæval India, proclaimed his spiritual dominion over his political subjects,—

—for no
Mirage of glory, but for power to fuse
My myriads into union under one;
To hunt the tiger of oppression out
From office; and to spread the Divine Faith
Like calming oil on all their stormy creeds,
And fill the hollows between wave and wave;
To nurse my children on the milk of truth,
And alchemisé old hate into the gold
Of Love, and make it current.

The bright vision of Akbar remained a vision and the phenomenon of his Divine Faith, of which he expected so much, was the passing shadow of a psychic disintegration in the hoary mind of India. The architectonics of nation-building, as understood by Akbar, are unsuited to the changed conditions of to-day. It is a long cry from the India of Akbar to the India of the British Raj. New problems have sprung into being and new elements have been added to the multi-coloured web of Indian life. If the task of Indian nation-building is more difficult to-day than it was before, it is also grander and worthier of the highest human endeavour.

The position of Islam in India has been anomalous. It had, for reasons which need not be enumerated here, held itself aloof, until the beginning of the present century, from the surging life of New India. This isolation has at last been abandoned and forthwith problems which eluded notice before, have shaped themselves into tremendous entities clamouring for immediate recognition. Let the Indian, who has the good of his country at heart, face these problems not in the spirit of petulant controversy, but with reverent anxiety and the sincere patriot's will to subordinate

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personal, local, or tribal good of the whole country. If the killing of cows has been, as the Professor says in his appeal, the fruitful cause of bitter dissension between the Hindu and Mussalman masses—and there can be no doubt that it has been—let the Mussalman resort to cowslaughter as little as possible, and except where it is an economic necessity on account of the poverty of the average Mussalman and the cheapness of beef as an article of diet, let beef be considered as *haram* (prohibited)—orthodox Mussalmans will pardon the expression—as swine-flesh, because the promotion of the country's good by removing all causes as far as compatible with due regard for the fundamentals of religion, is a more paramount duty of the followers of the Prophet who taught that love of country is a part of the Mussalman's creed* than the perpetuation of the carnivorous weakness for beef-eating, which, as the Professor has observed and every Mussalman knows, is nowhere in Islam mentioned as a religious injunction. If the avoidance of cow-killing on the part of the Mussalmans, as far as compatible with the demand of economic needs, is the corner-stone of the edifice of Hindu-Mussalman *entente*, let the Mussalmans hasten to secure for themselves the credit of having laid it. It will be in accordance with the spirit Islam has shewn in other countries. The broad tolerance which Islam has extended to the reasonable demands of the cultures with which it was juxtaposed or which it displaced dates from its very inception as a creed by the master-genius who, in the sixth century of the Christian era, led mankind, by his indomitable moral fervour, to a higher altitude of spiritual excellence than ever reached before by man. To the Arabs, wedded to traditions, he vouchsafed their annual pilgrimage to the Meccan fair and even put the *imprimatur* of the approval of his high prophetic office on the custom—not very remote from a species of diluted idolatry and in glaring contrast to the stern Puritanism of his Faith,—of kissing the *hajaru'l aswad*, the *slab of meteoric stone adorning* Abraham's House of God in Mecca. In Persia his faith entered into intimate alliance with the scintillating genius of old Iran and gave unlimited latitude to the bent of the Persian mind for the Pantheistic conception of the Godhead. And Arabo-Persic Sufism, that remarkable child of Semitico-Aryan union effected by Islam in the land of the Chosroes is, more than any other phase of the development of Muslim Culture, alive with the throbbing pulsations of original thought and replete with subtle elusive innuendoes to—

—That Infinite
Within us, as without, that All-in-all,
And Over-all, the never-changing One
And ever-changing Many, in praise of whom
The Christian bell, the cry from off the Mosque,
And vaguer voices of Polytheism
Make but one Music, harmonising "Pray."

If the Mussalmans, in perfect accord with the spirit of their Prophet's teachings, have, in other climes, extended to all—to quote instances will be beyond the compass of the present article—the broad tolerance of their creed, surely the Mussalmans of India would not be unworthy of their sires by being gratuitously offensive to the susceptibilities of their neighbours. The storm-centre of Hindu-Mussalman controversy is not, however, the slaughter by the Mussalmans of cows for providing themselves with a cheap kind of meat. The controversy draws whatever vitality it possesses from causes which lie deeper. The Hindu cannot too early be reminded of his duty in this connection. Professor Homersham Cox points to a tendency among the older Hindus—he might have included many of the younger Hindus as well—"to identify patriotism with Hinduism." "Nothing," says he, "could be more foolish and mischievous. Patriotism and religion belong to entirely different spheres of conduct." The spectre of a Brahmanic Revival, whose gruesome emergence Sir Valentine Chirol chronicled in his "Indian

* *Hubbu'l watan minu'l iman*—"*Amor patriae* (love of the Fatherland) is (part) of the Faith"—is an Arabic saying generally attributed to the Prophet. It is however doubtful if it is not done so uncritically. The great body of the traditions—technically known as *Al-Hadith*—which, next to the Koran, is the bedrock of Muslim jurisprudence and theology, has had interpolations made into it by designing persons from time to time. During the rule of the House of the Ommeyades, this unfortunate device of the invention of traditions reached its high water-mark of audacity. The *Muwatta'* of Malik ibn Anas is the first attempt at the verification and codification of the traditions. It is therefore difficult with regard to a particular saying to decide—even with the help of *isnad*—whether it is the prophet's or not. But when a saying persists in being attributed to him—as is the case with the one we quote—we can at least conclude that it embodies a thought not antagonistic to the general trend of his teaching.

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Unrest" may or may not be a reality, but let the fair-minded Hindu admit that *Indian* Nationalism, as it has been defined and preached by authoritative exponents, both within and without the Congress, is hardly distinguishable from *Hindu* Nationalism. Patriotism in the Congress platform and more prominently elsewhere has too often been conceived of in terms of Hindu terminology. If the "terminological inexactitudes" can be brushed aside, there, however still remains a residual sediment bearing incontrovertible testimony to the prevalence of a spirit which draws its exclusive inspiration, not from the actual India of many nationalities, but from the India as it is cherished in the heart of the devout Hindu who mentally skips over many intervening centuries and realises his paradise of earthly bliss in the undefiled *Arya-Varta* of the Vedantic Age or the *Bharat-Varsha* of the Pandavas and Kurus when the Divine Cowherd, Sri Krishna, made love to Radha and chanted the *Song Divine* to the sceptical Arjuna in the battlefield of Kurukshetra. The sturdy son of Islam is repelled by the Hindu colouring of the new patriotism and he may be pardoned if he seeks to scrutinise carefully the credentials of his future political co-adjutor. "Back to the Vedas," the underlying burden of Indian Nationalism since the time of Swami Vivekananda, is a cry, which, in the nature of things, does not appeal to the Mussalmans and fails to bring him to the white heat of fervid enthusiasm whose absence is so loudly criticised. "The Prophet of Nationalism in India" who has temporarily ceased to give his teachings to the world has drawn his inspiration from a fountain towards which the Mussalman does not lend his footsteps.

"The most striking aspect," he says, "of the Durga Pujah has so long been ignored in the lamentable absence of race-consciousness in our midst, but now that we are becoming ourselves again, the full significance of our festivals and sacraments is once more dawning on us. Who that has known the joy of the Pujah, felt the unique genius of our civilization through its reunions, rejoicings and simple sweet and unstinted spirituality, can help being filled with an overmastering love for the land of his birth, for his countrymen and forefathers, for the spirit underlying our social customs and institutions?"

We do not quarrel with the Hindu if his conception of patriotism is drawn from a source whose inspiration must ever be a closed book to the Mussalman. But let us express what we feel—we feel the vast chasm of thought which separates the India of the Hindu from the India of the Mussalman. Will the identity of political aspiration—if such identity is possible—suffice to bring together the Hindu and the Mussalman into loving and brotherly embrace? Or, will the essential difference—which seems unbridgeable—of culture which gives to each his distinctive character and endows him with inspiration in his high emprises of pith and moment, break asunder the gossamery tie of a common political platform?

GHULAM-AMBIA K. LUHANI.

THE SMALL

[From the Bengali of Babu Rabindrauath Tagore.]

"Who is there but the sky, O sun, which can hold thine image?
"I dream of thee but to serve thee I never can hope,"
The dewdrop wept and said,
"I am too small to take thee unto me, great lord,
"And thus my life is all tears."

"I illumine the limitless sky,
"Yet I can yield myself up to a tiny drop of dew,"
Thus said the sun and smiled,
"I will be a speck of sparkle and fill you,
"And your little life will be a smiling orb."

Note. This prose rendering is by the poet himself.

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EURASIAN REGIMENTS

THE proposal of raising corps of Eurasians, now called Anglo-Indians, is at present engaging the attention of the British Indian authorities. The proposal is not a new one. Ever since the days of Bentinck and Metcalfe, who were in favor of the colonization of India with their kith and kin, every attempt was made to improve the status and position of Anglo-Indians, whether "pucca-born Britons or Eight anna Eu", by giving them preference in the public services of this country. Recently a Conference was also held to devise schemes for their education out of the revenues of this country, to which, of course, Anglo-Indians do not contribute much. Henceforth the colonization of India may proceed with rapid strides and the prospect of pure-blooded Indians—whether Hindus or Muhammadans—in this world may be anything but enviable notwithstanding the appointment of the Royal Public Service Commission.

It should be borne in mind that India possessed corps of what were known as Local Europeans. But these corps had to be disbanded because the Royal Commission appointed after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny to enquire into the organization of the Indian Army, recorded a recommendation to Her Majesty the Queen for their abolition. In their report, the Commissioners wrote :—

"That, however good the Local Force of the late East India Company has proved itself to be, still it is the opinion of the majority, that a Local Force deteriorates more than one, which by frequent relief, has infused into it fresh European notions and feelings, and a vigorous system of European discipline; and that this would more particularly be the case in a climate like that of India, where according to the statistical statement of Sir Alex. Tulloch, backed by the professional opinion of Dr. Martin and others, the European constitution can never be said to become acclimatized, but on the contrary, deteriorates, gradually and surely, in increasing ratio."

On the recommendation of the Commission, the Local European Corps had to be abolished. But it was not effected without what was called a White Mutiny. Very few educated Indians of the present day know anything regarding this affair. On the transference of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown and the Proclamation of the Queen to that effect, the Local European troops were proposed to be drafted into the Regular Line Corps, as the corps to which they belonged had to be disbanded. This produced great discontent among the local European troops in India.

The fourth European Light Cavalry at Lucknow and the first Madras Fusileers on hearing of the Queen's Proclamation on the 1st November 1858, declared that they considered themselves not bound to serve the Queen until they should be re-enlisted for that purpose and should receive fresh bounty. It has always been difficult to make the soldier understand any legal argument, and hence general Sir Hope Grant suggested that immediate discharge should be granted to these men.

Lord Clyde, the then Commander-in-Chief in India, sided with the European soldiers. His Chief of the Staff, Major-General W. R. Mansfield, in his letter to Major-General Birch, C. B., Military Secretary to the Government of India, dated 10th November, 1858, wrote :—

"Lord Clyde would beg leave to call to the recollection of the Governor-General, with the greatest deference to his Excellency, a fact unknown except to military men, *viz.*, that in the old regiments of the Crown a man cannot be transferred from one to another without his free consent, he having enlisted to serve in a particular regiment. * * *

"Taking all these circumstances into consideration, Lord Clyde would request the closest attention to the practical circumstances of a soldier's enlistment, and of the manner in which the soldier would view any attempt to deprive him of what he considers a right.

* * * * *

"In uttering this warning and recommendation, Lord Clyde would assure the Governor-General that he would not hazard even a suggestion in the matter, were it not for his intimate acquaintance with British soldiers, and the manner in which they feel the rights they possess in common with other Englishmen.

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"The question was submitted for the opinion of the Advocate General, Bengal, as well as of the Judge Advocate General of the Army. The former gave it as his opinion that the soldiers of European regiments lately in the service of the East India Company, wheresoever or howsoever such regiments were raised or recruited, are bound to serve Her Majesty without re-enlistment, in the same manner as they would, before the late Act for the Government of India, have been bound to serve the Company."

The Judge Advocate General of the Army also gave an opinion similar to the above.

Lord Canning was of a different opinion to that of the Commander-in-chief. Writing to the Secretary of State for India, from Allahabad, 18th November, 1858, he said,—

"That in addition to the infraction of the law which the grant of discharge to the men would involve, there was this very serious consideration, that the discharge of many soldiers and the re-enlistment of the remainder could not take place without attracting the attention of the native regiments, who would perceive that there were differences between the State and the Army, and would be impressed with very dangerous notions. * *

"I have pointed out to the Commander-in-chief the very serious results which may be expected to follow if our present native soldiery should see that English soldiers are leaving the service of the State at their own pleasure at this time, and if the impression that a difference has arisen between the Government and its English troops, whereby the hold of the Government upon them has been weakened, should he spread abroad.

* * *

"Nor is it alone the discharge of the men which would be embarrassing. The grant of bounty to those who should re-enlist (and it could not in justice be refused if re-enlistment be judged necessary) would naturally raise expectations of some indulgence to native troops, who, though the form of their engagement is quite different from that which is used in the case of the Company's English army, are still engaged under the Company, and not under the Queen.

"Claims of this kind may be easily dealt with in quiet times; but I do most earnestly desire to avoid at present everything that could raise dissatisfaction or excitement in the ranks of the regular armies of Bombay and Madras, as well as in those of our Punjab regiments.

Lieutenant-General Beresford commanding Mysore Division, in his letter dated Bangalore, June 1859, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Fort Saint George, wrote:—

"There has been a most strange secrecy in the progress of this movement. The old non-commissioned officers of the corps, who are well aware that their interests will certainly not be forwarded by its results, have always declared that the feeling did not exist, there has not been a single word of complaint made to commanding officer or captains. Men have taken punishments without objection or observation; there has, in short, been no appearance of discontent. I much suspect that some influence beyond the corps, has been systematically exerted, to unsettle the minds of the young and thoughtless, and it is painful to see how far it has succeeded."

Who can say that Eurasian soldiers might not prove as troublesome as did the local European troops, if in the interests and welfare of the Empire, it be ever proposed to do away with their services?

It is not understood what purpose will be served by the Eurasian regiments in this country. Surely they cannot take the place of British Corps. Nor is it politically expedient that they should do so.

We remember how strongly the late Dr. Wallace of this city, an Eurasian himself and Editor of the *Indian Medical Record*, wrote for the establishment of Eurasian regiments in this country. The authorities very properly turned a deaf ear to his prayers. The objections which then existed against the establishment of Eurasian regiments have not lost by any means their force now. These regiments if they are brought into existence will not be certainly meant to replace the British ones. But can they then take the place of native ones? Will the Eurasian soldiers do the sort of work for which the Indian sepoys are meant?

Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton in his work on "Nine years on the North-Western Frontier of India," wrote regarding the duties of Indian sepoys as follows:—

"I have had the 'Peshawar Light Horse' constantly under canvas since August last [1857], and the corps is perfect in itself for field service. The corps consists of two troops of Europeans (eighty privates each) and one of natives of the same strength. On service in the district the cattle of the army must he protected by cavalry whilst grazing, and if baggage breaks down or strays by accident, it is the native soldier only who can be detached on escort to bring it up, he alone can bear the exposure in such a climate. Foraging parties too in the heat of the day must be sent out, and hence the European is saved for services of different and greater importance. All power to rebel and do mischief is thus taken from the native soldier, and he has become a most valuable and necessary auxilliary."*

* * *

In another portion of the letter from which extracts have been given above, the gallant general wrote:—

"The people of the vast empire of India now under British rule, having been conquered by the sword, must by that weapon be held in subjection; and the

* P. 123.

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sword must be firmly grasped for the future, by the hand of the European soldier, throughout the length and breadth of the land; the government of India must hence forward be more essentially military; but no one, I think, could reasonably expect that Great Britain would be able to furnish exclusively, troops in sufficient numbers for the military ocupation of such a country.

"The climate is much too hot for the European in many situations, where military duties have to be performed; and the expenditure of troops would be vastly too great, if the European alone endeavoured to take those duties. The natives of the country must, therefore, be called in to assist us, and a certain limited number must be armed and trained as soldiers, but by no means in the same numbers as heretofore. In fact, the native troops must be used as auxilliaries, and nothing more; and they must be placed in such positions as to be powerless to do mischief"*

It would be an invidious distinction to raise corps of Eurasians who, we presume, would be officered by men of their extraction, while nothing has been done so far to give the King-Emperor's Commission to pure Indians. If the pay and allowances of Eurasian soldiers be higher than that of native sepoys, it may create discontent in Native Indian regiments, for Eurasians are after all natives of India and not of England, and can never be better soldiers than the Goorkhas, Pathans, or Sikhs. So, in our opinion, it is neither just or expedient, nor necessary to raise separate corps of Eurasians. There is nothing against Eurasians being enlisted in native regiments and we believe there are in some native regiments Eurasian soldiers. If the Eurasians are desirous of serving His Majesty as soldiers, they can have their ambition gratified by joining native regiments—which unfortunately is not possible for people of many races, tribes and castes of this country. For is it not a fact that the descendants of those whose ancestors loyally helped in the building up of the British rule in India are now debarred from serving His Imperial Majesty in the Army on account of the particular tribes, races or castes to which they have the misfortune to belong, but which have nothing to do with the question of military efficiency?

Eurasians claim to be and are treated as (statutory) natives of India, when it is advantageous for them. If they be enlisted as statutory natives, why not the pure natives as well? If the pure natives of every province be entitled to become soldiers, then there would be no injustice in Eurasians of every province becoming soldiers on the same pay as native sepoys.

* p. 121.

YOUTH

[From the Bengali of Babu Rabindranath Tagore.]

I run as a musk deer runs
In the shade of the forest glades
Mad with his own inner perfume.
The night is the night of mid-May,
The breeze is the breath of the south.
I lose my way and I wander,
I seek what I cannot get,
I get what I never seek.

From my heart comes out and dances
The image of my own desire,
The gleaming vision flits on.
I try to clasp it firm,
It eludes and leads me astray,
I seek what I cannot get,
I get what I never seek.

Note. This prose rendering is by the poet himself.

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THE PERMANENT VALUE IN SPIRITUAL MYSTICISM

THERE is a growing tendency to mysticism and to interpretation of mystical experiences of all ages and of all countries in Europe at the present day. Mysticism is not commonly associated with speculative thought, as it cares little for logical postulates. What it claims actually, is the possibility of a direct communion with the ultimate Being and the processes of that supersensuous achievement are so varied that a systematic reading of them would, it is expected, succeed in throwing a new light on many problems of psychology and religion.

Mysticism may not be logical, but for that reason, it is never irrational, since it is founded on the deepest psychical experiences of man, which cannot be summarily dismissed as unreal and fantastic. For already an interest in them is seen to be rapidly increasing in volume. Almost all kinds of psychical phenomena are now brought under a strict survey of scientific enquiry,—from the inspiration of the artist and the sublime moods of poets "in which the affections gently lead" them on and they become "living souls," as Wordsworth says, to the highest spiritual experiences of all shades and descriptions. Nay, we have to take more things into account before we pass our judgment on mysticism as an irrational and vague emotionalism. We see that philosophy itself is tending to it to get beyond an intellectual Idealism. Take two instances, Prof. Eucken and Prof. Bergson—who lead philosophical thought in Europe now. Both of them agree in one point: that the aim of true philosophy should be to introduce us into the wholeness of spiritual life. With both of them, psychical experiences lead as a stepping stone to spiritual realisation and to that extent, they may fairly be termed mystics of the modern time.

It is curious to note, however, that both the difference between psychism and spirituality and their inter-dependence have been clearly recognised by all Hindu thought; and the modern tendency to mysticism has a surprising coincidence with Indian ways of thinking and of realising the ultimate truth. It is a popular superstition to think of mysticism as an old-world and out of date thing. Rather mysticism has always joined hands with scepticism and rationalism whenever these have drifted out of all proportion and made an exaggerated claim to attention. Indeed, cold and formal reason on the one hand, and intuition and claim for direct revelation on the other are synchronous. The aberrations and excesses to which mysticism had been observed to have drifted in the past, are easily accountable; psychical factors were present which could not be brought under scientific examination. Even now in India, as well as in Europe and America, there are numerous theosophical associations and societies publishing reports of visions, of clairvoyance etc. But they hardly ever recognise these as workings of a sub-conscious self or subliminal consciousness, as it is called now-a-days; and a great confusion is made, consciously or unconsciously, between a genuine spiritual experience and a merely psychical experience. Modern theosophists seem to think that spiritualism and spirituality are one and the same thing. They forget that religion is to be distinguished from hypnotism and the like—much more from self-deception and trickery. It must be said, nevertheless, that true spirituality has to take into account these peculiar mental states, when normal consciousness, for instance, is in abeyance and the subconscious self brings up a naive intuition, a third eye, as the Hindus would say, which fuses highest reason and highest feelings, experiences spirit as a living fact, breaks down the thin wall between subject and object, and sees one in the other. You fear that strange experiences, such as dreams, visions and revelations will follow this doctrine and sanity be upturned? You will cite Indian

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yogis and Christian mystics and say that the world will be no loser without them. Yes, there is room for ignorance and self-deception of all kinds in such unique experiences and quite an abundance of them is no doubt observable in Hindu modes of spiritual attainment. Still, it is not for us to pass any judgment, when we know, for certain, that there is a divine intuition in man, which sees neither subject nor object, but experiences an experience so unique that human words find it difficult to describe it.

Under all stress and strain, there is to-day, a stirring of such spiritual life both in the West and in the East. Fortunately, our world is now the entire world and our problems necessarily are world problems. The day of separate religions, as says Professor Eucken, is now past. What the world needs, is a new spiritual religion. The recrudescence of interest in psychical matters, I therefore consider a thing of the greatest significance. It seems that the ground is being slowly approached where reason and faith will meet. Till now, there has been a great deal of groping in the dark and looking towards the East for light and life. The solution of the world problem of combining Reason and Revelation and of breaking the duality of subject and object, lies, it appears, in the hands of the East.

Eastern spirituality has, at least, this advantage over the West that it never dissociates *Tattwa* (or principle) from *sádhan* (or effort of realising the principle in life). Here, philosophy and spiritual experience always go hand in hand. Philosophy is founded on spiritual experience, and spiritual experience finds its support in philosophy. Idealism and Pragmatism are not alien forces, always at faction with each other, for, in the East, at any rate, it is taught that whatever is of permanent spiritual worth is certain to have permanent practical worth.

The word 'Dvija' or twice-born and the ceremony of Dvijahood in ancient times in India are significant. There have been spiritual aspirants in other countries, but they are isolated mountain spurs, as compared with India, and do not run in the same chain of national thought-elevation and spiritual uplift. But in India for the first time, a race of people called themselves *dvijas* and preached a reanimation, a rebirth in spiritual life, the finding of which they held to be the greatest and happiest work to which they could apply themselves. Hence there sprang up spiritual universities, where generation succeeded generation in assiduously endeavouring to come face to face with the ultimate Being, the inexplicable Mystery. These universities or *ashrams* developed a spiritual culture, of 'sama' and 'dama,' of suppressing senses and minimisiug desires, of opening up deeper currents of consciousness, of inculcating habits of concentration of mind, etc., which a cursory reading of some chapters of the Bhagabad Gita would not fail to make evident. When all this sound culture of centuries is not understood, to read Eastern thought from the standpoint of the West, becomes an impossibility. There are Professors Deussen and Max Muller and others; but all their endeavours to get into the heart of Hindu spiritual culture, have proved to be but a partial success, for this reason simply, that they forget that Hindu thought is not merely thought but experience as well and the Hindu's finding of 'tattwa' is another name for finding the highest self. 'Self' is a misleading word, the corresponding word in Sanskrit being 'Atman', which cannot be taken as synonymous with the former. For the Hindu maintains that the Idea of God and the Idea of Self are presented to the mind in one and the same act. He holds that the mental strata which we possess and which are the outcome of the evolution of the human intellect, must be thoroughly penetrated and superseded one after the other. The depth of Being is thus only to be reached by constant supersession, that is to say, by constantly merging the particular experiences of the human mind in the joy of communion with the universal and illimitable Being. In whatever stage of spiritual life we may be, we are nowhere outside the one and the universal—this is the faith of the Hindu. The universal 'Atman' is therefore not a mere static Being but is as much dynamic; it is both abstract and personal. In India, therefore, there have been distinctly two schools of thought, all others falling either under the one or the other. One is the 'Advaita' or the absolutely monistic school, and the other is the 'Dvaitádvaita' or the

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monistic school which includes duality; and round these two all thought has revolved and is still revolving.

There are strong logical arguments and keen dialectics to support these thought-systems but the permanent value of them lies not in logic but in actual experience. Contradictions and paradoxes confront you, therefore, whenever you want to tread these grounds. Sometimes you are inclined to think that the expounders mean immanence, sometimes transcendence, sometimes pantheism—but these pigeon-holes of thought, these forced nomenclatures vanish when you pause to consider that the exposition is not only rational but experiential. In actual experience of life, contradictions there are, in cold and formal thought, they are not. I quite understand the pragmatic position of the author of 'The Varieties of Religious Experience' and of others who follow him and their strong insistence on experience and impatience of barren ideality. Why should you be afraid of any experience, say of pantheism? Should not agnosticism be finally killed and should you not assure yourself of the nearness of the Divine Presence? That is *pantheistic experience*, though not actual *pantheism*. Hindu thought, therefore, has been bound to be mystical, inasmuch as it is never formal and categorical.

I have said that mysticism is the dominant note in European thought to-day, but I have not said that it has its hidden source in the perennial fountains of Indian religions and thought-systems. I do not take the burden of proof on me, but my conviction is that the new Theology movement, the Pragmatic and Humanist movement, and the new movement of Bergsonian Intuitionism, all of them, though not originating from the East, are being secretly and unconsciously fed and nourished by Hindu spiritual culture. And I believe that the day is not very far, when the meeting points of the two streams of thought, one running in the West, and the other in the East, will loom above mankind's thought-horizon. To the Hindu people, mysticism is the timeless temple wherein one may receive direct evidence of inexpressibly sacred import. And it is nought else than that internal evidence which exists only in the rapt union of subject and object.

While the Western peoples were captivated with the externals of life, with the pleasures derived from scientific improvements, the majority of them were constitutionally unable to understand that mystical communion of the soul with oversoul, which forms the basic principle of Hindu spirituality. But times are altered. Science itself is tending towards mysticism. Recent theories of matter and electricity, theories of life in the non-living have given materialism a shock and made religion conqueror of the sceptic's stronghold. Artists and poets like Maeterlinck and Whitman are supreme mystics and each has broken fresh ground. Last comes the Bergsonian philosophy of Intuitionism and the final good-bye to the intellectual rationalism of the last century. "I am a unity that is multiple, and a multiplicity that is one," says Bergson. Again, "Intuition may bring the intellect to recognise that life does not quite go into the category of the many, nor yet into that of the one." Thus we see that everywhere a new wave of thought is breaking on the old conventional shores of scientific dogmatism of Spencer and Huxley, and abstract Idealism of neo-Hegelians, and a shifting of ground has been necessary to secure a deeper and a wider outlook. Such, in brief, is the picture of the thought-world to-day.

Although the signs of the times are favourable, the dangers and difficulties that beset the path of the new spiritual consciousness are no less strong and awesome. I have had occasion to mention one of them already, *viz.*, that of thinking psychic experience to be spiritual experience. Superhuman or insane states of mind, hypnotic trance and clairvoyant obsession cannot be accepted as spiritual experiences. Psychic sensitiveness is a great factor no doubt and spirituality has its basis to a large extent on it, but the experiences which the former brings must be thoroughly purified and rationalised in order to make them rise to the demands of a genuine spiritual life.

Then there is another great danger, that of refined selfishness or rather selfism. Too much absorption in the self may lead to a form of living within self and a brushing

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aside of the claims of social and civic life. The danger is obvious here in India. There is the deepening of self but no getting away from self, rapt 'Bhakti' but no self-sacrifice and energetic impulse to action. If a similar danger threatens Europe, what will be the result? But if Hindu society is inert, there is nothing in the Hindu Ideal of spirituality to bring about this lifelessness and consequently the evil must be in some other quarter. Dare I say, that it lies rather in the absence of moral Idealism? The 'Dwaitádwaita' Hindu, who says that the self is two in one and merges and loses duality in oneness, can never allow his will to be atrophied; for his will is really two-fold. It has both an active and a passive phase. Activity is necessary only to realise that it is not final, and this is the sum and substance of the teaching of the 'Gita' and the cardinal principle of Hindu Ethics. So activity is greatly encouraged, for it clears inner intuition and prepares the way for the gradual cessation of desires.

I close here. The limits of my article do not permit an extended analysis which the subject deserves. All that I have tried to state roughly is that mysticism is already a great force in the West now and will be more so in future and so it would do well to compare notes with mysticism of the East. Mysticism is nothing but a making of the conditions of God-realisation; the conditions primarily being the development of psychic sensibilities, the purification of them by rational methods, and the sinking of them in depths of spiritual communion. Art, Poetry, Philosophy and Science are all working to build up this new faith.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVARTI.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N. B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

"Jatibheda."

SIR,

Far be it from me to lay my hands upon my critic's indefeasible right in pointing out the merits or demerits of my book *Jatibheda*. I never expect,—and indeed I have expressed my doubts in so many words,—that the views put forward in the book should prove acceptable to everyone of my readers. But I hope it will not be out of literary etiquette if I were to point out, with a view to clearing misconceptions likely to arise from Mr. Vac's misinterpretation of my aim in writing the book, that as an orthodox Hindu I yield to none in my respect and reverence for the great Hindu *rishis* and that I look upon my book as an humble plea for a more rational and humane treatment of the so-called depressed classes forming the vast majority of our community rather than as aiming at the total abolition of the castes, though this latter also is a consummation, in my thinking, to be devoutly wished for. I fully realize what important part the Hindu Caste-system played in the ancient commerce of the country. But I do protest in the name of God and Humanity against the treatment that has been for ages meted out to these mute suffering millions of our countrymen to whom we owed not a little of our past prosperity. My critic says that a comparison between the Europe of the 19th and 20th centuries and the India of the 17th or 18th century is a mistake, as if I have been anywhere in my book guilty of the offence. It is quite refreshing to learn that my critic is in favour of the total abolition of the caste system. It is my misfortune that the book has not proved acceptable or thoughtfully written to such a critic, although it has to many persons of light and leading in Bengal who have cared to *read* the book, inspite of their honest differences of opinion.

Yours faithfully,

DIGINDRANARAIN BHATTACHARJYA.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

"The Mundas and their Country" by Saratchandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

That India was populated at the time of the Aryan immigration, in fact, has been populated ever since palaeolithic times, is now a commonplace of history. The information which we possess, however, of the early history and social condition of the aborigines is very meagre. India is not an exception in that respect. The fact is, in every civilised country of antiquity, the intrusive immigrants treated the aborigines with undisguised contempt. The latter did not possess any literature of their own, and the references to them in the literature of the former are few and far between. The Aryans of the Rigvedic Period described the aborigines who resisted their advance, disturbed their sacrifices, and harassed them in endless ways, as blackskinned Dasyus and Rakshasas. The Chinese immigrants heaped such opprobrious epithets as "fiery dogs" and "ungovernable vermin" on the indigenes who opposed them.

Yet, there are casual references in the literature of the conquerors which would lead one to suppose that the indigenous peoples had made considerable advance in social evolution. In fact, the disparity at starting between the material development of the conquerors and that of the conquered was probably not very great, not so great, at any rate, as that between the white conquering nations and the conquered black and yellow races in Australasia and America in modern times. That is probably the chief reason, why instead of being practically exterminated like the Red Indians and the Tasmanians, the ancient aborigines multiplied and throve, and large bodies of them were gradually incorporated with the society of the intellectually superior newcomers. In Chinese records some of the aboriginal tribes are described as "great bowmen" and "mounted warriors." In the Rigveda, there are allusions to the "castles", the "cities" and the wealth of the Dasyus or Dàsas.*

The civilisation, whether in Egypt, China or India, bears the impress of the dominant and more gifted intrusive races. But there is not wanting evidence to show, that it was to some extent influenced by the contact with the aborigines. As in the race and the language, so in religion also, the mixed Nigritian and Semitic character is discernible in Egypt. The representation of divinities by animals, and the worship of such animals as crocodiles and serpents were in all probability due to the influence of the Nigritian aborigines. In ancient India also, there can be but little doubt, that the aboriginal element of the mixed population which sprang up there exerted considerable influence upon the course of her civilisation. Politically, tribes of aboriginal origins were dominant in Southern India. Even in Northern India a dynasty of Sudra kings of non-Aryan or mixed origin became paramount in the Fourth Century B.C. It is surmised by some scholars, that the development of the vast system of polytheism known as Hinduism from the much simpler non-idolatrous cult of the Indo-Aryans of the Rigvedic Period was largely due to the influence of the aboriginal contact.

Conclusions like this, however, are of a more or less conjectural character. Our knowledge of the cultured condition of the aborigines who were incorporated with the Aryan Society to form the great Hindu race is so poor, that it is very difficult to ascertain the extent of the influence they exerted upon each other. We do not know exactly how much the dominant races gave to, and how much they borrowed (if they borrowed at all), from the less gifted indigenes. Any work therefore which throws any light on the history and culture of the latter is highly welcome.

The work of Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy on the Mundas is such a one. It is a valuable contribution to Indian Ethnology. The Mundas are an important section of the Kolarian group of the Indian aborigines. They are linguistically, and possibly also genetically, allied to the Khasias and to various tribes in the Malay Peninsula, Cochin China, the Phillipines and Australia. There is considerable disagreement among Anthropologists as to where the original home of the Kolarians was, and what route they followed in entering India, if, indeed, they were not autochthones as some opine. Mr. Roy urges some grounds for inferring that there original home was in north-western India, and that they migrated south-eastward to the Malay Peninsula, the Phillipines, &c. "The earliest glimpses we catch," says Mr. Roy, "of the ancient Mundas in the light of tradition, reveal them as leading a pastoral existence in the mountain fastnesses and sunny valleys of Northern India. The tradition of the Mundas as well as of other Kolarian tribes point with one concurrent voice to those regions as their earliest remembered home. And these traditions receive further confirmation from the traditions of their quondam opponents—the Hindus." The Asuras who are near kinsmen of the Mundas have a tradition which is reminiscent of Dhavalagiri as their original abode. It is curious, that the Gonds who belong to the Dravidian Section of the Indian aborigines, also have a tradition which points to the same Himalayan tract as their primeval home. Their condition in that home is graphically described in an interesting Gondi song which has been translated by the Rev. Mr. Hislop :—

"They [the Gonds] devoured raw and ripe things ;
They did not bathe for six months together ;

* It should be noted, that in the opinion of some Vedic scholars "Dasyus" and "Dasas" refer to non-sacrificing Aryans as well as to the aborigines.

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They did not wash their faces properly, even on
dunghills, they would fall and remain.
Such were the Gonds born in the beginning.
A smell was spread over the jungles.
When the Gonds were thus disorderly behaved,
They became disagreeables to Mahadeva,
Who said: 'The caste of the Gonds is very bad,
I will not preserve them, they will ruin my hill
Dhavalagiri;
I perceive here and there smells."

These traditions of a northern home though preserved in aboriginal dialects bear evident marks of Aryan manipulation. It is highly probable however, that they contain a germ of truth in them. At any rate, in the face of such legendary evidence one must hasitate to accept the hypothesis recently urged by some anthropologists, that the migration of the Indian aborigines was from the south, from a now submerged continent which connected India with Africa on the one hand, and with Australia on the other. That such land connection existed during secondary times is unquestionable. But, there is no evidence, that it survived into Tertiary times, and the existence of man before that period has not yet been proved.

A school of anthropologists has recently sprung up who would abolish the old distinction (which was made on linguistic grounds) between the Dravidian and the Kolarian aborigines because of their physical resemblances. Language, it is true, is not a sure criterion of race. But there can be hardly any doubt, that it is an important test. Language is the last stronghold of man. He may adopt foreign costumes, manners and customs and even religion, but his language he, as a rule, retains. This has been the case in Egypt, China and India. Here our aborigines, even when more or less Hinduised, have maintained their own dialects. On the other hand, intermingling of races which tends to the blurring of racial types must have been going on since the Neolithic period. Our author inclines to this view. He attributes the assimilation of the Kolarian and Dravidian types to racial mixture.

The chapter on Ethnography, which occupies nearly a third of the entire volume, is the one which, as Mr. E. A. Gait observes in a valuable introduction to the work, will to most readers "prove to be the most interesting part of the work. This chapter contains a full account of the daily life of the Mundas, their dress, agriculture, tribal organisation, social and religious ceremonies, folklore and songs. It has evidently been written in the light of a close personal knowledge of the people and a deep and sympathetic insight into their feelings, mentality, and views of life."

In regard to the religion of the Mundas, a careful study has led our author to conclude that the designation of "animists" generally applied to them is inaccurate, if not actually a misnomer. The Mundas believe in a Supreme Deity whom they call Sing Bonga and "whose blessings they invoke before every important religious ceremony. Besides Sing Bonga, the Munda ordinarily worships the spirits of his deceased ancestors and the presiding deities of the village. Sing Bonga or the Supreme Deity has indeed no specific worship, but is reverentially remembered by every Munda when, before every meal, he puts down on the ground a few grains of rice from his plate. In serious general calamities, however, Sing Bonga is specially invoked and a white fowl is sacrificed to Him." Sing Bonga presides over various classes of inferior deities whom the author compares to the "Devas" of the Hindus, the "Angels" of the Christians, the "Ferishtas" of the Mahomedans, the "Ameshaspentas" of the ancient Iranians and the "Malakhs" of the ancient Jews. It is noteworthy, that in the religion of the Mundas, as represented by Mr. Ray, we find no trace of idolatry or even of fetishism. If the aborigines have had any hand in the genesis of the idol-worship of the Hindus, the Mundas do not appear to have been among them. It is true Mahadeo and Devimae (Sakti) are the favourite deities of the Hinduised Mundas as they are of the Gonds and various other Dravidian aborigines. But the evidence adduced goes to show, that they adopted the Siva-cult from the Hindus. If they had not, some trace of it would, in all probability, have been discernible in the primitive cult of the non-Hinduised Mundas.

The Mundas have a number of festivals which are common to them as well as the Hindus. The "Phagu" corresponds to the Hindu Holi. The "Soharai" which is celebrated on the day of the new moon in Kartic is the counterpart of the Hindu Dewali The "Dasae" is recognisable as the Bijoya Dasami. It is very difficult to tell whether these festivals have been borrowed from the Hindus or whether the latter have improved upon similar ones which originally existed among the aborigines. Mr. Ray inclines to the former opinion.

In regard to culture, the Mundas appear to be much in the same condition now as they were when they resisted the advance of the Aryan immigrants four thousand years ago. Then as now they had no better recreation than drinking, dancing and singing up to a late hour at night. They never appear to have been impelled by a desire for the superfluous in regard to physical or mental wants. They have no literature, and have made no progress in any branch of the fine arts.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy's work is well got up and well illustrated. As elucidating the history of one of the most interesting aboriginal tribes of India it should be as welcome to the student of anthropology as to the student of Indian history.

PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.

The Devalaya: Its aims and objects: with a short sketch of the Life and Work of its founder, by Pandit Sita Nath Tattvabhusan. Second Edition. Pp., 80. Price four annas.

The auother writes in the preface:—

"The Devalaya has been drawing a part of the public attention for over a year and a half. Its weekly services and addresses, its monthly meetings and its occasional festivals are advertised in the dailies and often draw large and earnest audiences. Its trust-deed and an account of its aims and objects will, therefore, it is hoped, be welcome to many. But perhaps they would not be quite intelligible without a sketch of the life and labours of the founder, Sevabrata Srijut Sasipada Banerji. Such a sketch therefore forms a part of this pamphlet. Mr. Banerji has been an incessant and faithful worker from his very boyhood and his activity has always been characterised by method and directed to fixed,

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definite aims. That he would found an institution like the Devalaya seems to have been somewhat of a necessity. One who has watched his doings from youth to old age could almost prophesy that he would do this. This will be evident even from the imperfect sketch that follows,—one which mentions only a few of his numerous activities. In 1903, when the Barahanagar Widow's Home was closed on account of its founder's failing health, and the public heard nothing of Mr. Banerji for some time, it seemed that his labours were over and that it remained for him only to await the Divine call to a higher world. But anon we heard of the re-organisation of the Barahanagar Institute, of his endowments to it and other charitable institutions, and then came the crowning effort of his life, the Devalaya, which, as Sir Gurudas Banerji said the other day, is solving one of the most important problems of the day.

"The strength of the spirit has overcome the weakness of the flesh and God's purpose has been fulfilled. It is hoped that the following pages will draw fresh sympathy and co-operation to the sacred cause of the Devalaya and remove the misunderstanding which still seems to linger in some minds as to the aims and objects of the institution."

Mr. Banerjee has rightly been called "*Sevavrata.*"

(*i*) *Is Religion undermined by Sceince, by Prof. T. L. Vasvani, M.A. Published by the Theistic Literature Society, 82 Harrison Road, Pp. 25. Price two annas.*

(*ii*) *A Social Interpretation of Religion by the same author. Pp. 22. Price one anna. To be had at the Ashram, 974 Burns Road, Karachi.*

Both the pamphlets are thoughtful and suggestive. They should be widely circulated.

(*iii*) *Sadhu Hiranand— a saint of modern Sindh, by the same author. Pp. 18. Price one anna.*

An Inspiring life.

The All-India Theistic Conference, Calcutta Session 1911. Published by A C. Sarkar, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 147. Price ten annas.

The contents of the book are:

(1) Report of the All-India Theistic Conference, 1888—1909. (2) The Annual Report for 1910—11. (3) The proceedings of the 19th Session of the All-India Theistic Conference. (4) Presidential Address (President Mr. Ullal Raghunathaya). (5) "Propagation of Brahmoism in Bengal" by Babu Lalit Mohon Das, M.A. (6) The Address of Mr. D. V. Prakash Rao, M.A. (7) "The Educational Problem and the Brahma Samaj." by Principal Wellinker. (8) "Women's work for women" by Mrs. V. A. Shukhtankar. (9) "How to cope with the growing needs of the Theistic Movement" by Babu Hemchandra Sarkar, M.A. (10) "A Social Interpretation of Religion" by Prof. T. L. Vasvani, M.A. (11) Business Session 1911. (12) Social Gathering and Address by Professor Otto. (13) List of Contributions to the Funds of the Calcutta Session, 1911. (14) Past Conferences and their Office-bearers.

It is a very interesting publication. Many important questions were raised in the Conference and the theists of India should do well to ponder over them.

The get-up of the book is excellent and the price moderate.

The Jain Philosophy, being Vol. I, of the speeches and writings of Virchand R. Gandhi, B.A., M.R.A.S. Collected and edited by Bhagu F. Karbhari, Editor of the 'Jain' and the 'Patriot,' Bombay and Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Princess Street, Kalbadevi, Bombay. Pp. xiv + 247 + Appendix pp. 26. Price Re. 1-8.

In the introduction the editor has given a brief sketch of Mr. Virchand. The Jaina Association of India elected him as a delegate to represent Jainism at the great Parliament of the world's religions held at Chicago. He delivered a series of lectures in important centres like Chicago, Boston, New York and Washington.

In England, too, he delivered a course of lectures on the fundamental principles of Jainism. "The present volume," writes the editor in the preface, "contains almost everything that Mr. Gandhi had to say about Jainism. There is no publication at present which can help laymen to study and intelligently understand Jain Religion and Philosophy. I sincerely hope the present volume will serve as a hand-book for this purpose to our rising young generation."

The Essence of Buddhism with illustrations of Buddhist Art by P. Lakshmi Narasa. Second edition (Revised and enlarged). Published by Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras. Pp. xi + 359. Price not known.

The number of illustrations given in the book is 106 and it is one of the most interesting features of the work.

The subjects dealt with in the book are—The Historic Buddha, The Rationality of Buddhism, The Morality of Buddhism, Buddhism and Caste, Woman in Buddhism, The Four Great Truths, Buddhism and Asceticism, Buddhism and Pessimism, The Noble Eightfold Path, The Riddle of the World, Personality, Death and After, The Summum Bonum."

"The plan of this edition," writes the author in the preface, "remains the same as the original but a good deal of new matter has been added to show that my Buddhist 'Modernism' far from being 'fabricated with the collaboration of all the scientists of the Old and New Worlds' stands much closer to the Spirit of the Buddha than the Indologist presentation of the teaching of the Benign one. The crucial question for the Buddhist is not whether he shall be *Mahayanik* or *Hinayanik* but whether Buddhism can come to terms with modern civilization which is animated, not by ideals borrowed from antiquity, but by the awakening spirit of modern science."

The book is an exposition and defence of what he considers to be the true ideal of the Twentieth Century Buddhism. It is an attempt at modernising Buddhism. He has taken three-fourths of the book in controverting doctrines of other religions and exposing their weak points. It is but natural that he should exalt his religion but this he has done, in many places, by belittling other religions. He does not forget to fling a stone at other systems wherever he finds an opportunity to do so. There is an abundance of such expressions:—"Ancient India was notorious for the looseness of its morality. Vedic worship was highly sensual, etc., etc." He accuses Brahmanical Scriptures and Christian Fathers of entertaining a very low opinion of women and

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regarding them as naturally wicked. He further says that Buddha certainly did not entertain such an opinion. Here our author commits a serious mistake. Even a greatman, like Buddha, cannot transcend his own times. He said on one occasion :—

"Such, we learn, is the wickedness of women. What crime will they not commit; then to deceive their husbands, what oaths will they not take—aye, in the light of the day—that they did not do it! so false-hearted are they! Therefore has it been said :—

A sex composed of wickedness and quite
Unknowable, uncertain as the path
Of fishes in water,—womankind
Hold truth for falsehood, falsehood for the truth!
As speedily as cows seek pastures new,
Women unsated, yearn for mate on mate.
As sand unstable, cruel as the snake,
Women know all things; naught from them is hid!"
(Andabhuta Jataka).

Similar examples might be multiplied.

Mr. Narasa professes himself to be a disciple of the Buddha but he says—"The best food for man seems to be a mixed diet.....there is no food superior to flesh." He supports even vivisection. "Even the practice of vivisection, if guarded from all abuse, is justifiable in so far as it subserves general happiness."

In defending the Buddhistic custom of divorce, he says :—"The indissolubility of the marriage tie is not a proof of high civilization but a superstition characteristic of the lowest and most primitive savages that the earth still harbours" (p. 174).

Some of the philosophical doctrines defended by the author are the following :—

"Free will has no existence except in the imagination of the theologian and the metaphysician" (p. 240).

"To ascertain the truth of a belief reason is the only means and by reasoning, even the most elaborate, the existence of an Isvara cannot be substantiated". "Right did John Henry Newman hold that apart from an interior and unreasoned blind faith there was no cognet proof of the existence of God" (p. 272).

"Modern psychology consider the substantial soul, *atman*, as an outbirth of that sort of ratiocination whose guiding principle is : Whatever you are ignorant of is the explanation of what you know" (p. 297).

He rightly says that *Nirvana* cannot mean the annihilation of all activities but his reasoning bespeaks here his total ignorance (or forgetfulness) of the law of Karma. He says :—"If Nirvana meant nothing more than the annihilation of all human sentiments, of all human activities, suicide would be the best and quickest means of making an end of suffering and sorrow" (p. 348).

Our author's Buddhism is neither the Religion of Buddha nor the religion followed by the Hinayan School nor that professed by the Mahayan School but it is a medley of incongruous materials collected from all the Buddhistic Schools and the Buddhistic writers of different shades of opinion. He has incorporated in his Buddhism some of the ideas of the Hinayan School with those of Dharmakaya, Amitabha and Sukhavati of the School of Mahayana.

The book is full of quotations but he has not, in all places, given references to the original sources from which they have been taken. In one place (page 318) he has committed a very curious mistake. He has quoted a few verses from Dr. Paul Carus's *De Rerum Natura* but he attributes them to "the philosophic Roman poet" by which he means Lucretius who also wrote a poem of the same title.

The book contains a number of important and inspiring quotations from the Buddhistic literature.

Swami Ram Tirtha. M. A.; His Life and Teachings. Vol ii (with portraits). Published by Messers. Ganesh & Co. Madras. Pp 336. Price one rupee.

Swami Ram Tirtha was a practical Vedantist and his discourses are all practical and based on Vedantic principles. We give below the table of contents of the book :—(1) The Sacred syllable Om. (2) The Brotherhood of Man. (3) History and Home of Happiness. (4) The Light of Lights. (5) The Realization. of God through Love. (6) The Infinite in the Finite. (7) The way to the fulfilment of all desires. (8) Out of misery to God within. (9) How to make your Homes happy. (10) Married life and Realization. (11) Man: The master of his own destiny. (12) Realism and Idealism. (13) Vedanta and Socialism. (14) The Problem of Sin. (15) The Path of Truth. (16) The Goal of Religion. (17) The Spiritual Law of Character. (18) The Kingdom of Heaven. (19) Instructive Stories :—(1) Married Life; (2) The Snares of 99; (3) He has an axe to grind; (4) Life is not for waste; (5) God is everywhere; (6) God is grateful ard pays his debts with interest.

These discourses are all interesting and inspiring and our readers will be much benefited from their perusal.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

Hinduism: Its Formation and Future, by Shridhar V. Ketkar, M. A., Ph. D. Published by Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russel Street, W. C. London. Price Rs. 2.

This is the second volume of the author's "History of Caste in India." It is a well-written volume and deserves perusal by every Hindu and every lover of India. The opinions of the author, even when they seem unacceptable, are presented with such pursuasive candour and insight, that every reader will rise fresher and better from a study of the book.

The author believes that "all civilizations are capable of being unified into one civilization. There would be a stock of moral ideas common to all the world, which people would follow whether embodied in any scriptures or not. They will have some common idea of God. The great teachers of mankind would be universally revered. All the religions of the world would hold the some status as the different *Sampradayas* hold in India. Religions would become tribal traditions, and Vedas, the Bible and the Koran would be looked upon as tribal documents of merely historical interest. The respect for great teachers of mankind would not remain tribal but would become universal" (*p.* 28).

The author holds that humanity is moving towards the goal depicted above. The Americans in founding their State upon the basis of territorialism and nationality (as opposed to religion) have made one great step forward. Hinduism had been moving in the same direction. Humanity is now consciously striving after the realization of this goal. Unfortunately it is not generally understood that this world-movement is really a Hindu movement. The great poet Nabin Chandra Sen has preached the establishment of a "Greater India" (Mahabharata) co-extensive

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with Humanity on a spiritualistic basis, where Gautama, Jesus and Mahomet would have equal veneration and all be regarded as *incarnations* of the Universal Spirit. This is true Hinduism, and this is the true spirit of the Modern Age. This is true Indianism as well.

The book has been written in a perspicuous, vigorous style and the English is unexceptionable. Every educated Indian ought to study the book and devote a part of his time and intellect to the solutions of the various problems raised in the book.

"VAC."

I. Selections from the writings of Gris Chunder Ghose. Calcutta, 1912. Price Rs. 5.

Last year we had the pleasure of reviewing in these columns the life of Gris Chunder Ghose, the founder and first editor of the "Hindoo Patriot" and the "Bengalee," and we are glad to find that the book has been followed with so short an interval by another volume containing an excellent selection from his writings. The book contains 692 pages, is excellently printed from page 137 onwards, and is handsomely bound. In the next edition we should like to see the long list of errata entirely done away with, and an index added at the end of the book. We note that the editor promises us a second series of selected writings. The specimens given in the volume convey a fair idea of the wonderful vigour and fertility of the writer's pen and the loftiness of his moral ideals. The volume is sure to prove a mine of interesting information to every student of history.

II. The Depressed Classes: Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rupee one.

Mr. Natesan has added another feather to his cap by publishing an extremely interesting and instructive collection of essays. He has tried to make the collection representative as well as comprehensive. The lead is given to his Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. Valentile Chirol, Rev. C. F. Andrews, and the Lord Bishop of Madras are the European contributors. Bengal is represented by ex-Justice Sarada Charan Mitra, Mr. B. De, I.C.S., Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, Pundit Sitanath Tattwabhusan. Mr. Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Ray, Saint Nihal Singh, Justice Chandavarkar, the Anagarika Dharmapala and the late Justice Krishnaswamy Iyer are among the other celebrities whose writings and speeches have been drawn upon. There is none in India like Mr. Natesan for enterprise in the selection of topical subjects. The get up and the printing are excellent and the book is sure to stimulate further interest in one of the foremost socio-political problems of the day, affecting the fortunes of fifty millions of Indians who are at present sunk in ignorance and poverty. We hope the book will receive a rousing welcome at the hands of the public.

III. Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, by Prof. V. G. Kale, Fergusson College, Poona. Natesan & Co., Madras. Re. 1.

The author takes a bird's-eye-view of the entire economic field and throws much new light on some of the subjects dealt with. He shows up, for instance, the fallacy of associating high prices with prosperity under the peculiar conditions of India and points out the connection between the increasing export of food grains and the abnormal rise in prices; he is a moderate, though staunch protectionist; he tries to show that the boycott of *Bideshi* goods has not helped the *Swadeshi* movement; but in our opinion he should have made an exception with regard to those commodities, *e.g.*, mill-cloths, whose output has permanently increased instead of receiving a mere temporary stimulus as the result of the increased demand. Protection and preferential duties, an imperial customs union, the currency in relation to high prices, are some of the other subjects treated in the book, which should be in the hands of every student of Indian economics.

IV. Outlines of English Constitutional Law: by S. K. Bardhan, M.A., B.L., Professor of Philosophy, Victoria College, Cooch Behar. Price annas ten.

This is an excellent summary of the subject, designed mainly for the use of the law students of the university. It may be of some interest also to the private student of jurisprudence.

V. Art and Swadeshi: by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. Ganesh and Co., Madras. Price Re. 1., 150 pp.

The author is the only art-critic worth the name in India, and Messrs. Ganesh and Co. are among the youngest and best of Indian publishing firms. The author and the publishers have combined to produce a book whose excellent get up is a delight to the eye and thoughtful contents an intellectual treat to the cultured and patriotic reader. The prices at which the publishers usually find it possible to place their neatly printed publications on the market can leave no excuse for those who really desire to possess them to go without them. Our only complaint is that there should be no acknowledgment of the fact that several of the essays contained in the book were first published in this magazine, though common courtesy would require such a mention. For the rest, we commend Dr. Coomaraswamy's half artistic and half patriotic message, illustrated by as many as 18 photographic reproductions of Indian art, to all who take a genuine interest in the progress of Indian civilisation, and we are confident that the book will find an extensive sale and its lessons will be laid to heart by the educated public.

'POL.'

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

Ghatakarpara, edited, by Mr. S. H. Dhruva. Price as. 12., pocket edition.

Ghatakarpara is a scholar's book. It can scarcely be said to demand a pocket edition. It would have been far better if the editor had used larger type and ordinary size. The printing is good and the notes are useful.

"VAC."

The Sacred Books of the Hindus (Nos. 35 & 36) Vol V.—Parts IX & X. The Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana with the commentary of Baladeva, edited and translated by Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu & published by Babu Sudhindranatha Vasu at the Panini Office. Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. iii +xxv+741—772+19+xxii+vii+54. Annual subscription Inland Rs 12 Foreign £1. Price of this copy Rs. 3.

This part contains :—

(1) An Introduction by the translator (pp. i—iii).
(2) An exhaustive analytical table of contents

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giving Adhikarans with Subjects dealt therein (pp. i—xxv). (3) Text and translation of the sutras from IV. 3. 16 to the end. (4) Alphabetical Index to the sutras (19 pages). (5) Word Index to the Vedanta sutras (pp. 1—xxii). (6) Appendix I: The origin of Bhakti Doctrine by the translator (pp. i—vii). (7) Appendix ii: The Text and an English Translation of *Prameya-Ratnavali* of Baladeva Vidyabhusan.

In Appendix the translator discusses about the origin of Bhakti Doctrine. He says:—"The worship of the child Krishna is a new phase, grafted on the ancient Krishna cult and brought from outside: either from the Christians of the North-Western Provinces (Bactria) or from the Nestorian monks who had settled in the western coast of India; and near whose monastery of St. Thome, Ramanuj was born and received his education.

"But the traces of Christian influence are not so marked in the system of Ramanuja as in that of Madhva. Madhva boldly arrogates to himself the character of being the incarnation of Prana (the Christ principle of the Christianity.) Prana is the first begotten of God (Prathamah Prana), he is the son of God (Hareh sutah), he is the great meditator and saviour of all Jivas. No one has seen the Father but through the Son; no one sees Hari but through Prana.

"All these cannot be explained by the theory of chance and coincidences. To all fair-minded persons the conclusion would be clear, that the teachings of Christ had some influence, though very faint, at least on the development of Madhva system and its branch Chaitanyaism which latter was certainly acted upon by Islam.

"Let me not be, however, misunderstood on this point. I do not hold that it has been borrowed from Christianity, but maintain that the reasons in favour of such borrowing are stronger than those against it. This conclusion does not touch the larger issue as to the origin of Bhakti—for Bhakti or loving devotion is not a thing that can be borrowed by one nation from another. Bhakti is as much natural to man as Jnana or Karma. They are God-given qualities. But though Bhakti is natural to man, its particular aspect as Gopal-worship may well have been taken from some outside source. In fact the statues of Yasoda holding Krishna in her lap resemble so very much with the Madonna holding the Infant Jesus that one is struck with the strange coincidence. It is the glory of Hinduism that it has assimilated the religions of various people and made them its own; and it need not be a matter for wonder if Hinduism has been influenced by the Avatara of Bethlehem."

In the second appendix, Prameya Ratnavali of Baladeva Vidyabhusan has been edited and translated. In this pamphlet the teachings of Chaitanya have been summarised. This school admits five principles or tattvas namely (1) Isvara or God (2) Jiva or Soul (3) Prakriti or Matter, (4) Kala or Time (5) Karma or Action.

It also teaches nine Prameya or propositions established by proper proofs. They are:—

(i) God is the highest substance. (ii) He is known through all the Revelations. (iii) The world is real. (iv) The differences are real. (v) The souls are real. (vi) There are various grades of souls. (vii) Release is the attainment of God. (viii) Its cause is the attainment of God. (ix) Proofs are three—perception, inference and authority.

With the present issue is completed the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayan as interpreted by Baladeva, and we have got an excellent edition of the philosophy.

The third year of the publication of the S. B. H. is now completed. Out of ten authoritative Upanishads seven have already appeared in the series and the translation of the remaining three is ready in manuscript. Out of the six schools of orthodox Hindu Philosophy, three—the Yoga, the Vaisesika and the Vedanta—have already been translated and the Nyaya and the Sankhya will, we are given to understand, be completed in the next year. It is a great and noble undertaking and deserves every possible encouragement. But it is a matter of deep regret that the publishers have not received that measure of support and encouragement that might have been expected and the result is that they have had to bear for years the loss incurred by the publication of the series. We strongly recommend the series to the patronage of our readers who, it is hoped, will help the publisher in extending wider circulation of these publications.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus (No. 37). Vol X.—Part 3. Purva-Mimansa-Sutras of Jaimini. Translated by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha, D. Litt. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 177—188. Annual subscription Inland Rs. 12-12 as. Foreign £1, single copy Re. 1—8.

The book contains.—

(i) The Sanskrit Text of the Sutras. (ii) The meaning of every word of the Text in English. (iii) An English Translation of the Sutras. (iv) An original commentary in English.

In this part, the 2nd 3rd and 4th padas have been translated and commented on.

The commentary given by the translator is learned, original and valuable. When completed, it will be an excellent edition of the Purva Mimamsa.

The get-up of the book is excellent.

Revelation Revealed. A monthly magazine in four languages—English, Marathi, Hindi and Guzrati-8vo, 64pp. each month; 32 pp. of Samhita and Padas, and 32 of English Translation, Vol 1, No 1. Edited by R. V. Patvardhan, B. A. LL. B., A. B. Kolhatkar, B. A., LL. B., & D. A., Tulzapurkar, B. A., LL. B. Published by Pranshankar Amritam Dixit at 47, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Annual subscription Rs. 4. Price single copy Eight Annas.

In this part the first nineteen Suktas of the Rigveda with Padapathas have been edited and translated. There is no commentary.

A new edition of the Sutras of the Rigveda and Padapatha is now useless. That has already been scholarly done. Simply a translation of the text will not help the readers much. What is wanted is, a *critical* translation of the text. It must be accompanied with a commentary, all the important words of the text must be thoroughly explained and commented on and there should be an introduction to every Sukta.

The Light of Truth or the Siddhanta Dipika and Agamic Review, a monthly Journal devoted to the Study of the Agamanta or the Saiva-Siddhanta Philosophy and Mysticism, Indo-Dravidian Culture

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and the organ of the Jaina Siddhanta Maha-Samaja. April 1912 (Vol XII No 10) and May 1912 Vol XII, No 11). Annual Subscription:—Rs 4 (Indian); Seven shillings (Foreign). For bona fide Students half rates.

This Journal is published from Madras.
Each part of the Journal contains about 48 pages.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

HINDI.

Patropahar by Pandit Narmada Prasad Misra. Printed and Published by Kunvar Hanumant Sinha Raghubanshi at the Anglo-Oriental Press, Agra. Demy 8vo. pp. 49. Price As. 4.

This book consists of nine letters supposed to be written by a father to his son who has been sent away for education. The letters embody lessons on morality and good breeding, attempts having been made to make them interesting. These will serve as good models for parents and guardians whose letters written from a distance often prove very effective. They will show of what stuff such letters should consist and, if, gone through, they will take the place of the rubbiat often contained in the letters of guardians. As a handbook for juvenile readers also, the book can be serviceable. There are some typographical errors in the book. The language is pure and simple and the get-up is fair. Some of the English quotations have not been translated into Hindi. Even in the present edition, this defect might be removed by pasting a page or two towards the end, containing translations with references to the pages in which the originals occur. The translations of poetical quotations should better be given in Hindi poetry.

Nitikavita by Pandeya Lochan Prasad. Printed at the Rajput-Anglo-Oriental Press, Agra and to be had of the author at Balpur, P. O. Chandrapur, Dist. Bilaspur, (C. P.). Price As. two. Crown 8 vo. pp. 28.

It contains poems in Khariboli on such subjects as Duty, Union, Diligence, Pride, Work and Play, Parents, Truthfulness, etc. The poems are suitable for recitation purposes and some of these may well be embodied in text-books for primary schools. The booklet has been deservedly approved as a prize and library book by the Central Provinces Text-Book Committee. The printing and paper admit of some improvement, and to make the publication more useful, the price could have been reduced a little. On the titlepage, we find the words "free of charge", while elsewhere its price is mentioned as annas two.

Jatiya Shiksha by Shree Satyadev. To be had of the Satya-grantha-mala Office, Benares. Crown 8 vo. pp. 26. Price one anna.

In the form of questions and answers, the writer has tried to show what a nation is and how can ideas of nationality be produced among the people of India. The writer correctly says that the present diversity of languages is no bar to the formation of a nation and quotes the example of Switzerland where four different languages are spoken. He however thinks it very necessary that Hindi should be made the *lingua-franca* of India. To our mind, the first stage should be to make Hindi the literary language of the whole of India, the chief obstacle to which lies in the fact of the Hindi literature being inferior to the literatures of some other languages in India. The booklet under review is a proper book for the training of popular national ideas. The author is wrong in suggesting that a secondary place should be given to religious education, as in the United States of America, though we must agree with him, when he says that there should be no sectarian and religious quarrels.

Sansarchakra, by Pandit Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi. Published by Pandeya Rameshwar Prasad Chaturvedi, 7-1, Mission Row, Calcutta. Demy 8 vo. Pp. 241. Price One Rupee.

This is a Hindi novel in which character-painting occupies a secondary position, while much dexterity has been shown in the developement of the plot, which in itself gives a clue to the character of the different people who figure in the novel. The heir of an aristocratic family, while yet a small child, falls into the clutches of an old but mean servant of the family, who after imprisoning the child's father brings it up as his own child. The child when grown up is married by his supposed father, but after that, in collusion with others, efforts are made to imprison him too. The hero has to suffer many reverses and hair-breadth escapes, and through the instrumentality of his wife, whom he does not recognise for a long time, he is saved. His bride's life-history is also of an amazing sort and is similar to his own in many respects. Many friends of the hero's and the heroine's families play prominent parts in the course of the narrative. At last, the families are restored to their estates and wealth, while the miscreants are treated most magnanimously. On the whole, the story is very interesting, and, in many places, instructive. The language is pure and the number of printing mistakes few.

America Kai Nirdhan Vidyarthion Kai Parishram, by Shree Satyadeva, Published by the "Satya-granthamala" Office, Benares. Crown 8 vo. pp. 62, price As. 3.

This book speaks of the different ways, in which the self-supporting students of the United States of America fight out their way through Schools and Colleges. The writer warns the Indian Students intending to go to America, that unless they have accustomed themselves to manual labour, they cannot go on there. He quotes the example of two Indian Students who committed suicide, when they found manual labour, their only resource, quite uncongenial to them. We are told that all the industrial and agricultural works in America are conducted on a scientific basis. In passing, the dignity of labour is pointed out in many places and the necessity of self-assertiveness and self-confidence while dealing with American labours is shown by means of some anecdotes. The book is written in the usual simple and homely style in which we have hitherto found Mr. Satyadeva's books written.

M. S.

MARATHI.

The Investiture of Nana Fadanavis by Vasudev Waman Sastri Kharc. Pp., 132. Price As. 10.

The book before us is an enlargement of an essay read at the anniversary celebration of Nana Fadanavis

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at Velas—a village in the district of Ratnagiri where the ancestors of Nana lived and died. This Vasudev Sastri Khare is a well-known student of the Maratha period of Indian history. He has very carefully studied the papers that are in possession of the Patwardhan families. As most of his books are in Marathi, the circle of his readers has become very narrow. However, we hope some of his books will be translated into English.

"This book," says Mr. Khare, "is neither a history of the administration of Nana Fadanavis nor is it a biography of Nana Fadanavis."* He intends to mark out the policy of Nana—his bold moves, his good hits, and his sound strokes—until he was invested with the authority of the Prime Minister of the Peshwa. His one aim is to show us the infinite dexterity and utmost skill with which Nana played the game of politics. This being his object, Mr. Khare has omitted all other matters such as the descriptions of various battles and campaigns. There are in all thirteen chapters. If we had time and space we would have given a short analysis of each chapter. Whatever may be the views of Mr. Khare about his hero, the book deserves a careful analysis. However, instead of entering into the diplomatic business of the great minister, (for it cannot be disposed of in a paragraph or two) we shall allude only to such small incidents as are not likely to be found in ordinary books on Indian History, which nevertheless greatly help us to judge rightly of men and events of this period of Maratha history.

P. 2. Nana Fadanavis was a great devotee of Shiva. At the battle of Panipat the Marathas received a crushing defeat and Nana fled from the field to the Deccan. He writes to Hingane, the deputy of the Peshwa at the court of Delhi, to despatch the picture of Mahadev which he had left with Lala Balgovind. This letter ordering the picture of Mahadev from a distance of 500 miles at a time when there were no railways and no post offices exhibits the great piety of this astute diplomatist.

P. 6. The following incident shows that even the minutest details of the administration did not escape his scrutiny. In 1764, Madhavrao went on a campaign against Haider Ali. Then he was only 19. He left his wife at home. She sent her bills for sanction to Nana Fadanavis. Nana struck off the item betel leaves. He said that until Shrimant (Madhavrao) returns home, Bai Saheb (the Peshwa's wife) should not require these.

P. 15. Gopikabai the wife of Nana Saheb (Balaji) Bajirao) was the most unfortunate woman. At the battle of Panipat she lost her son Viswasrao. Shortly after this Nana Saheb passed away. She lived to see Madhavrao her second son, fall a victim to consumption in the prime of his life and Narayanrao murdered at the instigation of his uncle Raghoba. Then she was so much disgusted with her life that she determined to pass her remaining days in a muth (monastery) and live by alms. But when she heard the birth of her grandchild, Madhavrao, she left off begging. However she never took any interest in the affairs of this world.

P. 29. Nana used to bring the child Peshwa into every Durbar. The child used to sit in the Durbar (in the lap of Daji) with a bold and majestic look. At Purandhar before the conclusion of the treaty a Durbar had to be convened. But Nana was afraid that the child might be frightened at the strange dress of the English ambassador. So he ordered the men that were in charge of the baby to dress like Europeans. This illustrates his shrewdness. At the end of this Chapter (iv) in connection with the treaty of Purandhar, Mr. Khare quotes a passage from a letter of Shivaji Pant, the Vakil of Patwardhan, who was at Purandhar when the treaty was concluded and he also gives an extract from Grant Duff. From this it seems that Grant Duff's account is one-sided if not inaccurate and incorrect.

The characters of the principal figures are strongly expressed in the nicknames by which they were addressed by their enemies and rivals. Sakharam Bapu was styled as कपि, हड्ड, जखुवन्त. Shinde was known as Vidura and Tandava Krishna, and Holkar as Ajapalaka. It seems that Grant Duff has sworn to discredit the Brahman. Why should the Brahman meddle in politics and put obstacles in the way of British conquest? This judicious impartial and unbiassed historian therefore could not but put a slur on them. In 1777 Mahadaji Shinde marched against the Raja of Kolhapur. Even before Shinde's arrival at Kolhapur, Ramachandra Ganesh, one of the Peshwa's Sardars, had defeated Yasaji Shinde of Kolhapur at Hingangaon. But our keensighted and equitable English historian records that Ramchandra Ganesh sustained a defeat at the hands of Yasaji. Further this accurate chronicler of the Marathas calls Ramchandra Ganesh, Ramchandra Hari.

At the end of the book Mr. Khare institutes a comparison between Mahadaji Shinde and Nana Fadanavis. He admits that if Shinde was not favourable to Nana the reins of Government should never have fallen into the hands of the latter. Nana would not have been able to retain them if Shinde had become hostile to him at this time. From this fact alone we should not estimate them. Shinde often swerved from his duty to his master in order to achieve his own personal ends. "Nobody can say this about Nana". Shinde quelled the insurrection of pseudo-Bhavu Saheb, subdued the Raja of Kolhapur, put down the disturbances and intrigues of Moraba, defeated the English, took on himself the risk and responsibility of keeping Dada Saheb (Raghoba) under restraint and imprisoned Sakharam Bapu. But if at the very outset of the internecine quarrel Shinde had made it impossible for Dada Saheb to seek the protection of the English, he would never have been put to this trouble. He did this all only when a jahgir of fifteen lakhs and the forts of Asirgad and Burhanpore were granted to him.

When one has finished the book, one feels disgusted with the squabbles and jealousies of the leading men of the time. The Maratha kingdom was a prey to civil war. Shinde and Holkar stood aloof for a time and were invoked on both sides. The glowing religious enthusiasm and fiery energy that distinguished the Marathas of the times of Shivaji and Bajirao I. had disappeared. The enemies of the great confederacy very rarely felt the united strength of the whole Maratha force. Nana Fadanavis only delayed the destruction of the Marathas. He struggled to banish the vices of civil discord and place the Maratha kingdom on a firm basis. But it was too late. It

* Mr. Khare has also written a biography of Nana Fadanavis.

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is true that his diplomatic skill, his uncommon shrewdness and his commanding genius enabled him to turn the misfortunes into advantages. But for one sincere well-wisher of the State there were a hundred hypocrites who had the good of their master on their lips and their personal gains at heart.

The get-up of the book is shabby; its external is as dull as its contents are lively and interesting. It is not free from misprints. Mr. Khare has an easy and running style. We hope he will publish at an early date the second volume depicting the political career of this prince of diplomatists.

W.

Sanskrit Pravesha, by R. D. Desai, B.A., Second Edition, Talegaon, Dabhade, Poona. Price annas 8.

This is an attempt to render help to those who wish to learn Sanskrit, but do not know English, or who believe they ought to learn it through their mother tongue—Marathi. The author is of opinion, and rightly, that Sanskrit ought to be taught through one's own mother-tongue and certainly not through English. No doubt there is considerable force in this, but we do not like the superior airs of the author, amply exhibited in the Preface. We are not sure a student can follow all the rules of grammar given in this primer without a competent teacher's assistance. It must also be remembered that though Dr. Bhandarkar's first Sanskrit Book was originally written in English, a Marathi adaptation of the same has been before the Marathi-knowing public for many years past, and it has run through many editions. In the present book, however, the author has given a number of simple lessons from classical authors, followed by grammar portion. The author believes that if the rules given here are once mastered, with the aid of a good dictionary a careful student can read and understand works like the *Ramayan* and the *Mahabharat*.

Pratham Guchha, by R. D. Desai, B.A., Talegaon, Price Re. 1.

This is a compilation of easy extracts from the Ramayan, Mahabharat, Hitopadesha and Panchatantra, &c. and with necessary explanation in Marathi and an exhaustive *Kosha* of difficult words. Those who will learn Sanskrit through the *Sanskrit Pravesha* will find this book very helpful. The selections are very happy and simple. With the help of the explanations and the *Kosha* an ordinary student of Sanskrit ought to be able to understand all the extracts in this book.

Shrutibodha, a Monthly Magazine, begun from the 1st of July, and edited by Messrs. R. V. Patvardhan, A. B. Kolhatkar, and D. A. Tuljapurkar, graduates in Arts and Law; Kalbadevi, Bombay. Yearly Subscription Rs. 2.

This is a unique attempt made by three Graduates of our University to present an easy and simple translation of the Vedas to the masses. The late Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, M.A., was the first in this part to take up the work in hand. His *Vedarthayatna* was a scholarly production, but it failed as it did not, and could not, reach the masses. The present is a venture in right direction, inasmuch as the editors are giving to their readers correct text of the Vedic hymns, with *Padapatha* and an easy, correct and intelligible translation into Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi and English. The first issue before us shows that the Editors are quite conscious of the difficult task before them. What we most appreciate in them is their open mind. They do not wish to advance any theories, generally not acceptable to critical students, nor do they desire to burden their translation with unnecessary notes, and different renderings. The Marathi rendering of the Vedic hymns shows that the editors have well succeeded in giving a translation which can be grasped by any Marathi-knowing person. We feel certain that the *Shrutibodha* will command a wide circulation. There was a very great demand on the first number, of which a second edition had to be issued. The editors deserve to be congratulated on this unique success.

A. B. V.

GUZARATI.

Sri-Hari-Sneha-Sudha-Sindhu, by Ambashanker Samal Shukla, and published by Madhavdas Laldas Sheth, 15, Bank Street, Bombay. Printed at the Nirnaya Sagar Printing Press, with pictures. Cloth bound, Pp. 698. Price Rs. 5-8-0 (1911.)

This substantial volume of nearly seven hundred pages is devoted to a description in verse of the several aspects in which Hari or Krishna is seen by Hindus. It is written in the style of the order of Gujarati poets, and is an index of the old spirit still surviving, although Shelley and Tennyson have come into vogue and thrown the former into a complete shade. It is likely to find favor, still with a large number of readers.

Indira, by Mrs. Priyamati Shukl, Printed at the Vyapari Printing Press, Baroda. Cloth bound, Pp. 280. Rs. 1-4 (1912).

This novel is a translation of a Marathi work, and depicts several unpleasant aspects of the life of the inhabitant of the Deccan. Scenes depicting immorality are freely interspersed in the body of the little book, and in spite of this authoress' protestations to the contrary, we are afraid, its unsavoriness would be its chief attraction. There are errors of printing and of grammar in the work.

Hindustan na Samajik Jivanman Strinun Sthan, by Mrs. Vidya Ramanbhai Nilkanth, B. A, and Mrs. Sharda Metha, B. A. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Allahabad. Cloth bound, Pp. 288. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1912).

There is an appropriateness in the work under review. It is a translation of two well educated ladies, the very first lady graduates of Gujarat—of the well-known work of a lady, *viz.*, H. H. the Maharani Gaekwar of Baroda. We have had occasions to notice before now favourably the literary work of both these cultured sisters, who seem in all important literary ventures to work hand in hand, and with admirable sympathy. The original book, is no doubt, far in advance of the present times, and fulfils more the function of a finger post showing the way, rather than the way itself.

Many of its suggestions are unworkable in the case of Indian woman at present, and the translators have been conscious of the same. As a translation, it is pretty well done, and will be the means of introducing H. H.'s work to many thousands of the inhabitants of Gujarat who know no other language except their mother-tongue.

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Short stories by Count Tolstoy, Pt. I, by Bhogondrirao Ratanlal Divatia, B.A. Published by Karsandas J. Chitalia, of Amreli, Kathiawad. Printed at the Jnanmandir Press, Ahmedabad, Paper cover, Pp. 96. Price 0-4-0 (1912.)

The stories are delightfully well adapted and they keep up the interest of the reader from start to finish. The book is sure to please and instruct children, and also grown up people. Tolstoy's simplicity and sincerity peep out from each story.

(1) Anjana Sundari, (2) Gita Sangraha, (3) Sthulihvadraji ni Shujal Vel. Published by the sons of a revered mother. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhabnagar. Paper cover, unpriced (1912).

No. 2 is a collection of Gujarati songs for ladies and Nos. 1, 3 are written in praise of female chastity. They are likely to prove useful to the classes for whom they are written.

itopdesha, by Dhimatram Navalram Pandit, published by Girdharlal Gokuldas Vaidya. Printed at the Subodhini Printing Press, Bazar gate, Bombay. Cloth bound, Pp. 159. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1912.)

The Hitopdesha of Vishnu Sharma in Sanskrit is a source of perennial joy and instruction to all who read it, and any translation of it would be welcome. It is not as if it has remained untranslated till now but still this new addition would not be unwelcome. The translator has carried out his object very well.

Shruti Bodh.

This is a periodical to be published monthly, containing the list and translation of the Vedas. It is edited by three lawyers, Messrs. R. V. Patwardhan, A. B. Kolhatkar, and D. H. Tuljapurkar, all B.A., LL.B.s. The annual subscription is Rs. 3. As a rule, we review books only and not magazines.

K. M. J.

NOTES

The Bharat-Stree Mahamandal.

The second half-yearly meeting of the Bharat-Stree-Mahamandal, *i.e.*, the All-India Women's Association, was held on Suturday the 3rd of August at the Mary Carpenter Hall, Calcutta, and was attended by a large number of members, many of whom are well-known in society. Mrs. A. Chaudhuri was unanimously voted to the chair. The proceedings began with a song, after which the Secretary's report was read, which stated that the tuition work in the zenana, which is one of the principal objects of the association, has made rapid progress within the last year and a half; since the work was undertaken with only 18 pupils and a staff of 6 teachers, while it now numbered 120 pupils and 20 teachers, with a still greater demand. Unfortunately the association is unable to meet all demands owing to the heavy expenses it has to incur in providing conveyances for the teachers in their daily rounds. The number of members has also increased appreciably, showing the amount of interest taken in the difficult question of purdah education. The accounts of the association show a debt of Rs. 569/8/-. It is hoped that all who have their nation's welfare at heart will do their utmost to raise the association from its crippled condition.

A short article in English, explaining the views of the association and the need of women's education in this country, was then read by a member, for the benefit of the English ladies present. Two more articles, in Bengali, were read by other members, dealing with the subject of the evils of little learning, which were interesting. They were followed by a song sweetly sung by a very young girl; and the Bengali translation of the Psalm of Life which was recited by another member, was so appropriate to the occasion and rendered in such a masterly style that it was greatly appreciated. The programme for the day being ended, the President rose to deliver her address and expressed her views on women's education in an extremely interesting article written expressly for this occasion. The President contemplates publishing it in pamphlet form for circulation.

X.

Two Scholars of the National Council of Education.

The following paragraphs have appeared in some of the morning papers :—

Intimation has been received that Messrs. Dhirendra Kumar Sarkar and Surendra Nath Ball have just graduated from the Michigan University as Bachelors of Science.

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Mr. Dhirendra Kumar Sarkar joined the Bengal National College after wining a 2nd grade Government Matriculation Scholarship; read as a student in Mechanical Engineering; worked for sometime as honorary teacher and organiser of some mufassil national schools and stood first at the Seventh Standard Examination of the National Council; was elected to one of the foreign scholarships of the National Council in August 1910 and joined the Yale University as a student of Industrial Chemistry. At the annual examination of the Yale University Mr. Sarkar obtained 85 per cent. of the marks in Mineralogy, Organic Chemical Laboratory, Theoretical Organic Chemistry, Crystallography and French; above 75 per cent. in Theoretical Grovimetic Analysis; Practical Grovimetic Analysis; above 65 per cent. in Mathematics and German. He then joined the Michigan University where he did creditable work and graduated as Bachelor of Science. He thus completes the four years' course in two years by doing extra work in summer and other recesses which is granted to a deserving student by all American Universities.



Mr. Dhirendra Kumar Sarkar.

Mr. Surendra Nath Ball passed with distinction the Seventh Standard Examination of the National Council of Education, standing first in the Biological subjects; studied Economics, Advanced Chemistry and subjects allied to Pharmaceutical Chemistry at home and prepared text books with Prof. Binay Kumar Sarkar, M.A. according to his method on Botany and Zoology for use in secondary schools; worked for some time as Assistant Biological Laboratory, Bengal National College; served as apprentice in the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, specially in the Preparation Department; was elected to one of the foreign scholarships of the National Council and joined the University of Michigan (U. S. A.) from which he graduated as Bachelor of Science (Phc.) He also completes four years' course in 2 years. He has written a treatise on Pharmacy.



Mr. Surendra Nath Ball.

Other successful Students.

Mr. Rashbehari Nandi, A.M.I.C.E., M.R. San. L, etc. successfully passed the examination in Railway Engineering at the University College, London. After

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this he was registered as a probationer at the Royal Institute of British Architects, and having passed the Intermediate Examination of the said Institute was registered in June, 1911, as a Stud. R.I.B.A.—a rare distinction. Mr. Nandi has also secured the highest diplomas of the Royal Sanitary Institute. Mr. Nandi left for England in 1909 after three years of study at the Sibpur Engineering College with Scolarships from the Sylhet Association and the Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, Calcutta.

Mr. Birendra Kumar Basu, B.A. (Cal. and Cantab.), son of Mr. Manmatha Kumar Basu of Krishnagar, has obtained a first class in the Economic Tripos, Part II of Cambridge. He is the first Bengalee and the third Indian to get it. The other Indians being Mr. Subba Rao (1909) and Professor Coyaji of the Indian Educational Service (1910). He will appear at the ensuing I.C.S. Examination.

Mr. Sisir Chandra Chatterjee, the youngest brother of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S., has passed in his final medical examination and has obtained the degree of M.B., C.M., at the University of Edinburgh.

"Response in Plant Life."

On the afternoon of the 8th June last, Dr. J. C. Bose, who had gone to the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, on a holiday trip, entertained the Brotherhood and the guests residing there, a group of fifteen, with an illuminating discourse on the marvels of plant life. The subject of the discourse was, "Whether plants feel, and if so, how long do they take to respond and how to measure the time? What, finally, is the comparative sensitiveness of plants in relation to animals?" "Prabuddha Bhārata" has published the following summary of the discourse:—

He began by stating that a stimulus takes a certain time before it gets a response. This stimulus may be of different forms, *e. g.*, it may be a sound stimulus, a light stimulus, an electric stimulus, and so on. The feebler the stimulus, the greater is the time it takes to elicit the response. For instance, if one is called by a distant voice, one doubts whether he has been called at all, but in the case of a piercing scream, he starts up at once.

Now, the difficulty is that when the stimulus, the blow, is so strong as to get an instantaneous response, how is one to measure this infinitesimal time between the blow and the response? And this must be done absolutely free from any personal interference, so as to ensure correct results.

Dr. Bose here described how after deep thought and careful experiments and researches of several years he invented and manufactured a highly sensitive instrument which could automatically record the "response time" of a plant even to one-thousandth part of a second. And in order to convey a graphic idea of the principles under which it worked, he had even made by means of a few simple things a crude form of his instrument, which helped the audience to form a clear idea of how a shock given to a plant which was experimented upon, would be recorded automatically by the apparatus by means of dots on its writing pad, and also how to ascertain the exact time each plant took to respond to the stimulus received. Thus the plant now records its own history unerringly by its own hand as it were. And that the *same* results are obtained each time the experiment is repeated under similar conditions, shows that this recording of the response-time is a scientific phenomenon.

As an example of the similarities of reactions in plant and animal, Prof. Bose described the rhythmic activities of certain plants, in which automatic pulsations are maintained as in the animal heart. This phenomenon is exemplified by the Telegraph plant, which grows wild in the Gangetic plane; its Indian name is *Bon Charal* or 'forest churl,' the popular belief being that it dances to the clapping of the hand. There is no foundation however for this belief. It is a papilionaceous plant with trifoliate leaves, of which the terminal leaflet is large, and the two lateral, very small. Each of these is inserted on the petiole by means of pulvinule. The lateral leaflets are seen to execute pulsating movements which are apparently uncaused, and are not unlike the rhythmic movement of the heart to which we shall see later that their resemblance is more than superficial.

In the intact plant, under favourable conditions, these movements are easily observed to take place more or less continuously; but there are times when they come to a standstill. For this reason and because of the fact that a large plant cannot easily be manipulated as a whole and subjected to various changing conditions which the purpose of the investigation demands, it is desirable, if possible, to experiment with the detached petiole, carrying the pulsating leaflet. The required amputation however may be followed by arrest of the pulsating movements. But, as in the case of the isolated heart in a state of standstill, Dr. Bose found that the movement of the leaflet can be renewed, in the detached specimen, by the application of the internal hydrostatic pressure. Under these conditions, the rhythmic pulsations are easily maintained uniform for several hours. This is a great advantage, inasmuch as in the undetached specimen, the pulsations are not usually found to be so regular as they now become. So small a specimen, again, can easily be subjected to changing experimental conditions, such as the variation of internal hydrostatic pressure and temperature, application of different drugs, vapours and gases.

Under varying conditions the same plant has been observed to take different response times, as for instance, less in heat than in cold, less in summer than in winter, less in the morning than in the evening,

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and so forth. Again, different plants have different response times.

It is a remarkable fact that the mimosa is ten times as sensitive as a frog in giving the response. And the native idea that plants are of a lower order than animal life will cost many a sad disappointment.

In the course of his lecture Dr. Bose spoke of some of his startling discoveries recently made. But as these have not as yet appeared in book form, we are unable to make them public.

The lecturer gave quite a spiritual turn to his discourse as he finished it with the remark that, as it has been the earnest endeavour of scientists to minimise material friction in order to get the best results, so in our human concerns, it should be our best aim to minimise friction,—which is, Ignorance.

The discourse lasted for about an hour during which the little audience listened with rapt attention to the story of the marvellous romance of plant life romantically told by this son of the Rishis, who has made it possible for all to read the heart-throbbings of the Vegetable Kingdom.

As the great doctor spends the greater part of the year in Calcutta, where not crude forms of his apparatus, but the instruments themselves are available, we appeal to him to give us here some of his discourses. Cannot the Mahilā Parishad, the Students' Weekly Service, and other similar institutions persuade him to address his old and new pupils and would-be pupils here?

Literally the Devil's Advocate.

While supporting the opposition to the Persian Railway and attacking the Chinese for stopping the use of opium in China, Sir J. D. Rees suggested that it was cruel to deprive the Chinese of the superior Indian drug and force them to smoke their own. This proved too much for at least one M. P., Sir George Toulmin, the well-known owner of the "Lancashire Daily Post," who observed :—

"I suppose that surprise ought not to be felt at finding in this House champions of every tyranny who put forward excuses for abuses. Wherever there is a weak race that is being oppressed, the oppressor may be quite sure he will find an apologist in the hon'ble member who had just spoken."

Pre-historic Indo-African Relations.

India's pre-historic connection with Egypt has long been a subject of investigation with Egyptologists. It is very probable that the people of India had trade and industrial relations with other parts of Africa, too. The following letter addressed by Dr. F. V. Engelenburg, Editor, "Devolksten," to Prof. Radhakumud Mookerjee, suggests a new field of research in this direction :—

"Permit me to give expression to the great appreciation and interest with which I read your "History of Indian Shipping and Maritime activity," especially the part of your book which deals with the earliest history of India. By this mail I took the liberty to forward to your address a recent bulletin of the *S. A. Journal of Science* containing an article on the origin of prehistoric culture connected with a group of ruins in Rhodesia. The writer of the article—see page 335 of the bulletin—suggests that the prehistoric gold industry in Rhodesia shows the existence of methods similar to tho-e followed in the ancient gold mines of Nothern Mysore and thinks it probable that one thousand years B. C. Arab traders worked the Rhodesia mines with Indian miners, always "occupying subsidiary positions." According to your book, however, mention is made in Old Indian Literature of an *over sea* "Gold country" or "Golden Land" with which merchants of India's west coast (Bharuccha) entertained relations—pages 76, 77 and 89 of your "History"—and on page 74 you state how the Banias of *Western India* undertook trading voyages much earlier than the sixth century B. C. On page 84 you drew attention to the continuous flow of gold into India; and the writer of the above-mentioned bulletin estimates the amount of gold, exported from ancient Rhodesia, at anything between 75 and 150 millions of P. st. Amongst the articles exported by India, gold and ivory are included; these may have originally been collected in South-east Africa. The presence in Rhodesia of the traces of ancient Indian settlements—exotic Indian vegetation—and of Mysore gold mining methods, opens a new vista for the historian; and it may be worth while for those at home in old Indian Literature to carefully study the sources under the Rhodesian aspect and to revise the accepted nomenclature of ancient lands and towns with a view to their possible application to Indian settlements in East and South East Africa.

"Prehistoric Rhodesia has only recently entered the field of scientific research; and as I take some interest in the matter and highly value the merits of your "History" I venture to draw your kind and—I hope sympathetic—attention to the existence of Indo-African relations as far back as ten centuries B. C. In case you should happen to throw some light on this part of our South African History, I trust you will be good enough to communicate the result to—

Yours faithfully,
F. V. Engelenburg.

Editor, "Devolksten"

Box. 399, Pretoria, Transvaal.

Eurasian Regiments.

Until only the other day it was usual to speak of persons of mixed European and Asiatic parentage as Eurasians. "Anglo-Indian" meant a person of pure British (or at any rate pure European) extraction who was residing temporarily or had settled for good in India. Now that Eurasians have been allowed to call themselves

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"Anglo-Indians," it has become necessary to coin another term to denote those who were formerly styled Anglo-Indians; for we find that they now resent being called Anglo-Indians. Some time ago the *Hindoo Patriot* was taken to task for calling *Capital* "our Anglo-Indian contemporary." So until a new term is coined we shall call Eurasians Eurasians and Anglo-Indians Anglo-Indians. In fact, we do not see how all Eurasians can be called Anglo-Indians. For there are many who are themselves Indian Christians or are descendants of Indian Christians; there are others who are of mixed Indian and Portuguese descent, not having a drop of Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins; there are again others who are of mixed European and Burmese, or European and Chinese, or European and Negro parentage.

A Simla telegram says that at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council to be held on the 10th September, Mr. Madge will move a resolution "that this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Government of India do take up the question of raising from the domiciled Anglo-Indian community a regiment in which recruits should be engaged on pay and allowances equal to those of British soldiers, and that the Government do recommend local recruiting from the above community into British regiments serving in India subject to the consent of the Commanding Officers of British corps."

Now, by the term "domiciled Anglo-Indian community," Mr. Madge means either Eurasians or both Eurasians *and* Anglo-Indians in the old sense. Let us take the case of the Eurasians first. White soldiers in India are held to be superior to sepoys, *first*, for political reasons, *secondly* because they belong to a more virile stock, and *thirdly*, because they are inhabitants of a country of which the climate is not so enervating as that of India is thought to be. We shall take the validity and correctness of these reasons for granted. As regards the political reasons, we refer our readers to our article on "Eurasian Regiments" and leave it to them to decide whether they can be depended upon as much as British soldiers. As regards the second reason, they are not of pure British stock and are therefore a mixture of a virile and an effeminate stock, and are, therefore, not the genuine British stuff. As for the third reason, they are natives of and reside in a country of which the climate is not as bracing as that of Great Britain. So we do not see why they should be paid much more than such splendid fighters as the Sikhs, Gurkhas, Pathans, &c., or as much as British soldiers. It would be sheer and wanton waste of public money and would create discontent and heart-burning among the sepoys. For, really none but Mr. Madge can see how a Eurasian born and bred in the Calcutta *Kintals* is physically and morally superior to, say, a Bengali Musalman who has served as a lascar in sea-going vessels and has acted in times of danger as bravely as British sailors.

Regarding domiciled Anglo-Indians (in the old sense), it must be said that they also are not as good as the British soldier born and brought up in the United Kingdom, for though the stock is the same, the climate of India cannot but produce its deteriorating effect (according to European traditional belief). The Royal Commission appointed after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny to inquire into the organisation of the Indian Army wrote in its report :—

"That, however good the Local Force of the late East India Company has proved itself to be, still it is the opinion of the Majority, that a Local Force deteriorates more than one, which by frequent relief, has infused into it fresh European notions and feelings, and a vigorous system of European discipline; and that this would more particularly be the case in a climate like that of India, where according to the statistical statement of Sir Alex. Tulloch, backed by the professional opinion of Dr. Martin and others, the European constitution can never be said to become acclimatised, but, on the contrary, deteriorates, gradually and surely, in increasing ratio."

Rabindranath Tagore in England.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes that "the coming to England of the Indian poet and dramatist Rabindranath Tagore has aroused a deeper and wider interest amongst thoughtful people here than the appearance of any other visitor from the East in our generation."

At the dinner held in his honour on July 10 at the Trocadero Restaurant, Mr. W. B. Yeats, the poet of the Celtic revival, presided and paid the following fine tribute, as

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reported by *the Times*, to Mr. Tagore's genius :—

"To take part in honouring Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore is one of the great events of my artistic life. I have been carrying about with me a book of translations into English prose of 100 of his Bengali lyrics, written within the last ten years. I know of no man in my time who has done anything in the English language to equal these lyrics. Even as I read them in



MR. W. B. YEATS.

this literal prose translation they are as exquisite in style as in thought. The style was familiar in Europe several hundred years ago. Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore is also a great musician ; he sets his poems to music ; then he teaches poem and music to some one, and so together they go from mouth to mouth, sung by his people, very much as poetry was sung in Europe three or four centuries ago. In all his poems there is one single theme : the love of God. When I tried to find anything Western which I might compare with the work of Mr. Tagore, I thought of 'The Imitation of Christ,' by Thomas à Kempis. It is like, yet between the work of the two men there is a whole world of difference. Thomas à Kempis was obsessed by the thought of sin ; he wrote of it in terrible imagery. Mr. Tagore has as little thought of sin as a child playing with a top. In Thomas à Kempis there is no place for the love of visible nature ; into his great austere nature such a love did not enter. But Mr. Tagore loves nature ; his poems are full of the most beautiful touches showing his keen observation and deep love."

Mr. Yeats then read Mr. Tagore's own English prose translations of three lyrics—two of which were as follows :—

"I was not aware of the moment when I first crossed the threshold of this life. What was the power that opened me out upon this vast mystery like a bird in the forest in midnight ? When in the morning I looked upon the light I felt in a moment that I was no stranger in this world, that the inscrutable without name and form had taken me in its arms in the form of my own mother. Even so, in death the same unknown will appear as ever known to me, and because I love this life, I know I will love death as well. The child cries out when from the right breast the mother takes it away to find its consolation in the left one in the very next moment."

"In the deep shadows of the rainy July, with secret steps, thou walkest, silent as night, eluding all watchers.

"To-day the morning has closed its eyes, heedless of the insistent calls of the loud east wind, and over the ever wakeful blue sky a thick veil has been drawn.

"The woodlands have hushed their songs and doors are all shut at every house. Thou art the solitary wayfarer in this deserted street. Oh, my only friend, my best beloved, the gates are open in my house—do not pass by like a dream."

Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore replied in the following terms :—"I have not the power adequately to express my gratitude for the great honour you have done me. This is one of the proudest moments of my life. I have a speaking acquaintance with your glorious language ; yet I can but feel in my own. My Bengali has been a jealous mistress, claiming all my homage and resenting rivals. Still, I have put up with her exactions with cheerful submission ; I could do no other. I cannot do more than assure you that the unfailing kindness with which I have been greeted in England has moved me far more than I can tell. I have learned that, though our tongues are different and our habits dissimilar, at the bottom our hearts are one. The monsoon clouds, generated on the banks of the Nile, fertilise the far distant shores of the Ganges; ideas may have to cross from East to Western shores to find a welcome in men's hearts and fulfil their promise. East is East and West is West—God forbid that it should be otherwise—but the twain must meet in amity, peace, and understanding ; their meeting will be all the more fruitful because of their differences; it must lead both to holy wedlock before the common altar of humanity."

The Empire's special correspondent writes :—

It fell, of course, to Mr. Yeats, to make the speech of the evening. He is a figure of extraordinary attraction, with a beautiful voice and perfect powers of expression. He spoke only for a few minutes, but his words made the most profound impression. His knowledge of Mr. Tagore's work, he said, had come only through a small collection, chiefly of religious poems, rendered by the poet himself into literal English prose. Even in this form they seemed to him to be beyond price, and the reading of them had been a unique event in his emotional life. Seeking for something with which to compare them he had been able to think of Thomas à Kempis alone ; but whereas the author of "The Imitation of Christ" was oppressed at every moment by the sense of sin, and was labouring always to shut out the beauty of Nature as the enemy of devotion, the Indian poet dwelt ever in the thought of the love of God and saw its expres-

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sion in the beauty of all simple and natural things. Mr. Yeats finished by reading, with wonderful effect, three of Mr. Tagore's short poems from the manuscript translation: one in which God is addressed as He passes by; one in which a young Indian girl is pictured at the Feast of Lamps, and another touching the meaning of Death. "For the like of that," said Mr. Yeats, as he closed on a beautiful simile of the maternal breast, "we must go to the psalmists of ancient Israel and to the singers of the Middle Ages in Europe."

Among those who spoke to the toast of "India" was Mr. W. Rothenstein, the artist.

The event was deemed worthy of a leading article in the *Times*, and in the Indian Budget Debate in the House of Commons Mr. Montagu referred with admiring assent to the concluding sentence of Mr. Tagore's reply. The leading article in the *Times* is entitled "The triumph of art over circumstance." The writer observes therein that "the inner human likeness is far more essential than any outward dissimilarity and true great art assures us that in all ages and countries the hearts of men are indeed one." He also says:—

'A good translation must rob a great poem of many beauties, but it will keep the essence for those readers who know how to find it; and Mr. Tagore has won the admiration of English poets by his own translation of his works. To them he is not a Bengali but a brother poet and they enjoy his works, not because they are different from their own or amusing for their local colour, but because being poetry, they are of the same nature as all other poetry, Eastern or Western.'

Besides this banquet given to him by Engltsh artists and writers, "at which admiration of a very unusal degree was expressed," as the *Indian Daily News* says, there have been many private receptions and gatherings held in his honour. In response to a strong request, a romantic comedy in one act, "The Maharani of Arakan," being the short story of "Dāliā" by Mr. Tagore, dramatised by Mr. Tagore and Mr. Calderon, was produced at the Royal Albert Hall Theatre on July 30.

The World and New Dispensation publishes the following extract from a private letter from, we guess, Mr. Rothenstein:—

"The pleasure the poet's sojourn here is giving us does actually far exceed the pleasure of anticipation. All that I suspected before I find to be present in this sweet sage, together with a hundred other qualities that were unsuspected. Was there ever a nobler soul than his, a deeper and sincere inspiration? I cannot tell you how highly I place his poetry—you would think me guilty of exaggeration were I to do so. Nothing that he writes but comes from his own inner experience—there is no flourishing of skill or power—his work is a humble and passionate personal offering to the visible beauty of the face to the world, to him a perfect and satisfying manifestation of the unity of the universe, the infinity of beauty an outward sign and symbol of the infinity of God's love. He sees this in a thousand things, and never tires of singing his praises of life



Mr. William Rothenstein.

and of death in a thousand different forms. What their beauty must be in your own language I can only dimly imagine, but their pregnant meaning is in itself enough to make his songs wring one's heart and stir one's soul and even in prose translation one gets what no other contemporary poetry can give one. You should be proud of your great poet, that I know you are, especially when poetry is united to such a character as the poet's. Would there were many such ambassadors from your country to ours! Every one who has met him has loved him."

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe has written in the *Manchester Guardian*:—

It has never happened before (and the fact is noteworthy) that the literary society of this country has been able to become acquainted in the flesh with a great Eastern writer whose fame rests entirely upon the work he has done in his own mother tongue. Such, however, is Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, the representative poet and man of letters of Bengal who came to

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England some weeks ago, and some of whose poems, handed about in manuscript, have made an undeniable impression upon those of his English contemporaries who have read the translations. A portrait of the poet by Mr. Henry Lamb was reproduced in the "Manchester Guardian" a few days ago, and it is probable that before the end of the year a volume of selections, translated into English prose by Mr. Tagore himself, and edited by Mr. W. B. Yeats, may introduce him to a wider public in the West.



Mr. Rabindranath Tagore as sketched by Mr. Henry Lamb.

The position of Rabindra Nath Tagore in modern Bengal is without a parallel. He is a man in the prime of middle life and for a quarter of a century his influence and renown have been growing. It is impossible, of course, for one unacquainted with the Bengali tongue (in which alone the poet writes, despite the tradition of his family in English scholarship and his own familiarity with our language and literature) to speak of his work save by hearsay. One can only record the judgment of his countrymen. That, however, is altogether unequivocal. His name is a household word in the Bengali-speaking world. His songs are heard everywhere from the North-west to Burmah. His poems and dramas, stories and essays, printed in the Indian magazines or circulated in cheap editions, count their readers by tens of thousands. He is the acknowledged master of Bengali literature honoured as artist, thinker, and teacher, as a builder of harmonies, a maker of new forms, as the writer who more than any other has revealed the capacities of the Bengali language for imaginative and philosophical expression.

This personal achievement would of itself be sufficiently remarkable; but it so happens that Mr. Rabindranath continues and fulfils a great family tradition by virtue of which the Tagores constitute the flower of the intellectual aristocracy of Bengal.

The Nation, the famous Radical weekly of London, has published the following translation of one of Rabindranath's poems by Babu Ajitkumar Chakrabarti :—

THE COUNTRY OF "FOUND-EVERYTHING."

In the country of "Found-Everything"
Palaces rise not high ;
The gates are open wide,
No sentinels standing by.
In stables are no horses,
No beautiful elephants show,
No lamp of scented oil
Burn while soft winds blow!
The women—ah! the women—
They wear no jewels on hair,
The golden turrets in temples
Are nowhere visible there.

On sides of lovely walks,
The sward lies deep and green ;
The limpid stream hard by
Displays its crystal sheen.
A hut, with a hedge round it,
There creepers twine and coil,
And all day long the bees
In flowers buzz and toil.
In the morning the passers-by
Go to their work and sing,
In evening they come unpaid,
In the land of "Found-Everything."

In the courtyard of her hut
Sits the girl at hot noon-tide ;
She hums a tune as she spins,
The shades fall at her side.
In fields the new paddy shoots
Wave in the breeze all day.
An unknown scent or sound
Brings on a sudden dismay !
The deep heart of the sky
To the woodland's bosom doth cling.
And whoever goes goes singing
In the land of "Found-Everything."

The merchants' boats pass by,
They sail on far away,
They touch not here for bargain,
They rest not here one day.
The soldiers march with victory,
Their banners stream in the sky,
Their monarch stops not here,
As his chariot rolls hard by.
Travellers from distant lands,
Whom here chance does bring,

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They fail to see what's there,
In the land of "Found-Everything."

No rush and hurry in streets,
No din in marts, no noise,
Here build thy peaceful hut,
O, poet! take thy choice!
Lay down this weary load,
Wash thy dirt off here,
Set thy guitar in tune,
And see what treasure is near!
Spread out thy tired feet,
And rest when birds drop wing,
'Neath the sky lit up with stars,
In the land of "Found-Everything."

Bethune College.

After the publication of our last number, in which there was a note on Bethune College, it has come to our knowledge that Government has this year sanctioned the expenditure of Rs. 1,20,000 on buildings for this institution. These buildings will be constructed on a piece of land behind the present college premises, acquired for the purpose. We understand that the original estimate was Rs. 2,90,000. We hope the full amount will be forthcoming in the course of the next year. We also learn that it was originally intended to acquire the bazar in the vicinity of the college. We do not know why this has not been done. We hope the original idea will be carried out. Considerations of cost should not stand in the way. For the new buildings will include a hostel and class-rooms. On sanitary grounds and on grounds of decency and privacy, there should not be a bazar in the immediate neighbourhood of a college for women. The girl-students should be allowed to listen to the lectures of their professors, undisturbed by the edifying discourses of fishers' wives, and undistracted by the smell of rotten fish and other delicacies.

So long ago as January 20, 1894, Sir Alfred Croft, the then Director of Public Instruction, in a note on the re-organisation of the Education Department wrote thus on the improvement of this institution:—

"The College Department of the Bethune School was originally opened, as a pure experiment, on a very modest scale of expenditure; that was the only condition on which college classes could be sanctioned. The teachers, though appointed by me, have generally been selected by the Committee (of which the Chief Justice is the President). The male teachers have been selected with great regard to their personal character and their love of the work, and they have accepted the duties on a comparatively low scale of pay. They have done their work very well, as is indicated by the results of the First Arts and B. A. examinations. In the last four years, 16 students have passed the former examination and eight the latter; three of them with honours. One young lady has also taken the degree of M. A. The success of the College Department and the permanence of the demand for high education may now be regarded as established, and the time seems to have arrived for considering whether the staff of the College Department should not be placed on somewhat the same footing, as regards pay and position, as that which is recognised as suitable for other small colleges."

This was written 18 years ago. Since then the college must, in official eyes, have made progress backwards! For *then* the college taught mathematics, which it does not do now; *then* it was considered competent to teach the B. A. Honour courses in some subjects; it is not now affiliated in Honours in any subjects.

The critic who wishes to point out the defects of Bethune College has a somewhat difficult task; for the absence of some arrangement or equipment is easy to point out, but almost in every case the apology for the thing required exists, though not the genuine article. We will give some examples. There is no play-ground attached to the institution which is worth speaking of. But there are two strips of grass-grown land, one oblong and the other irregularly shaped, which may be brought forward to confound the critic. There is no gymnasium; though there may be concealed somewhere a pair or two of Sandow's "symmetrion" to give the lie to the critic. Similarly, there is no common-room for the students, though an enclosed portion of a back verandah may be pointed out as the common-room. It is an *uncommon* room, no doubt, with its superb furniture. There is no room where the students can rest and take their tiffin during the period or periods when they have no lectures. Though all classes are dismissed at 3-30 p.m. or earlier, some girls are carried home as late as 5-45 or 6 p.m. Where are they to rest or take refreshments in the meantime? There is no sitting-room for the professors, though there ought to be *two* separate sitting-rooms for the men and women professors. It is very inconvenient, to say the least, for the lady teachers and professors, to occupy the same room during their leisure hours; and,

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be it noted, it is the same room as the library! For this reason, too, the library is seldom, if ever, visited by the students. The library, again, is not at all up-to-date or such as would meet the requirements of a college. The college office does not *regularly and uniformly* grant receipts for tuition fees paid, nor does it draw scholarships from the Treasury and pay them to scholars regularly month after month in the same way as salaries are paid to the staff. The probable reason is that it is wofully undermanned or inefficiently manned and supervised.

In a note in a previous number we have pointed out that Bethune College has no separate class-rooms for its different classes; all the classes are held in a hall, without any partitions between them. We further learn that some of the classes are not overstocked with seats for the girls, so that it cannot be said that no one in any class was ever inconvenienced for want of a seat.

The hostel is situated just on two main thoroughfares, so that it has no natural privacy. It should be so situated that the boarders may keep wide open all the doors and windows, without using thick curtains. Otherwise their health suffers.

In America and elsewhere women's colleges are better equipped than men's colleges as regards the convenience and health of the students. But here in India, inhabited by 157 millions of the female sex the only college for women maintained by the State is sadly deficient in every arrangement for study, recreation and physical exercise. Had it been a private college, the University would long ago have called for an explanation from its managing committee.

Obstacles in the way of Female Education.

The Indian Education Commission of 1883 gave an almost exhaustive enumeration of the obstacles in the way of female education in its report. It said:—

'Female educatian in India has to encounter peculiar difficulties. These difficulties are partly due to the circumstance that the East India Company did not turn its attention to the subject until many years after it had begun to direct its efforts towards the education of boys. But the most serious impediments arise not so much from the action or inaction of the ruling power as from the custom of the people themselves. In the first place the effective desire for education as a means of earning a livelihood does not exist as regards the female part of the population. In the second place the social customs of India in regard to child marriage and the seclusion in which the women of the well-to-do class spend their married life in most parts of the country create difficulties which embarrass the promoters of female education at every step. In the third place the supply of teachers for the girls' schools is more scanty in quantity and less satisfactory in quality than the supply of teachers for boy's schools. Finally the state system of instruction is conducted in a large measure by a male staff and although female teachers are being gradually trained in very inadequate numbers the direction and inspection remains in the hands of the male officers, while the text books are as a rule framed, with a view to the education of boys rather than girls.'

To meet these difficulties the Commission recommended—

(1) "That female education be treated as a legitimate charge alike on local, municipal and provincial funds and receive special encouragement.

(2) That the greatest care be exercised in the selection of suitable text-books for girls' schools and that the preparation of such books be encouraged.

(3) That special provision be made for girls' scholarships to be awarded after examination and that with a view to encouraging girls to remain longer at school, a certain proportion of them be reserved for girls not under twelve years of age.

(4) That rules be framed to promote the gradual supersession of male by female teachers in all girls' schools.

(5) That the attention of the local Governments be invited to the question of establishing additional normal schools or classes and that those under private management receive liberal aid, part of which might take the form of bonus for every pupil passing the certificate examination.

(6) That endeavours be made to secure the service of native gentlemen interested in female education on committees for the supervision of girls' schools and that European and Indian ladies also be invited to assist such committees."

Turning to these recommendations we find that—

(1) Municipalities, and district and local boards spend too little on female education; and that provincial funds are not as freely devoted to the encouragement of female education as its extremely backward condition demands.

(2) We can name Bengali text-books, to be read alike by boys and girls, which contain indelicate passages.

(3) There are in the whole of West Bengal, Behar and Orissa only two or perhaps three special scholarships for girl matriculates and two for girls passing the I. A. examination. The defunct Eastern Bengal and Assam Government was more

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liberal in this respect, as it gave a scholarship of Rs. 20 to every girl matriculate of that province. We think for the next ten years or so every provincial government should adopt this liberal policy. In the whole of India only a few dozen girls pass the Matriculation examination.

(4) If male teachers are to be superseded by female teachers, it is evident that girls and women should learn all subjects that are usually taught in schools. Mathematics is such a subject. But mathematics is not taught in Bethune College, which is the only State college for women in the whole of India. Geography, which is so necessary a subject of study that without a knowledge of it no person in these days can claim to be called civilised and which is taught in all vernacular schools, is not taught in Bethune School. Science (excepting very elementary botany) is not taught in Bethune College, though it has to be taught in all vernacular schools. Presidency College does not admit female students; only City College does.

(6) The majority of the students of Bethune College are and have always been Brahmos and a few have been Indian Christians. An extremely small number has been Hindu. Yet we find that the Brahmo and Indian Christian communities are not adequately represented in the Bethune College Committee. We speak of non-official representation.

The condition of female education remains the same now as in the days of the Indian Education Commission, as the following representative sample from recent reports of the Directors of Public Instruction will show :—

> The principal difficulties in the administration of female education are to induce parents to send their girls to schools and to obtain properly qualified teachers and round these two difficulties most questions connected with female education revolve. Expedients for overcoming them form the bulk of most reports of committees on female education and are the key to most changes of departmental administration. If girls can be tempted to boy's schools they are indeed welcome. If they prefer separate girls' schools, separate girls' schools are opened for them ; conditions of parda are observed ; the children are brought to schools in conveyances ; female inspecting officers are appointted, fees are remitted and prizes liberally are offered. The measures which will solve the difficulty of inducing children to come to school and remain at school will in time also provide a supply of teachers. But in the meantime, special efforts are made wherever there is a likelihood of success, for obtaining teachers. The progress of female education at present is chiefly the history of experimenting on the two difficulties of obtaining pupils and obtaining teachers.

Too Classical Dancing.

"Civilised" society in Europe seems to be coming full circle to the point of nudity from which it originally started. We read that Mlle. Villany, the classical dancer, has been condemned at Munich to pay a fine of 30s., or go to prison for six days, for dancing on the stage in no more elaborate toilette than that of Mother Eve. She was acquitted on the same charge a few months ago, and since then Munich has been in the throes of a controversy as to the propriety of the performances which found its echo in the great organs of the French Press. As at the previous trial, a number of eminent painters and writers gave evidence on behalf of Mlle. Villany, and declared that her performances were inspired by supreme art : that they had taken wives and sisters to see her, and that the exhibition of the female form was elevating and spiritual. In spite of this the Crown Prosecutor, who was appealing against the previous decision, obtained a verdict, which the court based on the ground that though Mlle. Villany's dance might be artistic, the exhibition of the unclothed body was not.

Among those who were responsible for the provision of entertainments by nautch girls in the last Allahabad Exhibition were some who defended it on the ground of reviving the classical music and dancing of India. It is fortunate that they were not all so "civilised" as the "eminent painters and writers" of Munich referred to above.

Mutsu Hito, Emperor of Japan.

Mutsu Hito, the late Emperor of Japan, must be considered the most remarkable monarch that ever lived. In less than forty years his country has passed from mediaevalism to the modern spirit,—a transition which has taken Europe 400 years to accomplish. During his reign his country became great in the arts of war and peace. He was not a mere figure-head or an impotent spectator, but the inspirer and promoter of all movements for the betterment of Japan. He gave Japan a political constitution. Feudalism and caste and class distinctions

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have disappeared from Japan. The Emperor's desire that there should not be any illiterate family in any village, nor any illiterate person in any family, has been almost fulfilled, by the introduction and careful



Mutsu Hito, Emperor of Japan.

working out of a system of universal national education. Among an intensely patriotic nation, he was the greatest of patriots. "In his wise patriotism, as in all matters, Mutsu Hito always placed himself in the van of his countrymen. He led them out of the trammels of feudalism; by his progressive rule he lived to see his country advanced to the first rank of nations; and he was the first Oriental sovereign to form an offensive and defensive alliance with a first-rate European power."

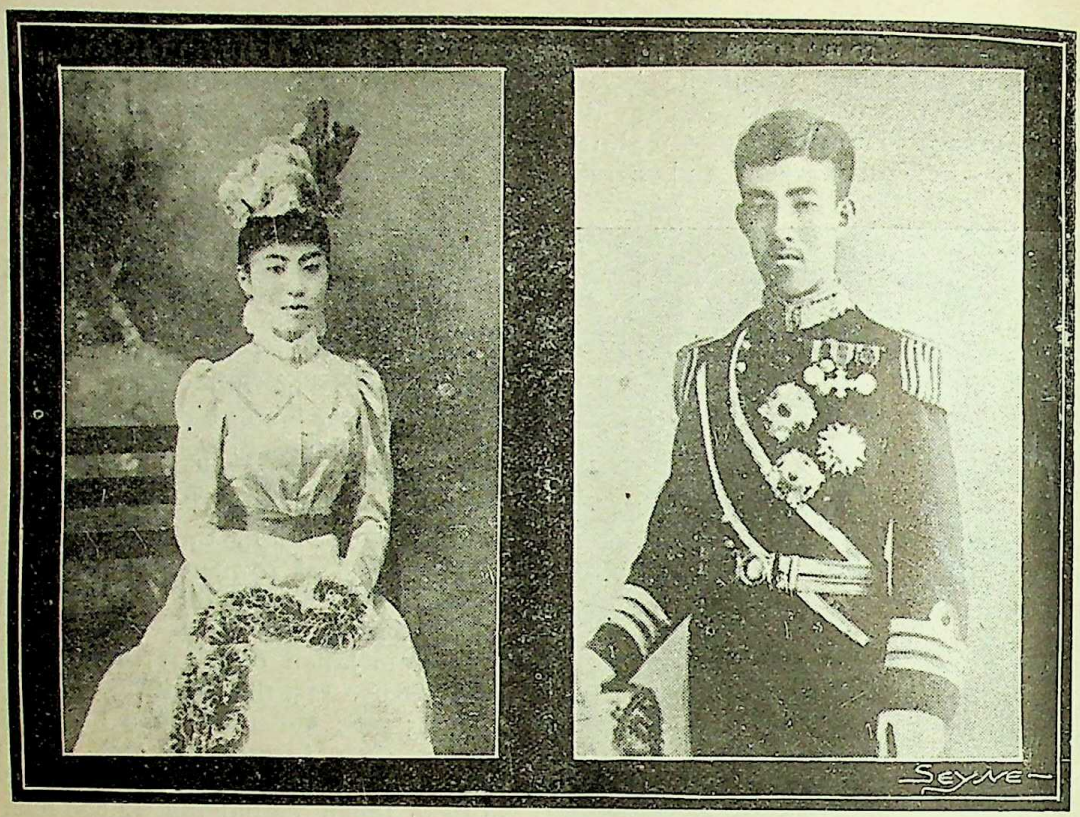
"The industrial and other economic changes which have transformed Japan are not less remarkable than the changes in other directions which have taken place.

"The first railway in Japan was opened in 1872. There are now nearly 6,000 miles of railways, 4,900 miles being covered by Government lines. The Japanese have also constructed several lines in Korea. But the greatest development has been witnessed in the shipping business. Japan owns today about 1,700 steamers of more than 20 tons, with a gross tonnage of over 1,199,000, and 4,829 sailing vessels of 403,203 tons, compared with the insignificant display of 258 ships, excluding junks, of 62,753 tons in 1877. The foreign trade of Japan has progressed rapidly since it commenced in 1859. In 1868 the total imports and exports were valued at no more than £2,623,000; but in 1909 the imports alone reached the substantial figure of £40,241,131, the exports being represented by £49,171,902. There are now thirty-six ports open to foreign trade and in the year we mention 12,330 vessels of 19,794,451 tons entered the "open door" which the Mikado, in his wisdom, has established. In 1910 the exports from Japan to Great Britain amounted to £8,630,435, the British imports being £21,945,326; but the United States headed the list with £14,400,162 and £5,481,312, respectively. In 1907 there were 82 cotton mills in Japan employing 14,828 men and 61,738 women, with 1,494,627 spindles, the output of yarn being 47,073,859 kwan. In 1909 there were 88 cotton mills and the output was 50,134,590 kwan. Other manufactures in 1909 were: Japanese paper to the value of 18,218,548 yen; European paper, 14,159,329 yen; matches, 14,058,763 yen; earthenware, 12,357,677 yen; lacquered ware, 7,520,962 yen; matting, 10,342,219 yen; leather, 6,947,268 yen; oil, 11,771,565 yen. In the province of Echigo the petroleum industry is being developed. At Wakamatsu there is a large government foundry which is turning out pig-iron, steel rails and iron plates by which the Japanese are now competing with the Americans in their own markets. There are valuable shipbuilding works at Nagasaki. Under Government auspices, in 1872, a system of national banks was inaugurated, the Yokohama Specie Bank being founded eight years later, followed soon afterwards by the Bank of Japan." (Commerce.)

The only act of Mutsu Hito's reign which we feel bound to condemn is the destruction of the independence of Korea. He is succeeded by his son Yoshi Hito, who was born in 1879, and married in 1900 Princess Sada, daughter of Prince Kujo.

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EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF JAPAN.

Allan Octavian Hume.

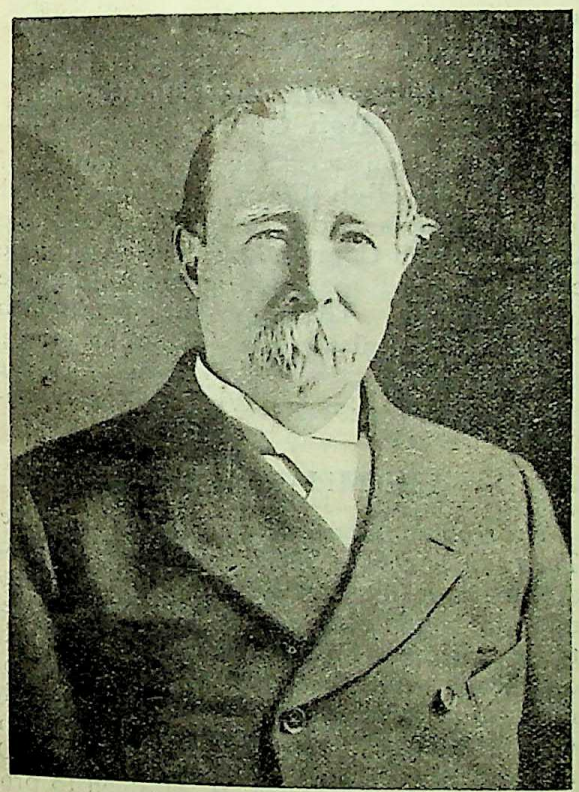
In Allan Octavian Hume India has lost a great friend. He was the father and founder of the Indian National Congress. To the cause of India he gave his time, his energy and his money. For advocating the cause of Indian political reform he became unpopular with the majority of Anglo-Indians and with his countrymen in general, who traduced and reviled him. In his article on Mr. Hume in *India* Sir William Wedderburn explains that the Congress is only a part, the political part, of a noble scheme devised for the national regeneration and development of India. The fundamental objects of this national movement were three-fold, and were recorded in the following terms: first, the fusion into one national whole of all the different and, till recently, discordant elements that constitute the population of India; second, the gradual regeneration along all lines, spiritual, moral, social, and political, of the nation thus evolved; and third, the consolidation of the union between England and India by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious.

Typical Anglo-Indians looked upon Mr. Hume as a wrecker of the British Indian Empire. That is true, if it is expected that India is to be for ever kept in subjection for the benefit mainly of Great Britain and Ireland and the white colonies. But he was not a wrecker, if, as indicated in the concluding words of the previous paragraph, the permanence of the British-Indian connection was to be based on complete self-government for India. Of course, even liberal statesmen now say that India can never have self-government,—not understanding that this is tantamount to saying that the connection between India and England cannot last. Whether the political connection between England and India can be permanent, even if India obtains self-government of the colonial type, is a question whose solution lies in the dim and distant future. Mr. Hume was a believer in the lasting union between England and India. If he had been in favour of Indian independence, at any time and at all cost,

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he would have joined the sepoys during the sepoy war, instead of fighting them as he did. Advocates of independence as the final goal of India's political aspirations should be not less grateful to Mr. Hume than those who wish to have self-government of the colonial type. For, but for the Congress, the question of independence *vs.* colonial self-government would not have come up for discussion at the stage when it did, and Mr. Hume was the founder of the Congress. Moreover, whoever helps modern Indians to advance along the path of citizenship even a single step forward, is entitled to the thanks of all Indian political parties.



MR. A. O. HUME.

Mr. Hume sternly rebuked the rulers for their shortcomings, but his criticism of the people of India was equally unsparing. Sir W. Wedderburn has summarised his message in his farewell address: "First, he said, you must reform your marriage laws; you must prevent the marriage of immature persons; racial degeneracy is the inevitable consequence of such marriages. You must have the sound body for the sound mind: Herein lies the first foundation-stone of that national greatness which we fondly hope will hereafter clothe, as with a robe of glory, old India and her regenerated sons. Secondly, you must educate the boys of the whole nation—and also the girls: Assuredly there is no greater, grander, or more glorious work before you than the re-instatement of India's women on the exalted pedestal which is their due, and which your wiser forefathers, thousands of years ago, when India was great and glorious, accorded to them. Finally, with reluctance, he touched on two moral shortcomings, sadly prevalent: No adequate conception of the sanctity of the spoken word; and jealousy among fellow-workers—feelings which prevent effectual combination in the national cause. These grave warnings should be taken to heart, in loving remembrance of the good and great man who devoted his life to the service of the Indian people." In this farewell speech delivered in Bombay, with the candour of a tried and faithful friend, Mr. Hume asked Indians to realise that it was really their own faults, their deficiencies of national character, which stood, more than the opposition of officials, in the way of their national advance. And we must remember that but for these defects, India would never have been brought under foreign rule.

Mr. Hume was naturally a great advocate of self-help. The poem printed below is characteristic.

AWAKE.

BY A. O. HUME, 1886.

Sons of Ind, why sit ye idle,
Wait ye for some Deva's aid?
Buckle to, be up and doing!
Nations by themselves are made!

What avail your wealth, your learning,
Empty titles, sordid trade?
True self-rule were worth them all!
Nations by themselves are made!

Whispered murmurs darkly creeping,
Hidden worms beneath the shade,
Not by such shall wrong be righted!
Nations by themselves are made!

Sons of Ind, be up and doing,
Let your course by none be stayed;
Lo, the dawn is in the East;
By themselves are nations made!

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General Booth.

"General" Booth of the Salvation Army, the greatest organiser, philanthropist and evangelist of the age, died last month at the age of 83 years. According to the Encyclopædia Britannica, the Salvation Army operates (1) by outdoor meetings and processions; (2) by visiting public-houses, prisons and private houses; (3) by holding meetings in theatres, factories and other unusual buildings; (4) by using the most popular song-tunes and the language of every-day life, &c.; (5) by making every convert a daily witness for Christ, both in public and private. The Army is a quasi-military organisation, and Booth modelled its "Orders and Regulations" on those of the British Army. Its early "campaigns" excited violent opposition, a "Skeleton Army" being organised to break up the meetings, and for many years Booth's followers were subjected to fine and imprisonment as breakers of the peace. Since 1889, however, these disorders have been little heard of. In 1890 General Booth attracted great public attention by the publication of a work entitled *In Darkest England, and the Way Out*, in which he proposed to remedy pauperism and vice by a series of ten expedients: (1) the city colony; (2) the farm colony; (3) the over-sea colony; (4) the household salvage brigade; (5) the rescue homes for fallen women; (6) deliverance for the drunkard; (7) the prison-gate brigade; (8) the poor man's bank; (9) the poor man's lawyer; (10) White-chapel by the sea. Money was liberally subscribed and a large part of the scheme was carried out. The opposition and ridicule with which Booth's work was for many years received gave way, towards the end of the 19th century, to very widespread sympathy as his genius and its results were more fully realized.

In India the followers of this great soldier of God are known for their efforts to reclaim some criminal tribes and to introduce an improved form of the hand-loom.

A. M. Bose Memorial.

Considering his varied gifts and activities and the manysidedness of his genius, it would be no exaggeration to say that the late Mr. A. M. Bose was the greatest Indian citizen among his contemporaries. The reasons why his achievements, remarkable as they were, fell short of his gifts, seem to us to be mainly two: his innate modesty which made him always seek to keep himself in the background, and the lack of concentration on one single or main object in life.

The meeting held last month to do honour to his memory and to make an organised effort to erect a memorial worthy of his saintly character and life and his public services, was well attended and characterised by great enthusiasm. The history of the results of memorial meetings in our country is neither creditable nor encouraging. But as Mr. A. M. Bose was the exact opposite of a sham and a humbug, we do hope a sincere and earnest effort will be made to perpetuate his memory in some form which may be beneficial to the public.

Confidence in the Calcutta High Court.

In connection with the recent jubilee of the Calcutta High Court, it was observed in many organs of public opinion that the Calcutta High Court enjoyed the "complete confidence" of the public, meaning the Indian public. The judgment of a bench of the High Court in the Midnapur case is, however, being severely criticised in these same organs. Query: What is the meaning of "complete confidence?"

The Midnapur Case.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, *The Bengalee*, *The Indian Daily News*, and other papers are tearing Mr. Justice Woodroffe's judgment in the Midnapur case to shreds. Detailed criticism of such judgments is outside our scope. But to our "unlegal" (we hope not "illegal") minds, it seems inexplicable why, if the case was barred by limitation, as was held by Woodroffe, J. and D. Chatterjie, J., it was at all allowed to proceed, with the inevitable result of the waste of time of the High Court and an addition to the burden of the costs to be borne by Babu Peary Mohun Das, the plaintiff.

We are of opinion that there has been a signal failure of justice in this case. The criminal prosecution of Santosh Das and others, the suit for damages instituted by Babu Peary Mohan Das against Mr. Weston and two police men, and the latter's appeal against Mr. Justice Fletcher's judgment

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awarding damages,—these three cases, form substantially one case. We find that Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice, Justice Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, and Mr. Justice Fletcher have taken one view of the evidence and the witnesses, with which Mr. Justice D. Chatterjee is in practical agreement, though strangely and irrelevantly enough his conclusion is the same as that of Justices Woodroffe and Coxe. Justices Woodroffe and Coxe have taken an exactly opposite view of the evidence and the witnesses. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji and Mr. Fletcher are by no means inferior to the three other judges in legal knowledge, acumen, impartiality and experience. It cannot therefore be held to be axiomatic that Mr. Woodroffe and his colleagues must be right. Moreover, Mr. Fletcher had the advantage of recording the evidence and observing the demeanour of the witnesses which the appellate bench had not. There is, therefore, no improbability of the appellate bench being wrong. And, as we have said before, our opinion is that Mr. Justice Woodroffe and his colleagues have arrived at a wrong conclusion. Mr. Woodroffe's judgment is characterised by much special pleading in favour of the accused, and a sweeping condemnation of Babu Peary Mohun Das, his witnesses, and his counsel Mr. K. B. Dutt.

Some Anglo-Indian papers suggest, nay, almost demand, that Mr. Justice Fletcher should resign, because some of his judgments have been upset on appeal. There cannot be a more idiotic and foolish suggestion. The very fact that the law in every civilised country allows appeals, shows that legislators understand that even the most learned, intelligent and unbiassed judges are liable to make mistakes and that there should be some opportunity for the rectification of these mistakes. So, even if Mr. Justice Fletcher had made mistakes in some cases, which we do not in the least admit, there is no reason why he should resign. It is moreover only an accident that the appeal from his judgment was heard by Mr. Justice Woodroffe. It could have been an appeal from Mr. Woodroffe's judgment to a bench presided over by Fletcher, J. Would these Anglo-Indian worthies in that case have demanded the resignation of Mr. Woodroffe? Besides, it would not be an easy task for anybody to find out a judge none of whose judgments have ever been upset on appeal. If every judge must resign on some of his judgments being reversed, we are afraid most, if not all, judges' seats in the world would in no time be empty.

The Times has been saying that the condition of the Calcutta High Court has been a running ulcer, that some of its judges are guided in their judgments by a desire to gratify their political predilections, &c. This is the language of a raving maniac who does not know his facts, or is wilfully blind to them. We have always sought to avoid uttering pleasing falsehoods or careless general eulogies. So, while we refrain, as we have done in the past, from saying that the Calcutta High Court has always in every crucial case enjoyed the perfect confidence of the public, we do say that the judges whom the *Times* and its contributors and correspondents have specially in view in their stupid, mean and contemptible libels, have done more to bring Bengal to a comparatively contented frame of mind by their painstaking, impartial and courageous judgments in political and quasi-political trials than anybody or anything else. What the *Times* and its *clientele* want is that the will of the police and the executive authorities should be the law of the land and the High Court should subordinate its judgments to their convenience and prestige. But that is not what we understand by the reign of law and justice. To make the will of the police and the executive practically the law of the land would inevitably lead to tyranny pure and simple. And history teaches in an unmistakable manner what are the results of tyranny. So if the *Times* and its supporters wish well to British rule in India let them cease to utter calumnious falsehoods. Great Britain owes her political status and her flourishing condition more to the independence of her judiciary than many blind fools now care to remember or recognise. And throughout the British Empire the best way to strengthen British rule and make it respected is to make the judges entirely independent of the executive authorites, which they are not at present.

As for Mr. K. B. Dutt, though we do not

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think that the last sentence in the following extract from the *Indian Daily News* represents the exact historical truth, we consider it a fitting and well-deserved tribute to the courage, persistence and self-sacrifice of that eminent defender of his fellow-citizens and countrymen :—

We know nothing of the etiquette of the legal profession on the subject of advocates not conducting cases where they know personally all the facts. But we do know the common sense of the matter. If a lawyer is to see a gross violation of law, gross oppression and injustice, gross evils and gross fraud and perjury, is it suggested that he is to sit still and look the other way? If his blood boils at what he sees, is he to be silent ? Half the liberties of the English race are due to men who refused to be silent and to lawyers who refused to hold their tongues. They suffered as Mr. K. B. Dutt has suffered, but he has upheld the traditions of the Bar and of English liberty. Traduced, reviled, bullied and abused as he has been at every turn of the case in the Lower Court, where an absence of decency seems to have been the prevailing feature, he has behaved with a dignity which has been the admiration of the public.

His treatment in the Appeal Court, by the way, did not strike people as particularly courteous. But his conduct at Midnapore in endeavouring to bring the authorities to reason, and in standing up for his countrymen amid threats of arrest, and the suggestion that he himself was a bomb subscriber and an anarchist, was heroic. Even Mr. Justice Woodroffe admits reluctantly that these accusations were false. But had Mr. K. B. Dutt not been a relative of that eminent man, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, and his loyalty and integrity known by Mr. Sinha to be without doubt, he too would have been arrested in order to stop his mouth Lord Morley stopped his arrest in time. And so in spite of all the views of Mr. Justice Woodroffe and Coxe (Mr. Justice Chatterjee does not agree with them, we see, as to Mr. Dutt) we still hold that his conduct has been that of a Hampden. It is Mr. K. B. Dutt to whom Bengal owes its present state of rest and an independent Governor.

Who oppressed the People of Midnapur ?

It is not at all pleasant or edifying to see officers of Government convicted of tyrannous and illegal doings. So if Mr. Weston and the two police men were really innocent nobody should be sorry that their innocence has been vindicated. But there is an aspect of the case which is not exactly personal and which should not be lost sight of. It is a historical fact that all who represented the wealth, intellect, patriotism, and youthful energy of Midnapur were sought to be punished as conspirators who either wanted to murder Mr. Weston or to subvert the British Government or do both. It is on the records of the highest tribunal in the land that *not one* of the men, numbering hundreds, who were shadowed, threatened, arrested, sent to *hajat* or kept in solitary confinement, *was guilty*. May we now enquire who was or were responsible for all this harrassment and oppression ? Who was or were responsible for concocting false evidence and probably also for getting a bomb made and placed in the house of one of the unfortunate victims of—, God knows what or whom ?

One bench of the High Court has pronounced the suspected or accused people of Midnapur innocent. Another bench of the High Court now pronounces the accused executive and police officers of the district during the troubled period of its history innocent. Therefore, there was nobody guilty in Midnapur, there was no trouble, no harrassment, no oppression there ! All was an ugly dream !

But the public will not treat it as a dream. They will long remember that both in Mymensing and Midnapur innocent people suffered and could get no redress, and they will draw their own conclusions.

Nationalism in India and Democracy in England.

An English contributor writes to us in a private letter :—

"I have met many Indians during the past few years, at the University, etc., and through conversation with them have come to understand India and to sympathise with the Indian nationalist cause. Of course, we have a Nationalist case to fight here also, for the aggressive tendencies of the aristocratic and capitalist classes is threatening us with the loss of such liberty as we possess. The struggle towards democracy is proving an arduous one, and much up-hill work has yet to be done. And what I feel more and more strongly is that the movement here towards democracy and the movement there towards Nationalism, are really parts of the same movement, and that success in the former case will be the best guarantee of success in the latter case."

Sibpore Engineering College.

It is probable that Sibpore Engineering College will be abolished, or, in the euphemistic language used by officials, it will be transferred to Dacca and made a part of

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the Dacca University. It is also said that a Technical Institute will be established in Calcutta, aud an institution for teaching mining engineering near Asansol or Barakar.

We have not the least objection to Dacca having an engineering college of its own. In fact, engineering of different kinds occupies a very prominent place among the subjects taught by all modern universities. Therefore the new university of Dacca should certainly have a faculty of engineering and a college of engineering. We are further of opinion that ship-building, which was, even so late as only half a century ago, one of the staple industries of East Bengal, should be taught in a branch of this college which ought to be established at Chittagong.

But we cannot understand why the old university of Calcutta should be maimed by the abolition of the faculty of engineering and of its only engineering college. Sibpore may be unhealthy, but if a healthy site can be found in or near Calcutta for a Technical Institute, surely a similar site can be found for an engineering college too. In fact a single site should do for both the institutions. In Calcutta and its neighborhood various industries are carried on. This part of the country affords many examples of the engineer's skill. In these respects, Calcutta with its environments is certainly not inferior to Dacca. So that if Dacca is entitled to have an engineering college,—and we hold that it is,—Calcutta is much more entitled to *keep* its college, which is of long standing and has a creditable history. Moreover, there are many things which have to be taught both in a civil engineering college and in a Technical Institute. If both be situated in the same place, double expenditure in employing teachers and purchasing apparatus and appliances for instruction in these matters, can be avoided. But if the two institutions are located in different towns, there will be much waste of public money in such double expenditure. Even in teaching mining engineering, many of these common subjects have to be taught. So, if practicable, all these three institutions should be located in one place.

If Government can spend money for a second engineering college for Dacca, and it ought to be able to do so, it should certainly establish one there. But in no case can we agree to the dismemberment of the Calcutta University. Think of a modern University being deprived of its already existing engineering faculty and College. The thing is absurd. We are strongly opposed to any such proposal; and if we had any voice in the Government of the country we would give the officer responsible for it, suitable work to occupy his idle hours, so that such mischievous notions might not find a hospitable corner in his vacant brain.

Mr. Montagu on Education.

In the course of the Budget Debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu said that the education grant of £330,000 announced at Delhi was to be spent mainly on primary education, and it was but the prelude to a much more expensive programme. The programme to which the Government hoped to work in due course was as follows:—To increase the number of primary schools by 90,000 or 75 per cent. and to double the school-going population.

"In due course,"—that may mean in course of a century or two, it may mean in a generation, it may mean anything. The words of a liberal Under-Secretary may not be binding on a conservative government; for we find that a statesman says or seems to promise one thing on one occasion and tries to explain it away on another. Government should quicken its pace in the matter of educational progress; and we should continue to demand free and compulsory education for our people.

The Public Service Commission.

Six out of the fifteen members of the Commission of 1886 were Indians. Out of the twelve members who constitute the present Commission, only three are Indians. Of these three only Mr. G. K. Gokhale is a non-official.

We shall be glad if the present Commission do not increase the salaries and emoluments of the existing European services, do not directly or indirectly bar the access of Indians to posts to which at present they are eligible, by practically making them a monopoly for Eurasians and Anglo-Indians, and do not create more posts for Europeans and Eurasians.

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The late Rev. Charles Voysey.

The Rev. Charles Voysey, founder and minister of the Theistic Church in London, recently passed away at a ripe old age. He could not bear to see any created object or man usurping the place of God. Hence his sermons were frequently full of destructive criticism of the divinity of Christ and some of his alleged teachings. But there was a positive side to his character and ministrations. A remarkable tribute is paid to him by a writer in the *Christian World*, who dissents widely both from his religious and his political opinions. Mr. Brierley describes him as "one of the bravest and, withal, one of the tenderest souls I ever met with. His was a heart absolutely aflame with love to God and man. His faith was wonderful, an absolute trust in his heavenly Father for all life and all beyond life. He was a lineal descendant of John Wesley's father. In the Theist who has just gone, one saw the absolute fearlessness, the entire honesty, the disdain of convention, the indifference to the world's praise or blame, the uncompromising devotion to principle, and, above all, the passion of love to God and man, which characterised the great eighteenth-century apostle to whom he was always proud to declare himself akin. We have seen the last of that slight figure, of that beaming countenance. I never expect to meet, on this side, with an honester mind, with a more loving heart." For the past year or two Mr. Voysey had been engaged in writing his autobiographical reminiscences. We may hope that they are already in a form sufficiently complete for publication.

Givers.

Mr. Ratan Tata has given another Rs. 25,000 in aid of the Indians in South Africa, making the total of his gifts in this direction Rs. 75,000. May the number of such patriotic and humane givers multiply.

Rai Banamali Rai Bahadur has given Rs. 50,000 in aid of the Pabna College. The Rai Bahadur has long been known as a very pious and charitable man.

The Rammohun Library.

We draw the attention of our readers to an appeal, printed elsewhere, on behalf of the Rammohun Library. We hope it will meet with the response which it eminently deserves.

Chinese Shipping.

There are many kinds of independence and dependence, political, economic, and so forth. A country may be politically independent, but financially economically, and commercially dependent. Economic dependence is as ruinous as political, and economic dependence often leads to political.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen has now turned his attention to commercial reform, and in this connection steam ship lines as well as railways linking up the interior provinces of China with the coast ports, will be given early consideration.

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ROBERT BROWNING AND HIS MESSAGE

BY J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A.

IN his poem entitled "Fra Lippo Lippi" Browning gives us these lines :

"This world's no blot for us,
Nor blank ; it means intensely, and means good :
To find its meaning is my meat and drink."

I think we have here the key to a true understanding of the poet's life, work and message. Judging from all that he wrote, and also from the very full knowledge we have of his history, it does not seem too much to say that no man ever believed more firmly than he that the world and man's life are not mere blind chance and emptiness, but full of infinite significance and worth. And it is equally clear that to penetrate more and more deeply into that significance and into the reality of that worth, was the supreme aim of his endeavor all his years.

Robert Browning was born, and spent his early life in a suburb of South London.

He was a student for a time in University College (London), but his schooling was not extensive. However, he early learned to love books and independent reading, to find delight in his own thoughts, to take long walks by day and under the night stars. In later life he used to say that Italy was his only university. I think this was not quite correct. He passed through another university earlier than Italy. His most important early teachers were his father's old fashioned garden, some particular books which influenced him much, the Dulwich woods near his home, which he dearly loved, and great, stirring many-sided London City, which gathers the whole world of human interests up into itself. All these were his University. And probably no school less real, less living than all these, could have made him the fresh, independent, many-sided, penetrating, intensely human and marvellously stimulating thinker and writer which he later became.

He began writing poetry very early. We are told that at twelve years of age he had already written enough to make a fair sized volume. But he had friends wise enough to keep these early productions out of print, though they recognized in them distinct signs of genius.

Curiously enough these early poems seem to have had melody and form for their chief aim,—thus giving no hint of the coming poet who was to be pre-eminent among the poetical writers of the world in always making form and melody subordinate, wholly subordinate, to thought.

Very curiously as it now appears to us, Browning's earliest poetical model was Byron. We wonder at this because we find his own poetry so far removed from that of Byron in almost every particular.

The influence which a little later wakened him to the deeper meanings of poetry,—indeed which stirred him more profoundly and aroused the spiritual side of his being more effectively than anything else connected with his early life had done, was Shelley. In after years he always spoke of Shelley with love and admiration rising to

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enthusiasm and even reverence, as one who in a critical time had revealed him to himself, and done much to mould his conception of poetry and life. This, too, we wonder at a little, because it seems difficult to discover much similarity, much that is common, in the two poets.

By the age of twenty Browning seems to have really found himself. By this time he had ditermind what his life work was to be; he had gotten his poetical aims and ideals pretty clearly fixed in his own mind and was ready to launch upon that untried sea of poetical authorship which for more than fifty years he was to sail amid sun and storm, with a heroic persistence equal to that of Columbus, of Cabot, and guided only by the stars of God.

His first poem of importance was his "Pauline: A Fragment of a Confession," as he called it. It was published anonymously, and it attracted attention only among a few discerning souls. He himself wished afterwards to forget it. But it was a good guide-board pointing the direction of the path upon which he had set out. It was a sample—rather a poor one—of the *kind* of work which he was to do. To those who had eyes to see it was distinctly prophetic of greater things to come.

Three years later, at the still very early age of twenty-three, he published the first poem that showed his real power. It was his "Paracelsus."

From this time on, throughout a long life, his career was one of steady writing and authorship. Every two or three years gave to the world something—some work of considerable length, or some collection of short poems—from his. When he reached the end of his long career, he left behind him a larger body of published work than almost any other English poet.

His life was externally a quiet one, as the life of a great writer must necessarily be. The earlier part was spent in England, its intermediate years at Florence, Italy, and its last years in England again.

A rare charm attaches to Browning's domestic life, because of his marriage to, his deep love for, and his beautiful intellectual companionship with, a woman of great loveliness of character and rare poetical gifts. Elizabeth Barrett, whose earlier writings, under her maiden name, and especially those later under her name of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, are perhaps as sure of immortality as his own. It was on her account—because she could not live in England—that they made their home for so many years—indeed all their married life, until her glorious spirit left its frail earthly body and soared away—beneath the sunny skies of Italy. Her resting place in the Protestant Cemetery near the old Pinti gate, is one of the sacred spots in Florence to which more feet of travellers turn than to almost any other in that interesting city.

The principal home of the Brownings,—the home where they lived longest—was in the house known as Casa Guidi.

Casa Guidi was an antique palace of plain stone, located in a rather busy and quite unromantic part of Florence, not very well adapted, the average American or Englishman would think, to be a home for poets. A pair of singing birds like the Brownings, one would suppose, had been likely to choose their nest upon the brow of some of the picturesque hills that overlook the city, instead of down among the dull appearing houses and crowded streets of the town. But, the songs they chose to sing were of human beings, and so the nest was made close to where the tides of humanity flowed.

Across the street from Casa Guidi was the iron-grey church of Santa Felice, to the chanting in which, Hawthorne tells us, he listened when he visited the Browning home.

The Brownings were genial hosts; their home was a somewhat notable literary and art centre in Florence. Among their most intimate friends were Mr. W. W. Story, the American writer and sculptor, who spent most of his life in Italy, and Mr. Walter Savage Landor, the English author, whose ashes sleep near those of Mrs. Browning in the little Protestant cemetery.

Several different visitors to the Casa Guidi home have given us glimpses of the happy life which the two poets, and the little boy that early came to them there, lived in this memorable place. Here Mr. Browning did much of his best work. Here also Mrs. Browning wrote some of her greatest poems, including her "Casa Guidi Windows" and the first part of her "Aurora

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Leigh." Mr. Story, describing the interior of the home, speaks of the "square ante-room with its pictures and the pianoforte," the "little dining room covered with tapestry," and the large drawing room where Mrs. Browning always sat,—usually in a low arm-chair near the door, with a small writing table strewn with writing materials and newspapers, by her side. Her husband says of her that when she was writing "Aurora Leigh" she would often lay the manuscript down to hear her child spell, or when a visitor came in her habit was to thrust her writing quickly under a cushion to get it out of sight.

Travellers visiting Florence today find a tablet above the entrance door of Casa Guidi, placed there by the municipality of Florence. It is in Italian; the traslation reads as follows:—

"HERE WROTE AND DIED ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING, WHO IN A WOMAN'S HEART UNITED THE WISDOM OF THE SCHOLAR AND THE SPIRIT OF THE POET, AND MADE OF HER VERSE A GOLDEN LINK BETWEEN ITALY AND ENGLAND. GRATEFUL FLORENCE PLACES THIS REMEMBRANCE, 1881."

The love and the intellectual companionship of Mr. and Mrs. Browning form not only one of the idyls of the world, but one of the ideals of life made real. It will forever remain a bright picture, showing what married life may be on the higher plane of the intellectual and the spiritual. Italy, the land of the beautiful, has given to the world nothing more beautiful than the companionship of these two souls. It is worthy to be thought of with the Campanile of Giotto; with the Sistine Madonna of Rafael, and with the Beatrice of Dante.

Mrs. Browning's genius rose to its very finest in her "Portuguese Sonnets"—those matchless lyrics of love. Let me quote a single one that we may see how deep her affection was. The sonnets were addressed to her husband. The following is one of the best known:—

How do I love thee? Let me count the ways.
I love thee to the depth and breadth and height
My soul can reach when feeling out of sight
For ends of being and ideal grace.
I love thee to the level of every day's
Most quiet need by sun and candle light.
I love thee freely, as men strive for right,
I love thee purely as they turn from praise.
I love thee with the passion put to use
In my old griefs, and with my childhood's faith.
I love thee with a love I seemed to lose
With my lost saints. I love thee with the breath,
Smiles, tears of all my life; and, if God choose,
I shall but love thee better after death."

In writing such lines as these, Mrs. Browning's pen only uttered what was all the while in her heart, and that she was living day by day. Indeed no poem of her brain could surpass the poem of her own noble wifehood and sweet motherhood.

And what answer made the husband to this love and devotion? An answer worthy of it all.

Archdeacon Farrar, speaking of Mr. Browning at the time of his death, said:—

"Robert Browning is, perhaps more than any other bard, the poet of Love; of love regarded with a southern intensity of emotion; of love declared and undeclared; requited and unrequited; wise and unwise; of love alike in its fusing conflagration, and in its whitened embers; of love in every one of its titanic complications, whether of passionate jealousy, passing into insanity and murder, or of passionate idolatry, maddened into terrible scorn, or, sinking down into cynical indifference. But he is, most of all, the poet of that pure wedded love where earth fades, for Heaven is there."

Mr. Browning's reticence concerning his affection for his wife is as eloquent as anything that he has written, for he well knows that the most sacred things are profaned by many words. Yet, where there are deep fires, no matter how much we may cover them, the flames will sometimes leap forth. So, amid his studied silence, his love bursts into the flame of utterance again and again. In his poem entitled "One Word More" in which he dedicated to Mrs. Browning a volume containing fifty of his poems, he says with infinite tenderness:

"Take them, love, the book and me together:
Where the heart lies, let the brain lie also."

After she had gone from his side, he dedicated to her his greatest poem "The Ring and the Book," in lines of wonderful beauty, which at once sing and sob:—

"O lyric Love, half-angel and half-bird,
And all a wonder and a wild desire,—
Boldest of hearts that ever braved the sun,
Took sanctuary within the holier blue,
And sang a kindred soul out to his face,—
Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart—
Never may I commence my song, my due
To God who best taught song by gift of thee,
Except with bent head and beseeching hand—
That still despite the distance and the dark,
What was, again may be; some interchange

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Of grace, some splendor once thy very thought,
Some benediction anciently thy smile."

Did wife ever receive from husband such a tribute?

I am glad to dwell a little upon the domestic life of Mr. and Mrs. Browning, their affection and their companionship, partly because of the beauty of it all; partly because it stimulated both to do much of their best work; but most because it seems to me it may well be thought of as one of the influences that operated to make Mr. Browning give to love so prominent a place in all his philosophy of life and in all his conception of religion. How could one, to whom love had been so much in his own life, fail to see that love is the great need of the world? How could one who had found out that his own life, rich as it was in other ways, had reached its highest happiness and its greatest good in love, fail to see that religion, if it would supply men's deepest need, must be above everything else love? And how could one to whom such a personal revelation of love had come, fail to make love the crowning attribute of God himself?

This is a natural way of thinking: is it not the true way to think? We reach the divine through the human. We must. Our own souls are the best mirrors in which to see the Over Soul. Our own hearts tell us of the great Eternal Heart because it was that that set ours beating. To be sure, we may well look to the tree and the flower and the star to learn about God, because there is so much of God,—his power, his wisdom, his law and his beauty in each one of them. But better still may we look within ourselves; because nowhere else may he put so much of himself as into our own thinking minds, our own loving hearts, our own souls that long for him as a plant for the light or a babe for its mother.

What kind of a poet is Robert Browning? How shall we describe him? How shall we classify him? Where shall we place him? To what extent is he like other poets? In what respect is he unique?

Is he an epic poet like Homer and Virgil and Milton? No. He gave the world no epic.

Is he a lyric poet like Burns and Heine and Horace? We have from him a few lyrics, not many. We cannot say his greatness lies in this direction.

May he be called in any important sense, a poet of Nature, like Wordsworth,—a poet who conceives his mission to be that of portraying the beauty, the grandeur, the wonder and the significance of the external universe in which man has his home? I think we must answer No. True, he is a close observer of nature. More than that he is an admirer and even lover of nature: and often in his poems he gives us glimpses that are full of beauty and insight. But to him the glory of the world of sky and earth and natural scenery, is as a stage for the life of man. To him man is everything, and external nature is of value or interest only as a frame in which to set the picture of the human.

Is he a dramatist, like Shakespeare? He is a dramatist, above all else a dramatist, but not like Shakespeare. Shakespeare wrote dramas representing the life of the many-sided world as seen by the eyes of the spectator. Browning wrote dramas representing the life of the many-sided world as lived and felt by the actors. At one time he thought his dramas might be played, and efforts were made to put one or more of them on the stage, but the efforts were failures. He is too subjective for a playwriter; nor has he sufficient simplicity. But his thought and method are essentially dramatic, none the less. He may almost be declared to have created a kind of drama of his own. It may be called the psychological drama. It has been said that all his poems are "dramas of the soul." The reason is, his supreme interest is in the development of the soul. To him man is everything, and in man the soul is everything. This is the reason why his poems are all dramas of the internal life of human beings, tracing the workings of passions, the influence of motives, the pursuit or abandonment of ideals, the sway of mind over mind, all those intricate and marvellous processes of the soul by means of which character is built up or destroyed, and human destinies are wrought out.

To Browning, this internal world, filled with the great history of souls, with the mighty epics and dramas and tragedies that make up the spiritual warp and woof of every human life, is the world of all

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overmastering importance, compared with which not only the world of external nature, but also the world of outward human events, such as discoveries, inventions, wealth seeking, social changes, political adjustments, wars, coronations, and the like, is trivial. And is he not right? In another way he asks, and with mighty force, the old question of Jesus, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" The soul is greater than all material things; and woe to the age or the man that forgets it.

Thus we see that Browning's philosophy is that of distinct idealism, not that of materialism. Born into an age of science and physical discovery and great material advance, he saw many around him greatly disturbed in their thinking, little by little losing their grasp on spiritual realities, becoming sceptical concerning the soul and God, and bowing down in worship at the shrine of the material. Not so Browning. He was never blinded by the new revelations of the starry heavens or the solid earth, or the waters under the earth. He saw that what St. Paul said of man, is also true of atoms and stars, of science and law and evolutions,—they all "live and move and have their being" in the eternal God. He saw that the material is but the garment of the deeper spiritual. He saw that God has his throne more glorious than ever seer beheld in prophetic vision, in every molecule of the physical universe, and that a physical universe from which spirit and God were withdrawn, would shrivel in an instant into black nothingness.

Still further he saw, not only that the physical universe is based upon the spiritual and draws from it its very life, but he also saw that all of those interests of man which have to do with the material,—his houses, lands, manufactures, commerce, finance, railroads, armies, navies, cities, states, empires—that all these must have their importance measured in terms of the spiritual: they are of value as they promote the life of man, as they serve the soul, whereas to the extent in which they fail to furnish freedom and nourishment to the soul they are a delusion and a cheat, giving men stones for bread.

With this clearer vision than that of so many of his fellows, this deeper insight, this larger and profounder philosophy, Browning went forth, serene and strong, to be a teacher in a troubled time.

Probably the three men who did more than any others to stay the tide of materialistic thought which arose so powerfully during the last half of the 19th century with the great new developments of science, and to help their fellows through it all to keep their faith in things spiritual and eternal, were Browning and Martineau in England and Emerson in America.

Of course in saying this I do not mean that Browning was not in sympathy with science and the modern spirit. On the contrary, he was a thoroughly modern man. His spirit was modern. He believed profoundly in science and rejoiced in all its discoveries and new revelations. He was the admirer and the personal friend of many of the leading scientists of England. But he was not carried off his feet by science.

He was wise enough to see that science cannot take the place of religion any more than it can take the place of poetry or art or music. He was also clear-visioned enough to see that science does not disturb religion, when religion is rightly understood. Science disturbs and destroys many superstitious ideas, many unreasonable and unfounded theological teachings which have been associated with religion, but not religion itself.

How modern was Browning's spirit is seen in his constant plea for the real and the practical, as distinguished from the vague and the far off. He was an idealist, but he was no less a realist. He believed in ideals, but he wanted them not merely dreamed about but lived, lived here and now. If his brow is in the sky, his feet always stand firm on the solid earth. He wants a religion not only of hopes for the future, but of realizations for the present. We find in him no shallow sneers at future heavens; but he wants also, and first of all, present heavens—this world lifted up toward heavenly conditions. He does not forget or despise what may lie on the other side of the great mystery which we call death. Forever the hope of that shines before him like a star. But he believes that the hope of the beyond should make

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men more faithful to the duties of this life. The way to prepare for heaven, he believes, is to live well on earth. Thus we find him writing:—

"I act for, talk for, live for, this world now,
As this world calls for action, life and talk,—
No prejudices to what next world may prove,
Whose new laws and requirements my best pledge
To observe them, is, that I observe these now—
Doing hereafter what I do meantime.
Let us concede (gratuitously though)
Next life relieves the soul of body, yields
Pure spiritual enjoyments:—well, my friend,
Why lose this life in the meantime, since its use
May be to make the next life more intense?"

Browning is not a poet of ease. He is not a quietist. His ideal of life is not rest, or cessation from struggle. He believes struggle to be not an evil but a good. He is the poet of the morally strenuous life. He sees life to be a battle, a battle that is sometimes very severe. But this does not dismay him. Rather it gives him joy. Is it said that victory is to the few? Yes, he answers: what *men call* victory *is* to the few. But what God calls victory is not to the few—that is to all who will have it. To God, noble struggle is *itself* victory.

This noble strain runs through a large part of his writings. There is hardly a poem of importance that does not contain some notes of it. And it has a wonderful power to stir the blood and to awaken hope and heroism. Let me reproduce some echoes of this splendid strain:

In "Cleon" we read:—

"Why stay on earth except we grow?"

In "Andrea del Sarto":—

"Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
"Or what's a Heaven for?"

In "Saul":

"What slops my despair?
"This:—'Tis not what man does which exalts
him, but what man *would* do!"

In "The Ring and the Book":—

"The moral sense grows but by exercise."

In the poem entitled, "In a Balcony":—

"I count life just a stuff
To try the soul's strength on, educe the man."

In "James Lee's wife":—

"Rejoice that man is hurled
From change to change unceasingly,
His soul's wings never furled."

In "Bishop Blougram's Apology":—

"When the fight begins within himself
A man's worth *something*."

Some whole poem one would like to reproduce. Here are some deep lines from "Abt Voglar":—

"What is our failure here but a triumph's evidence
For the fullness of the days? Have we writhed or agonized?
Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing might issue thence?
Why rushed the discords in, but that harmony should be prized?"

The entire poem, "Rabbi Ben Ezra," is equally virile. Here are a dozen lines:—

"What I aspired to be,
And was not, comforts me.
"All I could never be,
All, men ignored in me,
This, I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.
"Then welcome each rebuff
That turns each smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
"Be our joys three-parts pain;
Strive and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!"

How such lines put courage into the soul, and moral iron into the blood!

No one can study Browning long without seeing that he is pre-eminently a poet of strength. His writings everywhere speak of power, of virility. It is not because he is weak that he renders supreme homage to *love*. It is because he sees that love is the strongest thing in the universe. Jesus saw the same in his day. So did Buddha in his. One wonders that so few in the Christian Church, which has so long been calling Jesus Master, understand yet the power of love. Sometime the Church generally will understand it. Then there will no longer be an angry God in the heavens, or a hell of vengeance below. Sometime the nations will understand it. Then great armies and great navies will pass away, and the scourge of war will cease to blacken fair lands; and peace will come to this greed-cursed, hate-cursed, slaughter-cursed earth. All men who see with Jesus and with Browning that love *is* the highest thing in the universe, and strongest, are helping the coming of that good time. It is a question how much anybody else is or can. It sometimes seems as if men were determined to try every other conceivable plan for saving the world before trying love. When everything else fails, as everything else will fail, and men

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come at last really to try the plan of love marked out by Jesus, does anybody fear that that will fail?

Browning has been well called the poet of "triumphant faith." I think these are exactly the right words. Not only has he mighty faith, but his faith has in it an element of joy, of assurance, of triumph, of victory, that is equalled in hardly any other poet or writer. In this he far surpasses Tennyson. Tennyson is the poet of hope struggling up into faith—but he never gets quite past the struggle. The faith that he reaches is always a little tremulous. It never seems quite sure of itself. It never soars and rejoices and sings. But in Browning there is no such limitation. Browning's faith never trembles. It has wings as strong as eagle's. If it struggles it is the struggle of a lion with a foe that is certain to be vanquished. This is the reason why Browning is helpful to so many persons in any age of doubt and questioning and fear. His eye is clear. His tread is firm. His hand is strong to lead others less sure-footed than he.

It is the nature of faith to kindle faith. It is the nature of vision to communicate itself to others. We can often see things when they have been pointed out to us, which it was impossible for us to see before. This is the value of seers to the world. They help others to see. This is the value of prophets. They lead men up to the heights, where the air is clear, and from which larger worlds come into view.

Probably there is no other class of men who are of so much value to the race as men of faith, if only their faith is built on knowledge, on truth, on sure foundations. But if their faith is built on superstition, on credulity, on pretence, on foundations which fail when tested, then they are blind leaders of the blind, and both fall into the ditch. He who can give to men faith based on reality; faith which is knowledge carried down to deeper foundations; faith which is truth, but truth with larger horizons and cognizant of its relations to God and the things that are eternal—the man who can give to his fellows such true faith as that, confers upon them a good which all the gold in the earth's mountains cannot measure the value of.

Browning's writings everywhere ring clear concerning man's supreme hope—that death is not all—that beyond its mystery there waits for us another and a larger life. In this he rises far above Tennyson. He has some passages whose tone is almost as triumphant as anything in Whitman. In "The Ring and the Book" we read:—

"Death is far from a bad fate."

And again:

"No work begun shall ever pause for death."

In "Abt Voglar" we have this pean of victory:—

"There shall never be one lost good! what was shall live as before.
The evil is null, is naught.
All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good, shall exist:
Not its semblance, but itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power
Whose will has gone forth, but each survives the melodist,
When eternity affirms the conceptions of an hour.
The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;
Enough that he heard it once: we shall hear it by and by."

This from "Bifurcation":—

"But deep within my heart of hearts there hid
Ever the confidence, amends for all,
That heaven repairs what wrongs earth's journey did.

All that is at all,
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure;
What entered into thee,
That was, is, and shall be.
Time's wheel runs back or stops; potter and clay endure."

I make a single other quotation from "Paracelsus":—

"I go to prove my soul!
I see my way as birds their trackless way.
I shall arrive! what time, what circuit first,
I ask not; but, unless God send his hail,
Or blinding fireballs, sleet or stifling snow,
In some time, his good time, I shall arrive:
He guides me and the bird. In his good time!
If I stoop
Into a dark tumultuous sea of cloud,
It is but for a time; I press God's lamp
Close to my heart; its splendor, soon or late,
Will pierce the gloom; I shall emerge one day."

Such are a few of the mountain peaks of Browning's poetry which afford us clearest glimpses of his splendid and unwavering faith in God, in truth, in the soul, in duty,

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in love, in the immortal life, in eternal good for all men.

If the human soul is the thing of supreme value in the universe, how can permanent disaster befall it? If God is in his heaven, as Browning makes little Pippa sing, where is there room for doubt that "All's right with the world?" May be that men, and nations, and the world itself, are passing through fires: but if God is God, then they are furnace fires, out of which the gold of ultimate good is to come: they are not fires of disaster and doom. To declare final and remediless disaster to a single human soul, is to declare that God is *not* in his heaven—but that the throne of the universe is vacant.

Of course all that I have said means that Browning is an optimist. But there are two kinds of optimism. One is weak and sentimental. It is born of easy-going good nature, superficial thinking, and much shutting of eyes to the pain and suffering and sorrow that are in the world. Browning's optimism was not that. Browning faced the world's pain and suffering and sorrow, saw it all, felt it all: and was an optimist still, spite of it all,—nay because of it—for his eyes penetrated deep enough into humanity, deep enough into the great moral laws to see that these things are humanity's growing pains. Humanity is being created, and these things are just the fires and the hammers by means of which the better humanity that is to be, is being wrought out. Pain and suffering and struggle are not enemies to man, they are friends. They are discipline by which he grows; they are ladders by which he climbs; they are the hand of God, by which slowly but surely he is lifted out of the material into the spiritual, out of the animal into the divine. It is out of the discipline of these things that moral strength, self-mastery, obedience to moral law, character, and above all love, are born. Thus by them man becomes man, a child of God, and an heir of the eternities.

I trust I have now made clear why I cited in the beginning, as a key to the life and message of Robert Browning, those lines of robust faith and splendid optimism from his "Fra Lippo Lippi":—

"This world's no blot for us,
Nor blank; it means intensely and it means good:
To find its meaning is my meat and drink."

BEHAR

By the late Sister Nivedita.

FROM Patna on the East to Benares on the West, stretch in the month of January, fields of white poppies, all abloom. In this Holy Land of the Buddhist nations, blossoms to-day, this flower of death. The earth where it grows was made sacred long ago by the feet of Buddha. At the site of the ancient Pataliputra, almost where Bankipore stands to-day, He entered the kingdom of Magadh. For ages they told how, on His last journey north, He watched the building of the first of its fortifications, foretelling the future greatness of the capital. In remote villages one constantly comes upon images of Buddha, worshipped inside or outside the temples of Brahmin priests. In any field the peasant ploughing may turn up a relic or a fragment of carved stone. And under trees and bushes along the high road one notes the three little heaps of mud, standing side by side, that indicate a shrine of Jagannath, the Lord of the Universe, name and symbol of Buddha Himself. They have forgotten Him, may be, yet remember His memory, these simple worshippers of the Behari villages! To far distant lands, and to scriptures written in long forgotten tongue, the modern organisation of scholarship has to go, to bring back to them the knowledge of Him, whom under obscure names they worship to this day, in the very countryside where He lived and taught. A vague tradition of Infinite Mercy is all that remains amongst the unlearned, of that wondrous personality. But this, after

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2000 years, they cherish still. He belongs in a special degree to the peasantry of Magadh. There runs in their veins the blood of those whom He patted on the head as children. He taught them the dignity of man. He called upon them, as upon the proudest of his peers, to renounce, and find peace in the annihilation of Self. To Gautama Buddha, the peasant of Behar owes his place in Hinduism. By Him, he was nationalised.

Even in those stories of Buddha which remain to us, it is explicitly stated that He sought amongst all, existing solutions for the truth. This is the meaning of His travelling with the five ascetics and torturing the body with fasts. The first effort of a new thinker must always be to recapitulate and sound to their depths existing systems. The Prince Gautama in the year 590 B.C. in the populous districts of the Sakya kingdom, awakening suddenly to the sense of His own infinite compassion and to the career of a world-thinker, feels an overpowering need to meet with the scholars of His age, and made His way, therefore, towards the neighbourhood of Rajgir in the kingdom of Magadh. From purely geographical considerations, we can see that there was doubtless another culture-centre, even so early as the age in question, at Taxila, in the extreme north-west. Indeed towards the end of the life of Buddha himself, we are told of a lad who went there from Magadh—as European students of the Middle Ages to Cordova—to study medicine.

It is also easy to infer that the learning which could be acquired at Taxila was somewhat cosmopolitan in its character. The knowledge of herbs, is a comparative science, and Taxila was on the high road to Persepolis, Babylon, as well as to China and Nineveh. It was the doorway of India, or at least the university which had grown up beside that doorway, and that it was known as such, amongst other nations, is shown by the fact that Alexander came that way in 326 B.C. For the purchase of foreign stuffs, for knowledge of the geography that lay beyond her own border, for foreign news and foreign learning, possibly even for the secular science as a whole, India had no centre like Taxila in the distant West.

It follows with equal clearness, that for the headquarters of a strictly national culture one would look nearer to the valley of the Ganges. Even the least organised of systems will somewhere have its central ganglion, and the fact that the Indian ganglion lay, two centuries later, in Magadh, is proved by the retirement of Chandragupta to Pataliputra, after his defeat of the Greeks.

It was evidently not absurd with the means then at the disposal of the crown to look from that distance to mobilise armies for the frontier. But if military plans could be carried out so far from their base as this, then we can not object that Magadh was too remote to be the religious centre of the whole. Benares and Baidyanath are still left, at its two extremes, to tell us of the spiritual energy of its great period. The miracle that puzzles the imagination of historians, the sudden inception in the 6th century B.C. of religions of conscience, in place of religions of power, is, rightly viewed, no miracle at all. These religions themselves were always there, it was only their organisation that commenced with the date named.

The events of history follow sequences as rigid as the laws of physics. Buddha was the first of the faith-organisers, and first in India of nation-builders. But Buddha could not rise and do His work, until the atmosphere about Him had reached a certain saturation point, in respect to those ideas, which the Upanishads preach. The founders of religions never create the ideas they enforce. With deep insight they measure their relative values, they enumerate and regiment them; and by the supreme appeal of their own personality, they give them a force and vitality unsuspected. But the ideas themselves were already latent in the minds of their audience. Had it not been so, the preacher would have gone uncomprehended. Through how many centuries had this process of democratising the culture of the Upanishads gone on? Only by flashes and side-gleams, as it were, can we gather even the faintest idea.

It is partly the good and partly the bad fortune of Buddhistic movements in India, that from their association with an overwhelming individualised religious idea, they appear to us as a sudden invention of

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the human mind, in such and such a year. We do not sufficiently realise that they, together with all the words and symbols associated with them, must have been taken from a pre-existent stock of customs and expressions already long familiar to the people amongst whom Buddhism grew up. We imagine the Great Chandra Gupta to have been the first monarch, in India, of an organised empire, but the words of Buddha himself, "they build the stupa over a Chakravarti Raja –a suzerain monarch—at a place where four roads meet" shows that the people of that early period were familiar enough with the drama of the rise and fall of empires, and that the miracle of Chandra Gupta's retirement to Pataliputra, thence to rule as far as the Panjab and the Indian Ocean, was in fact no miracle at all, since the India of his time was long used to the centralised organisation of roads, daks, and supplies, and to the maintenance of order and discipline.

The peculiar significance of Behar, in the comity of the Indian peoples, rises out of its position on the frontier-line between two opposing spiritual influences. To this day, it is the meeting-place of Hinduistic and Mussulman civilisations. Sikh and Arya Somaji and Hindusthani Rajput pour down the waterway of the Ganges, to go no farther East than the twin-cities of Patna and Bankipore, and these stand face to face with the unified and Sanskritic civilisation of lower Bengal. All sorts of modified institutions,representing mutual assimilation, arise along the border-line. Costume, language, manners and habits of life are all full of this compromise. The old standard of culture, which even yet is not wholly dead, along a line stretching from Patna, through Benares to Lucknow, required of the highest classes of Hindus the study of Persian as well as Sanskrit, and one of the most liberal and courtly types of gentlehood that the world has seen was moulded thus.

The fertile country of Bengal closely settled and cultivated organised round the monarchy of Gour, and claiming a definite relation to Benares and Kanauj as the sources of its culture, cannot, at any time within the historical period, have been susceptible of chaotic invasion or colonisation. The drift of unorganised races could never pass through Behar, which must always have been and remains to the present the most cosmopolitan province of India. It has doubtless been this close contiguity of highly diversified elements within her boundaries, that has so often made Behar the birthplace of towering political geniuses. The Great Chandra Gupta, his grandson Asoka, the whole of the Gupta dynasty, Shere Shah, and finally Guru Gobind Singh, are more than a fair share of the critical personalities of Indian history, for one comparatively small district to have produced. The policy of the Great Akbar himself is supposed by some to have been determined by the ideas of his predecessor. Each of the Great Beharis has been an organiser. Not one has been a blind force, or the tool of others. Each has consciously surveyed and comprehended contemporary conditions, and known how to unify them in himself, and give them a final irresistible impulsion in a true direction.

THE RIVER STAIRS

A SHORT STORY.

(*From the Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore.*)

IF events could leave their record on stone, you might have read the stories of many ages on each of my steps. If you wish to hear of days gone by, sit on this step of mine; lend your ears to the murmur of the rippling water, and you will hear many a forgotten tale of many a long past year.

Ah, I recollect another day. It was just like today. The month of Ashwin (September) was about to begin. The faint morning breeze, sweet with just a suggestion of the young winter, was bringing a new life to awakened sleepers. The leaves were feeling a gentle tremour at times, as if without cause.

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The river was in full flood. Only four of my steps peeped above the water surface,—as if land and water were standing together arm in arm. The water had even crept up to the low-lying parts of the bank, where the *Kachu* plant grew beneath the branches of the mango grove. At that bend of the river, three old brick-heaps towered like islands above the water around them. The fishing boats moored to the trunks of the *Báblá* trees on the bank were rocking on the heaving flow-tide at dawn,—as if the tide, in the intoxication of youth, was mockingly pushing against them, and shaking them by the ear in loving jest.

The sunshine of the (clear) early autumn sky, as it fell on the full bosom of the river, shone like pure gold,—or like the *Champak* blossoms. In no other season can you see sunshine of this hue. The patch of tall flaxen-bearded reeds (*Kash*) on the sand bank has caught the newly risen sun; they have just begun to flower, and are not yet in full bloom.

With the prayer of *Ram! Ram!* the boatmen have unmoored their barges. The little boats puffing out their tiny sails are out on the sun-lit river,—as the birds gaily soar in the blue sky with their wings spread out to the light. One may easily take the boats for birds: they are swimming on the river's bosom like swans; only their wings are fluttering in the air in a burst of rapture. The Brahman priest has come punctually to bathe with his ritual vessels. The women are dropping in, in twos and threes, to draw water.

It was not so very long ago. *You* might consider it as a far off day; but to *me* it seems quite recent! My days glide playfully down the river's current; I have been steadily gazing at them for long ages; that is why time does not seem very long to me! Every day my bright image is reflected in the river; every night my shadow is cast on the water; but next day they are gone, leaving no mark behind. Thus it is that though I look old, my heart is ever young. The memories of many years have *not* overspread me like a bed of mosses and cut off sunshine from me. If a loosened moss from elsewhere is drifted on to me, it is next moment whisked away by the stream. And yet I am not absolutely free from moss. In my crevices, where the current of the river cannot reach, creepers and weeds and mosses have found a home. *They* are the witnesses of my antiquity; *they* have held old Time fast in a loving clasp and kept him ever fresh, ever sweet, ever new. Every day (in this season) the river is receding from me, leaving a step of the stairs bare, and I, too, am aging at the rate of one stone step a day.

Look! there is the grandmother of the Chakravarti family returning home after her (morning) bath, wrapped in a prayer-printed calico, shivering in the cold, and telling her beads. *Her* grandmother was then a little slip of a girl, who used to make fun by sending a *Ghrita-kumari* leaf drifting down the water every day, and watching it spin round and round in a little eddy formed by the river on my right hand, while she stood by, after laying down her pitcher. A few days more, and lo! she was a grown-up mother, coming to draw water with *her* little daughter. A few days more, and that daughter had become a woman, who used to punish and read lectures on proper conduct to the little girls who sported in the river and splashed the water around! I then used to think of the launching of *Ghrita-kumari* leaves, and laugh at the comicality of the scene before me.

I see that I cannot come to the story I mean to tell you. When I am about to speak of one thing, another comes to me on the stream (of memory). Episode comes and episode goes; I cannot hold any of them fast. Only an episode or two comes up to me again and again, like the *Ghrita-kumari* leaf-boats spinning round and round in the eddy. Such an episode is hovering round me today, eager to tell its own tale.... It is a small thing like those toy-boats, with no cargo except two pretty flowers placed in it in play. If it sinks in the eddy, the gentle girl will only heave a deep sigh and return home.

Close to the temple, where you see the fencing of the cow shed of the Gosain family, there stood a *Báblá* tree. The travelling fair used to be held under it once a week. At that time the Gosains had not settled in this village: there was only a leaf-thatched shed where their grand temple now stands.

This banyan tree which has thrust its

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hand into my ribs and clutched in its gigantic long and hard finger-roots my splintered stone heart,—was then a tiny sapling. It was just raising above the ground its head covered with tender foliage. In sunshine the shadows cast by its leaves played over my surface; its young roots straggled like a baby's fingers over my bosom. It hurt me if any one plucked a single leaf of it.

Though old, I still stood erect. Today my backbone is broken; I am a distorted cripple; a thousand cracks have wrinkled my body; in my holes the frogs of the universe have found a home for their long winter's sleep. But I was not so *then*. Only two bricks had slipped out of my left side, forming a hole in which a thrush had built his next. At dawn when after stirring uneasily he awoke, bobbed his joined fish-like tail up and down quickly, and then flew away whistling,—I knew it was the time of Kusum's coming to the bathing stairs.

The other girls of the *ghat* used to call her Kusum. That was her name, I dare say. When the image of her tiny body fell on the water, I longed to hold it fast, to keep it fixed in my stone,—such was her charm. When she stepped on my pavement and her four anklets jingled, a thrill of delight ran through my moss-beds. Not that she played much or talked much or was over-jolly; but strangely enough she had more comrades among the girls [of her age] than anybody else. All the unruly girls must have her company. Some of them nicknamed her Kusee, some Khusee ('delight'), and others Rakkusee ('ogress'). Her mother called her Kusmee. Every now and then I found the girl seated by the water; evidently her heart had a peculiar attraction for it; she loved it intensely.

After a time I missed her. Bhuban and Swarna mourned at the *ghat*. They said that their Kusee-Khusee-Rakkusee had been led away to her husband's house. That was a place far away from the river, with strange people, strange houses and strange roads. They had taken away the water-lily to plant it in a dry garden!

In time she almost faded out of my mind. A year went away. The women at the *ghat* now rarely talked of Kusum. But one evening I was startled by the touch of the long familiar feet; I imagined it was Kusum's tread. Ah! yes; but those feet were now without anklets, they had lost their old music. I had so long associated the touch of her feet with the jingle of her ankles that when to-day I suddenly found that music gone, the purling of the water sounded like a doleful chant in my ears, the whistling of the leaves in the mango-grove seemed as the wind's voice of mourning.

Kusum had become a widow. They said that her husband used to work in some far-off place and that she had met him only once or twice. A letter brought to her the news of his death, and,—a widow at eight years old,—she had rubbed out the wife's red mark from her forehead, stripped off her bangles, and come back to her old home by the Ganges. But she found few of her old playmates there. Of them, Bhuban, Swarna, and Amalá had gone away on marriage; only Sarat remained; but she too, they said, would be given away in marriage in December next. Kusum was very lonely now. But as she sat down in silence on my steps, resting her head on her knees, I thought that the waves of the river were all calling her Kusee-Khusee-Rakkusee with up-lifted hands.

As the Ganges rapidly grows to fulness with the coming of the rainy season, even so did Kusum day by day round to the fulness of beauty and youth. But her dull-coloured robe, her pensive face, and quiet manners spread a shadowy cloak over her youth and hid from the public eye the full bloom of her beauty and her youth. None seemed to have noticed that Kusum had grown up. I did not mark it at all. To me she always was the tiny girl she once had been. She was without her anklets, but when she walked I still heard their jingling (in my fancy). Ten years thus slipped away, without anybody in the village seeming to notice their flight.

Just such a day as this one came that year at the end of September. Your grandmothers beheld that morning a sweeter sunlight than usual, as you are beholding to-day. As they came gossiping along the uneven shady green alleys of the village, with yard-long veils drawn over their faces and their pitchers resting on their waist, to my side, to give a brighter effulgence to the morning light that fell on

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me,—they had not the least idea of *your* coming into the world. Today you cannot fully realise that your grandmothers did one day really run about playing, and that that day was as real, as living as today,—that they too toddled about like you in joy and sorrow with tender little hearts like yours. Even more than this it was incomprehensible to them that this sun-lit joyous autumn day would come, when they would be no more, when every trace of *their* joys and sorrows would disappear!

That day from the very sunrise the north breeze blew gently, wafting a stray *Babla* blossom on me now and then. Traces of night dews were left here and there on my stone body. That morning a tall, young, fair skinned, tranquil and bright-looking *Sanyasi*, coming I know not whence, took shelter in that Shiva temple in front of me. His arrival was noised abroad in the village. The women left their pitchers behind and crowded into the temple to bow to the holy man.

The crowd increased day by day. He was a *Sanyasi*, a matchlessly beautiful youth, and in addition to it he slighted none: he took the children up in his arms, he asked the matrons about their household affairs. His influence rapidly spread among the womankind. Many men, too, visited him. One day he would recite the *Bhagabat*, another day he would expound the *Gita*, or hold forth on various holy books in the temple. Some sought him for counsel, some for spells, some for medicines. How handsome he looked! as if the Great God (*Mahadev*) had descended in the flesh to his own temple.

When, at the earliest streak of dawn, the *Sanyasi*, standing up to his breast in the water, with his gaze fixed on the Morning Star, chanted the sacred hymn to the morning twilight in deep majestic notes, I had no ears for the babbling of the water. Everyday as his voice rang forth, the sky above the eastern bank of the Ganges flushed crimson, a roseate lining was formed on the fringe of the clouds, Darkness dropped down like the burst shell of an opening bud, and the Dawn like a flower revealed its ruddy hue little by little in the lake of the sky. Then the tree tops came out distinctly outlined on the horizon, the wind awoke, the sky turned grey, and finally from the unseen region behind the screen of trees, the morning-bathed pure sun climbed up the sky step by step. Methought, as that great being, standing in the river and gazing at the east, chanted his grand hymn, at every syllable of it Night's spell was broken, the Moon and the stars sank down in the west, the Sun rose in the east, and the world's scene was shifted. What an exorcist was this *Sanyasi*! After bath as he rose from the river with his tall fair and holy person looking like the sacrifical flame, the water trickled down his matted locks, the light of the new-born Sun was flashed back from his body.

So months passed away. In April, at the time of the solar eclipse, vast crowds came here to bathe in the Ganges. A fair was held under the *Bâblá* tree. Many of the pilgrims went to visit the *Sanyasi*, and among them were a party of women from the village where Kusum had been married.

It was morning. The *Sanyasi* was counting his beads on my steps, when all of a sudden one of the women pilgrims nudged another and said, "Why? He is our Kusum's husband!" Another parted her veil a little in the middle with two fingers and cried out, "O dear me! It is so. He *is* the younger son of the Chatterji family of our village!" A third, who made little parade of her veil, remarked, "Ah! he has got exactly similar brows, nose, and eyes!" Yet another woman, without turning to the *Sanyasi*, stirred the water with her pitcher and sighed out, "Alas! That young man is no more; he will not come back. Bad luck to Kusum!"

But one objected, "He had not such a big beard," and another, "He was not so thin," or "He was most probably not so very tall." That settled the question for the time, and the matter did not spread further.

All others of the village had visited the *Sanyasi;* Kusum alone had not seen him yet. At the big gathering of people she had given up coming to me. One evening, as the full moon arose, it probably reminded her of her old association with me.

There was none else at the *ghat* then. The crickets were chirping around. The din of brass gongs and bells had just ended in the temple,—its last wave of sound had grown fainter and fainter and merged like a shadow in the dark groves of the further bank. The sky was filled with moonlight.

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The tide at the flood was swishing (past me). Kusum sat, with her shadow cast on me. There was no stir in the wind; the trees were motionless. Above her on the bosom of the Ganges lay the unbroken broad moonlight,—behind her, here and there, in bush and grove, in the shadow of the temple, in the base of ruined houses, by the side of the tank, in the palm grove, Darkness was brooding in secret with her face covered up. The bats were swinging from the *Chhatim* boughs. The owl from the temple-top was shrieking its mournful cry. Near the houses the loud clamour of the jackals rose and then sank into silence.

Slowly the *Sanyasi* came out of the temple. Descending a few steps of the *ghat* he saw a woman sitting alone, and was about to go back,—when suddenly Kusum raised her head and looked behind her. The veil slipped away from her head. As the moonlight streams down on an upturned budding flower, so it fell on Kusum's face when she looked up. At that moment their eyes met together,—as if they recognised each other,—they felt as if they had known each other in a former birth. So thought I, while the two stood for a moment still as in a picture, while their shadows cast in the moonlight mingled together on my surface motionlessly for a moment;—but it might have been a mere fancy of mine.

The owl flew away hooting over their heads. Starting at the sound, Kusum came to herself and put the veil back on her head. Then she bowed low at the *Sanyasi's* feet.

He gave her his blessing and asked, "Who are you?" She replied, "I am called Kusum."

No other word was spoken that night. Kusum went slowly back to her house, which was hard by. But the *Sanyasi* remained sitting on my steps for long hours that night. At last when the Moon had passed from the east to the west and the *Sanyasi's* shadow had shifted from behind him to his front, he rose up and entered the temple.

From the next day I saw Kusum come daily to bow at his feet. When he expounded the holy books, she stood in one corner listening to him. After finishing his morning service, he used to call her to himself and speak on religion. She could not have understood it all; but she listened most attentively in silence,—she tried to understand it. As he directed her, so she acted implicitly. She daily served at the temple,—ever alert in the god's worship,—gathering flowers for the *puja*, and drawing water from the Ganges to wash the temple floor.

On my steps she sat pondering on what the *Sanyasi* had told her. Slowly her vision was extended, her heart's gate was opened. She began to have visions of what she had never seen before, she began to hear what had never before sounded in her ears. The pensive shade withdrew from her sedate face. She looked pure like a dew-washed flower bought for offering to a god;—indeed, as she devoutly bowed low at the *Sanyasi's* feet in the morning, she did look like a flower dedicated on the altar. A pure cheerfulness lit up her whole body.

The winter was drawing to its close. We had cold winds. But now and then the warm spring breeze would blow from the south unexpectedly, of an evening; the sky would totally lose its chilly aspect; pipes would sound and music would be heard in the village after a long silence. The boatmen would set their boats drifting down the current, stop rowing, and begin to sing the songs of Krishna. The birds would suddenly begin to hold converse on the branches, with extreme jollity. Such was the season.

The spring breeze had slowly breathed a a new youth into my stone heart; feeding on the sap of that youthfulness my creepers and plants were rapidly budding forth into flower and fruit. Just then I began to miss Kusum. For some time she had given up visiting the temple, the *ghat*, or the *Sanyasi*.

What happened next I do not know. But after a while the two met together on *my* steps one evening.

With downcast looks Kusum asked, "Master, did you send for me?"

"Yes. Why do I not see you? Why are you so remiss now in serving the god?"

She kept silent.

"Tell me your heart's thoughts without reserve."

She half averted her face and replied, "I am a sinner, Master, and hence I have failed (in the worship)."

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In the tenderest tone he told her, "Kusum, I know there is unrest in your heart."

She gave a slight start,—she feared 'Has he known it all?' Slowly her eyes were filled with tears,—she sat down there; drawing the skirt of her dress over her face, she sat down on the step at the *Sanyasi's* feet and began to weep.

He moved a little away, and said, "Unfold the nature of your disquiet to me frankly, and I shall show you the way to peace."

She replied in a tone of unshaken faith, but at intervals she stopped, at times she was at a loss for words:—"If you bid me, I must speak out. But, then, I cannot unfold it clearly. You, however, Master, must have guessed it all. I adored one as a god, I worshipped him, and the bliss of that devotion filled my heart to fulness. But one night I dreamt that the lord of my heart was sitting in a fragrant *Bakul* bower somewhere, clasping my right hand in his left, and whispering to me of love. The whole scene did not appear to me as at all impossible or strange. The dream vanished, but its hold on me remained. Next day when I beheld him, he appeared in another light than before. That dream-picture continued to haunt my mind. I fled far from him in fear, but that picture clung to me. Thenceforth my heart has known no peace,—all has grown dark within me!"

While she was wiping her tears and telling this tale, I felt that the *Sanyasi* was firmly pressing my stone surface with his right foot.

Her speech done, the *Sanyasi* said, "You must tell me, whom you saw in your dream."

With folded palms she entreated, "I cannot." He insisted, "I ask it for your own good. Tell me clearly who he was."

Wringing her tender hands hard, but still keeping them folded, she asked, "Must I tell it?" He replied, "Yes, you must."

She at once cried out, "You are he, Master!" Then, as her own words entered in at her ears, she immediately fainted away and fell down on my stone bosom. The *Sanyasi* stood still like an image of stone.

When she came round and sat up, the *Sanyasi* told her slowly, "You have obeyed all my words hitherto. One more word shall I tell you, and this you must obey. I am leaving this place tonight, that you may not see me again. *You must forget me.* Promise me that you will set yourself to do it." Kusum stood erect, gazed on the *Sanyasi's* face, and replied low, "It will be so, Master."

The *Sanyasi* said, "Then, I am off."

Without a word more, Kusum bowed to him and placed the dust of his feet on her head. He left the place.

Kusum said (to herself,) "His command is that I must forget him." Then she slowly stepped down into the river.

She had lived by the side of this river ever since she was a little slip of a girl. If the river will not stretch its arms out to take her to its bosom in her hour of languour, who else will?

The Moon set; the night grew pitch dark. I heard a splash in the water, but saw nothing. The wind raved mournfully in the darkness, as if it wanted to blow out all the stars of the sky, lest even a glimpse (of the tragedy) should be seen!

She who had played about in my lap, has tonight finished her play, and strayed away from it, I know not where.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

IN GERMAN PRISONS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY K. K. ATHAVALE.

THERE was once in the prison of W. a man of high intelligence—a sculptor—who was condemned to twenty-two years' hard labour for a series of burglaries. The last anecdote:— In the prison where he was employed as a writer his conduct was irreproachable. He was polite, ready to oblige every one, and

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had rendered great services, and in the establishment nobody swore as strongly as he to be straight in the future. He sincerely regretted his past criminal life, and every one of us declared that Peter would after serving his sentence certainly march in the right path. In fact his was a perfect reformation. His time passed, he was released with a thousand francs of salary earned in the prison in his pocket. He went from Hanover to Berlin, where his brother, an actor at the opera, received him well. But he sent him back again to Hanover after a few days, as he did not care to see him in the neighbourhood. Having returned to the capital of the Guelfes, the ex-convict sought work everywhere, but he found all doors shut against him on his telling them that he had passed twenty-two years in prison. The struggle became tiresome, and our man at last said to himself that it only remained for him to begin again as before He inaugurated a fresh series of burglaries, which ended in his being caught. One morning the Governor of the prison sent for me, and when I went he said to me :—

"Guess whom they have brought us? Such an one, do you know?"

"Not possible," I replied.

"Ha! Ha! Ha! and you pretended that he was a saint! Yes, Yes, they have brought him in for fifteen years!"

The first time that I saw him again in his cell, he said to me :—

"My fireside, my home, is in the prison. It is here that I am in my right place."

And, in fact, as before, his conduct as a prisoner was irreproachable. He was meekness—humility personified, the most zealous worker, and the most intelligent. The droll thing about it was that the man still carried on his person a considerable portion of the salary he had earned in prison when he committed his first crime after regaining his liberty. Could imprisonment be a hardship to him? Evidently, not. The prison was his proper place, his natural home. To him it meant peace and perfect happiness.

30th October.—I got some interesting information to-day. The prison owns six good cows, which furnish the milk required for the sick prisoners and the officials. The cows are tended every day by a convict in the presence of the Hausvater. A prisoner acts stable-boy. A much envied job. "One must see to believe how the beasts are groomed," said the warder to me, once, with fit shining coats. "Their pasture is partly provided by the vast fields of lucerne close to the prison." An idyl in gaol!

9th November.—When a prisoner is admitted into a gaol, they make an inventory of the things which he carries on his person, and his signature is taken on the document as proof of the correctness of the list. The clothes are then put in a sack, and liberally sprinkled over with vermicide powder. The sack is then closed and kept in the godown. Every three months, the Hausvater in charge of the clothing tells the prisoner that his property is intact. This quarterly revision of the prisoners' effects is held in the open air on a fine bright day in full view of the assembled division. On this occasion the garments are dusted by the owner with the help of a comrade, and then they are replaced in the sack and insecticide powder sprinkled over it again. Naturally, as the clothes are thrust pell-mell and pressed in to the narrow space of the bag, they are frightfully crumpled up; but a stroke of ironing on the evening before the release of the owner, renovates them decently. When a man is admitted with a term of ten years' imprisonment, his personal effects are sold, as of right, by the administration either to a comrade on the point of being released or to the old clothesman. The proceeds of the sale are credited to the account of the prisoner. The latter is also free to send away his wardrobe to his place if he has some sort of a home, which is not ordinarily the case. It must be added that at the time of their release the prisoners have generally earned sufficient money to recoup themselves anew, although there exists at the establishment a fund for helping released prisoners. In fact no one leaves a Prussian prison in rags.

5th December.—When the prisoners have amassed a little pile of their earnings, it is permissible to them to send money from time to time to their father, mother, wife or children in want. Many prisoners take advantage of this permission to remit money to their dear ones; but others prefer to keep their earnings to themselves, only employing a portion of it for buying dainties. But if perchance the Governor comes to know that the

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prisoner has a mother living in a miserable state or a wife in destitute condition, he stops his permit for purchasing sweeties. The life prisoners can if they so desire devote a large part of their earnings for the benefit of their near and dear ones. Meanwhile as they always hope to be pardoned they do nothing, generally, but go on hoarding to the end till death. To die in riches with a pile which sometimes amounts to several thousands of marks which is inherited by the State appears to be the height of their imagination. A cash box is seen hung up to a hook at the entrance to the prison under a placard which invites the passers not to forget the poor parents of the prisoners. The money provided by this box, really very little, is sent at the choice of the Governor or the priest to some needy relative of a prisoner. Very often the families of the convicts address petitions for succour to the administration.

There exists also in the institutions a special fund styled the "gefangenfonds"—not much developed really—from which the Governor could render assistance to the needy parents of the prisoners, or the prisoners themselves on their release if they have been of good conduct.

24th December.—It is today Xmas eve—"der heilige Abend" as the Germans say, the holy evening, the sacred eve. At six o' clock in the evening the bell was rung. All the prisoners left their cells and stood before their respective doors, their faces turned towards the central rotunda, where rises from the ground floor to the top an immense Christmas tree blossoming out in lighted tapers while the choir is grouped round at the foot of the tree. At a given signal the spiritual concert bursts forth melodiously:—The Christmas songs chanted by a quartette of voices during a half hour caused the building colossus of stone and iron to vibrate with a wave of tenderness evoking in the hearts of men thoughts of eternal, undying youth. Then the music ceases, the prisoners re-enter their dungeons, and in the vast prison there is only a succession of the crash of doors, the gratings of keys and the stampings of busy feet. Silence reigns everywhere again. Presently the bell is rung to announce the evening soup. A fresh hubbub succeeded by another period of quiet. Yet another bell ringing—it is the closing bell. Another racket of doors shutting and bolts clacking, then nothing more but calm and quiet. But in the air, high up, the sacred choirs sing—*Gloria in excelsis!* and peace to men and good will!

Liberty at last!!!

1st March, 1903.—Not more than eight days! In the morning on rising from my bed I repeated it to myself and said it again once more, in order to penetrate myself well with the thought, for I have great difficulty in believing it! So many bitter disappointments experienced in the course of my long captivity have made me quite sceptical in the matter. Will the Prussian Government come to a decision to release me? Wont it find at the last moment a pretext to keep me behind the bolts of its prison doors? It is so very powerful and I am entirely at its mercy! The dread of an obstacle to my liberation springing up unexpectedly takes away from me much of the pleasure I feel at the near approach of the 9th of March.

Nevertheless the days pass swiftly. Whenever an official—a warder or a foreman—enters my cell on business he never fails to address me gleefully:—"Helo! Choreune! one is soon going to see Paris again! The prospect should make you happy! Don't forget us so soon?"

Oh! Yes! I am that happy one, but not without apprehension, without some misgivings! The prisoners whisper their sympathy to me privately:—"Well. Comrade! the great day is near at hand!"

3rd March.—From all parts, felicitations pour in.—Among others the Governor brings me a letter which causes me the liveliest emotion. It is Margot, who after seven years of silence writes to me of her joy on the certainty of soon seeing me again. The kind-hearted Governor asks me—it was but his right—who was my fair correspondent, and permits me with his usual courtesy, to reply to my friend, although it was contrary to the regulations. I thank him heartily for it and decline to take advantage of his kind offer. Margot! Oh!. the intoxicating recollection of it! I see again before me the face of the young girl, blond and smart, coquettish and wreathed in smiles, of fair Margot who has framed five years of my life in golden visions!

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4th March.—The Hausvater in charge of the Prisoners' clothing sought me today in order to check with him my personal effects, and to ascertain if they were in good condition. He also requested me to show him the clothes I would put on the day of my release, in order that he might be able to have them brushed and ironed.

6th March.—The Hausvater sent for me to his office so that I might try on my civil habiliments. I find that I have forgotten the art of dressing. I do not know how to make the knot of my cravate or neck-tie. After considerable trouble I manage to accomplish it somehow. It is the first time during seven years that I have slipped out of my prison uniform. I look at my reflexion in the glass with curiosity. Is that really my own self? It is almost a stranger who smiles at me from the looking-glass. I experience an inexpressible satisfaction at having discarded the black livery of the prison. But what for have I put on my own clothes? A licensiate inspector conducted me through the maze of the corridors to one of the courts, where two very polite and obsequious photographers waited on me. They photographed me in face and in profile in all ways possible. It is a precaution taken by the Prussian Government to guard against the case of my venturing to set my foot again on German territory; for, I learn, that the Grand Master or Chief of the Berlin Police has a mind to take against me a warrant of expulsion. Would he have me conducted to the frontier in charge of Police agents? Or, would he permit me to travel alone? A poignant question this which keeps my mind occupied up to the evening before my departure.

8th March.—It is tomorrow, precisely at eight o'clock in the morning that I will regain my liberty, that I will come out of my tomb! The Governor, quite happily—oh! the goodman!—announced to me that I was free to travel alone, on condition that I did not stop at any place in the journey and that I did not change the route. That is well, and it fills my mind with ease!

The evening, and the last evening has arrived! The Hausvater brings to me in my cell my valise and effects. "Tomorrow, the question is to be ready against time." An unnecessary recommendation! The bell in the central rotunda rings. A great uproar of the cracking of bolts, and the precipitation of steps, then silence everywhere. From the four corners of the prison the choristers are gathered at the apsis where the four wings of the gaol meet in a square. Quite moved, I hear the chant of the evening. It is the same tearful air which troubled me so profoundly on the day of my arrival. The echo in the long sonorous lobbies ceases. The prison is sleeping, and in the silence which reigns everywhere the wolf-steps of the night watchmen who are prowling about, graze the doors of the prisoners' cells. At last I drop into the oblivion of profound slumber.

6 o'clock in the morning.—The reveille is sounded. Very soon is served steaming coffee in my large bowl of white crockery. The Governor, officials, warders, foreman, and prisoners, all come to shake me by the hand. The minutes pass merrily.

Quarter to eight o'clock. The Chief Warder comes to take me and conduct me to the Registrar's Office for the formality of departure. The Registrar places in my hand the large sum of one hundred and twenty-five francs—all that I have earned, during seven years, in the service of the king of Prussia! Very luckily my mother has been more liberal, and I am able to start on this trip with my purse well-filled. Farewell! Adieu! Bon voyage! The great black door turns on its hinges smoothly, and I am free. "What? Margot! You! Oh! but it is really very good of you. You have not changed at all during seven years." My friend has come with a sheaf of flowers in her hand, which she holds out to me and with a bound falls on my neck. She had specially written to the procureur general of the Empire for information respecting the exact day and hour of my release, and for nearly an hour had been doing the sentinel in the morning cold of March. "Quick, a cab. The Express for Paris is waiting in the station." The sky is blue and the sun shines brilliantly. Berlin, already wide awake, is beginning her feverish life again. But I am dreaming, surely, I am dreaming! These ladies in fine toilettes who pass and who wear hats of unknown dimensions, these men in city costumes who astonish me with a flash; everything fills me with wonder; everything enchants me! And these monstrous carriages which roll on their wheels quite

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by themselves makes me afraid of them like a child. Joy, real unmixed joy, fills me to overflowing, I am happy, happy in all fibres of my being; and this happiness which I will never more experience again, I have not paid for dearly with my seven years of captivity; so true it is that the past is of no account in view of the actual present. "Remain thus always, always," and the young blond girl as pretty as ever, presses against me lovingly. It is a feast of all my senses.

The cab stops at the station of Friedrichstrasse. I entreat Margot to come with me to the frontier, and she runs up presently. We take our seats. Already the Paris Express is flying through the sunlit suburbs of Berlin. And Margot to talk to, and to prattle, by my side. All her life she recounts to me, then it is my turn. We dine in the train and the champagne sings to us, in the wine-glasses, the first salute of France. Hanover, Cologne, My God! how time and space are being annihilated. Verviers. Liege. Charleroi. Jeumont. Vive-la France! Long live France!

The End.

THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA

[By Dr. Ramlal Sarkar, an eye-witness].

II.

Our flight.

WE took to our horses without wasting time in useless conversation. At the customs office we joined Messrs. Fraser and Nisbet. We had several Chinese clerks with us—two clerks of the post office with their families and Mr. Tie, the clerk to the Commissioner with his two wives following us. We had a great coat and a blanket apiece; and a few loaves of bread, some biscuits, some tea, sugar and condensed milk were all our provision on the way. Pack mules were scarce and we had to leave all our valuables at Tengyueh. We secured a passport for each of us and a few guards to protect us on the journey. We slowly proceeded on our mountainous way forming a sort of procession. Our leader was afraid even to proceed and would shout for me whenever I fell a little behind the rest of the company.



Mr. Tie, the Clerk, to the Commissioner with his son and daughter.
[*Photographed by Dr. Ramlal Sarkar.*

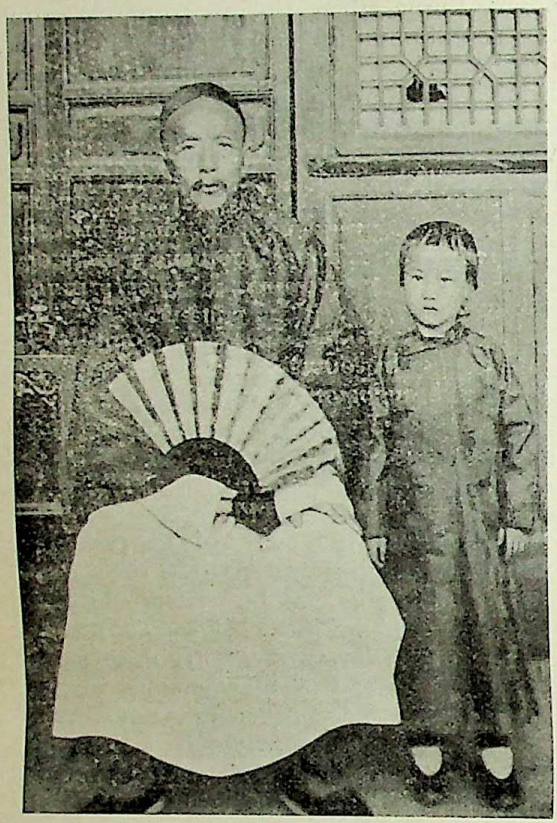
Once he came up to me and told me that we should be all in one company and I should not fall behind. Again on one occasion when I had gone a few steps ahead of the rest, to consult another man on some matter, Mr. Fraser rode up to me and informed me that the Commissioner did not like my going detached from the rest, and that he was very anxious for the safety of us all. I immediately fell back to join the company. Our leader was fearing an attack every moment from the rebels but I was not the least perturbed. On the contrary I laughed in my sleeves to see him so much frightened.

The news that we were leaving Tengyueh

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induced many respectable families to leave Tengyueh for Bhamo. For a terrible fright had overtaken all men and no one considered his life or property secure there. Among



Mr. Chang, the retired General.

those who thus followed us, the names of Mr. Chang, the retired general, and Mr. Fong of the Salt Department and a few others are noteworthy. Thus about a hundred men, women and children, followed us in a train. The reason for this was the report that the 'big-turbaned' Indian sepoys had rebelled at Bhamo and had killed their officers. Besides, the barbarous Cachins inhabiting the mountains on the Burmese and Chinese frontiers, were rumoured to be engaged in looting travellers. The Chinese therefore considered it safe to follow us in their flight to Burmah.

But the revolutionaries did not like that people should be leaving their country, as it was likely to damage their reputation.

It was about noon when we reached a spot about 14 miles from Tengyueh, where there is a hot-spring. Here we alighted from our horses, and after resting for a while on the grassy meadow, we finished our scanty meal with a few plantains and some biscuits.



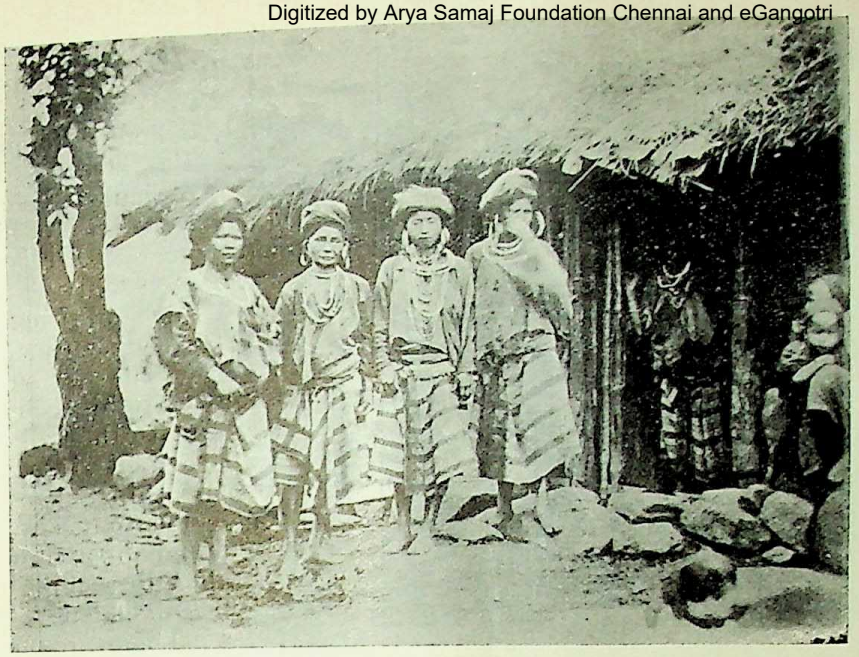
Mr. Fong.

The next place where we halted was a famous temple, called Nandian, about 26 miles from Tengyueh. Here we prepared our beds of straw and had to face the severe cold with one blanket apiece. We took for our supper what we could afford from our scanty provisions.

Next morning after tea we left Nandian. Yesterday our journey was easy but today it was difficult and steep. I was soon tired with the uphill journey. We, however, got a resting place at the summit of the mountains where we alighted from our horses. There was no habitation to be found within a circumference of four miles from this spot. Some poor women sell victuals here during the day and return to their villages at the approach of night. They sell ham, eggs and home-brewed liquors. Others sell hay for horses. These people pester the customers in the same way as one experiences

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Cachin Women.



Cachin Women.

at China Bazaar, in Calcutta. We had no necessity of buying anything from them as we carried our own stock of provisions. They were, however, much tempted at the sight of biscuits, refined sugar, etc., which we had with us and were glad to partake of the remnants of our meal.

We got on our horses after they were refreshed. The way was a steep descent for three miles from this point. At every step there was a fear of our slipping down. We pursued this dangerous road till we reached the gorge of the river Tapeing. Our road from this point was irregular, sometimes making a steep ascent and again going downwards. But the natural aspect of these places was most charming. The roads here and there were rendered very narrow by landslips due to excessive rain.

At such places it was difficult to go on horseback, for if the horses slipped, horse and rider would both fall plumb down five or six hundred feet. There was another danger in these roads in this way, that if some pack-mules confronted you, from the opposite direction, there was neither moving forward nor backward! To prevent such a pass the Chinese traders have a curious device of ringing a bell at the head of a procession of pack-mules. The sound of the bell warns travellers proceeding from the opposite direction who wait at some point where the road is broad enough to allow a safe passage to the train of mules. By the evening we finished our mountainous journey and reached the Kangai valley.

When we were nearing the end of our journey on the mountains we met a company of men of the Shan tribes carrying swords on their shoulders who were moving in a procession towards Tengyueh. We could easily guess that they were revolutionary recruits marching to the headquarters. Immediately behind this company was a man in a sedan-chair who was dressed in khaki and sola hat, leading a company of men in Japanese military

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Cachin Women.

uniform. As our company approached him he took off his hat to me. With great promptness I returned the salutation with equal ceremony and enquired in English as to where he was proceeding. He could not understand my English and so could not make any reply. His face seemed familiar to me but my recollection failed me and I could not remember who he was. In a moment we parted company. The Sahibs in my company enquired who he was. But I could give only a very unsatisfactory reply and told them that I must have known him sometime but could not now recollect who he was. Everyone in our company mistook him for a Japanese officer, till one of our guard informed us that he was Mr. Tao Fai Sin, the Subha of Kangai. I at once recollected his name and was sorry that I did not converse with him more freely.

He was an old and intimate friend of mine and had been to Japan, where he had thoroughly studied their institutions. He took a company of Shan girls over to Japan to instruct them in various arts. He had also brought over artisans from Japan to instruct people in his province in the improved art of weaving and in many more arts besides. I had not seen him for the last three or four years. When I had seen him last he had no moustache and wore a pigtail and was apparelled in Chinese costume. But everything was changed now, the sola hat completely belied his former self. His father was also a particular friend of mine and I sent his picture to the *Prabasi* sometime ago. As a cement to our friendship I stood sponsor to one of his young daughters by his second wife. Thus the friendship matured into a sort of kinship. It may be here mentioned that this system of standing godfather to a child is widely prevalent in China. There are only two cities in Kangai —one old and another new. The new city is situated at a distance of three miles from the old one and is the seat of the Subha (Governor). The old city provides resting place for travellers, and we were accordingly accommodated in the Bungalow built by the governor. The Republican flag was everywhere in evidence and a new spirit had come upon the people which was manifest even in their gait and conversation. Everyone seemed to be breathing the freer atmosphere of liberty. We spent the night here and arrived at Chhiao Sing Kai the next day, where we put up at the customs-house. It was deserted, the collections having been taken away by revolutionary leaders and the officers having fled. Here an acquaintance of Mr. Howell informed him that the barbarous Cachins were marauding travellers on the highways of the frontier regions between Burmah and China. The Sahib became anxious at the news, for we had a chest of silver-bars with us of considerable value. He therefore sent a secret messenger with a letter to the native officer in charge of the military outpost on the Burmese frontier, requesting him to send us an armed escort.

The next day we reached Mansian—our last stage on Chinese territory. Here we read a proclamation written in English, Chinese and in the language of the Shan

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A Shan woman in gala dress.

tribes under the signature of the governor of Kangai, Mr. Tao Fai Sin. It iterated the disgust for the Manchus, the establishment of the republic, that trade will continue unhindered and that foreigners shall be respected and protected.

It also constituted the governor as commander of the forces in the Yunnan province. The English wrongly translated the Chinese "Tu Tu" in the proclamation, which means commander-in-chief, as governor-general. It was no doubt due to a mistake on the part of the translator.

We spent the night at Mansian where we made the acquaintance of an old official Mr. Maw. He promised a safe journey hrough the frontier country and offered us an escort of Cachin soldiers. In the morning we saw about a dozen men waiting at our door armed with swords and spears.

Mr. Howell thanked them and bid them go back. He only retained one as guide. He acted in this way with a double purpose. He did not like to incur an obligation when he was sure that the escort he had sent for would come. In the second place these protectors might turn out to be destroyers for all we knew.

The British frontier was twelve miles from this place — the river Fulima separating the two territories. At or about twelve at noon we reached that spot and found Mr. Smith, the British Consul, waiting there to meet us.

Here we finished our midday meal on a raised platfrom, in a dilapidated house and were finally accommodated in the Dak Bungalow 9 miles from this place. Mr. Grove had a hearty dinner with the Consul and we were left to satisfy our hunger with a few plantains and some boiled rice. But the cold was unbearable. The air on these hills was so unhealthy that any newcomer was sure to take ill. Besides the Tapeing falls hard by were stunning our ears with their thundering roar.

When we were in these straits a telegram reached the consul, who read it and passed it on to Mr. Howell, who in his turn handed it over to me. I could not help smiling as I read the message and having read it handed it over to Rev. Fraser. The Deputy Commissioner of Bhamo had sent this telegram. It was the same as I had sent at the outbreak of the revolution from Tengyueh (see the August number) but no one else among us knew who had sent it.

We passed the night as best we could, some sleeping on easy-chairs, others on the

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wooden floor. The next day we started for Bhamo and the Consul for China. He did not tell us what his goal was. We halted next at the Kalangkha Dak Bungalow. Tong Hong, the military outpost, was on a hill three miles from this place, and we sent a man there to enquire whether our messenger had arrived there with Mr. Howell's letter asking for an escort.

We were informed that the messenger did bring the letter but the native officer in charge of the outpost, not having received the permission of the Batallion Commandant at Bhamo, the escort was not despatched.

The Momak Dak Bungalow, which was 20 miles from Kalangkha, was our next stage. Here we had plenty to eat. Bhamo was only 10 miles from this place and we reached there on the 11th November by the stage-coach. My acquaintances at Bhamo ran to me at the news of my arrival and were amazed to hear of our dangers at Tengyueh.

The message which I had sent by post to Bhamo to be wired thence to the Government of Burmah, was, by my agent, taken to Mr. Ugra Sen the Head Clerk to the Military Police, instead of to the Government Telegraph Office. Mr. Ugra Sen showed it to the Batallion Commandant Captain Ormond and asked his permission to send it to the papers. The captain gave his assent pointing out that it was my duty to send this message. My agent accordingly took it to the Government Telegraph Office and Mr. Rozario, the officer in charge of the Telegraph Office, sent it to the Deputy Commissioner of Bhamo for his permission to send it to the papers. The Deputy Commissioner at once wired this important message to the Government of Burmah and the Intelligence Officer to the Government of India wired it to Simla in his turn. The message was at length sent to the *Rangoon Gazette* and after its publication in the columns of that paper on the 6th November the message was cabled throughout the world. The message as it appeared in "*The Bengalee*" and other papers in India was a reproduction from the *Rangoon Gazette*.

Mr. Ugra Sen who hails from the Punjab, is a well-known man at Bhamo and has considerable influence there. He is a friend of mine, and when I told him of the peculiar situation in which I was placed at Tengyueh, he praised my courage and firmness. He said, I had earned the gratitude of the world by sending the message in the midst of dangers and difficulties.

After arriving at Bhamo I sent a detailed account of the occurrences at Tengyueh to the *Rangoon Gazette*. It was published on the 17th December and everyone was well pleased with it.

In the meantime news arrived that the Consul had reached Tengyueh. The Customs Commissioner had already sent long messages to the Inspector General of Customs at Tengyueh which had cost him from seven to eight hundred rupees. But he was ordered to stay where he was. Thus he was obliged to stay on at Bhamo indefinitely. But I was in a fix. I held office both under the Consul as well as under the Customs Commissioner and now that the Consul had reached Tengyueh I was inclined to follow him. It was not a mere whim, for if I stayed on at Bhamo I might be asked to join hospital duty. In that case my services would be transferred from the foreign to the Medical Department of the Government of Burmah. After that, to secure a re-transfer to my present situation would require the sanction of the Government of India. My Bengalee friends advised me to give up the idea of returning to China. But I was anxious to witness the movement of events in China and to inform my countrymen for their edification. This was the opportunity of a life time and I was unwilling to let it go. I would not mind losing my life in a such cause.

The Customs Commissioner on being consulted advised me to wire to the Consul and asked me to send the following message :—

"Britain

May I return

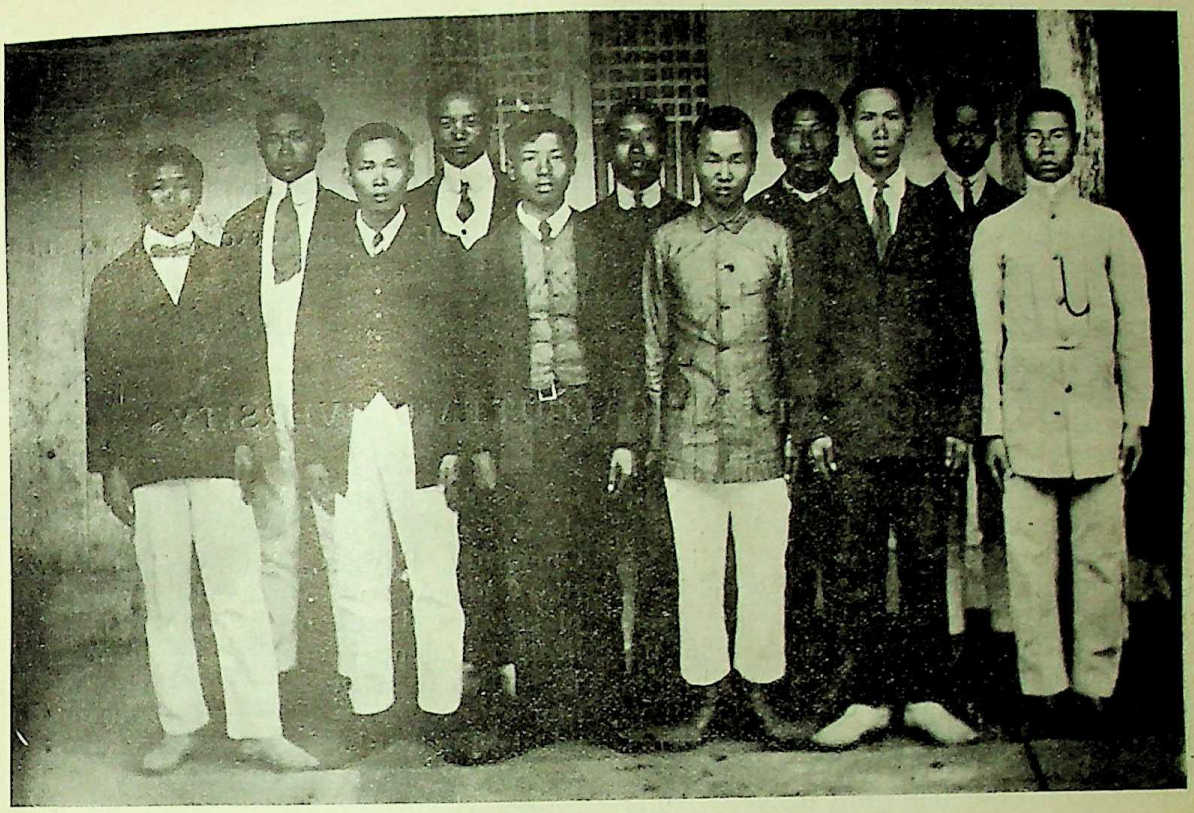
Sircar."

The Consul replied "you may return" but Rev. Fraser was refused permisssion. Mr. Grove was also permitted to return.

A brief record here of what I saw in the Chinese quarters at Bhamo, may be interesting. On our way to Bhamo we came across a company of 40 Chinese youngmen on horseback. They were mostly Cantonese but some of them could be easily mistaken for Japanese. They were volunteers and

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The Cantonese volunteers.

the Chinese Club at Rangoon were sending them at their own cost.

They informed us that news had come from Sanghai to the effect that the Manchu Emperor had abdicated and that the revolutionaries had seized the government of the country.

This news was made the occasion of a great celebration by the Chinese at Bhamo and Mandalay, who made a bon-fire of the old flags and replaced them by the Republican flag. All the houses were illuminated and the men cut off their queues. Some were forcing people to cut off their queues, while decision hung in the balance in the minds of those who were dubious about the flight of the Emperor, and they prayed to be excused for some time to make up their minds.

I have already mentioned how we had met Mr. Well, the Magistrate of Tengyueh and the Taotai. The Taotai was so frightened that he sought the protection of the Deputy Commissioner of Bhamo who put him up in the fort in charge of the military police and made strict arrangements for guarding his approach against Chinamen lest some rebels might kill him. After he had lived there for a week he was allowed to be taken out on the principal Chinese merchants standing security for his safety.

He had lost his everything at the hands of the rebels and was so sorely smitten with grief that he scarcely even spoke a single word. He was suffering from a severe pain in the lumber regions and asked me for some medicine. On enquiring into the cause of the trouble I was told that on the night the rebellion broke out, he had thrice attempted to commit suicide by drowning himself in a river, but the river being shallow he was not successful. But he got hurt in the attempt and was suffering from lumbago.

Mr. Well had also lost his fortunes in the rebellion. He regretted that he was robbed by the Chinese though he was not a Manchu but a pure Chinese. These officials came from Canton, Shanghai and the neighbouring districts.

Such numbers of men, women, and children had gathered at Bhamo that it

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had become difficult to secure a house. Food was selling at double rates in the Chinese quarters. Bands of Chinese volunteers from Rangoon and Mandalay were running towards Tengyueh. Meanwhile alarming reports were spreading at Bhamo about the dangers of the journey, which were frightening many. Inspite of all this we (Mr. Grove and myself) resolved to return to Tengyueh. Accordingly we started on the 22nd November.

(To be continued.)

TRANSLATED BY

NIKHILNATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A., LL.B.

GEOLOGY AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

SINCE the introduction of the New Regulations things have altered very considerably within the Calcutta University. We have now new subjects, new syllabuses, new courses: new professorships and lectureships; new rules about the size and number of classes, about libraries and laboratories, about College buildings and hostels and lodging houses for students. We find in fact New Rules ruling everywhere and in this labyrinth of New Rules it is difficult to recognise the Old University we had known so long.

In this new state of things there is however one thing standing out prominently that seems to have changed considerably and yet has not changed at all. We mean the teaching of the subject of Geology. If one consults the rules it will be found that the newness has gone so far as to have abolished altogether the text-books from all the University Examinations in Geology, including the earliest, that is to say, there is not a vestige of a text-book for any of the examinations, whether it is the Intermediate in Science, or it is the M.A. or M.Sc. One could have understood this if in the sister science subjects, *viz.*, Zoology, Botany, Chemistry, Physics, &c., also text-books had been abolished under the New Rules. But such is not the case. So why the subject of Geology should have been allowed this position of distinction and permitted to stand alone in having no text-books prescribed or recommended for any of the examinations, one finds it hard to guess. If Geology is not a particularly easy subject, but is as stiff as any of the other physical or biological sciences, then obviously by omitting text-books on Geology while retaining them for the sister science subjects, *viz.*, Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Zoology, &c., the Geology students would seem to be placed at a disadvantage compared to their brother students who take up science subjects other than geology for the same examinations. Again, it cannot be maintained that the text-books on Geology are out of date; but they are in reality as up to date as the text-books on Botany, Zoology, &c. So it is really not easy to comprehend what may have led the Syndicate or the Board of Studies, whichever may be responsible for it, to omit altogether to prescribe or recommend any text-books on Geology, unless it be that under the New Rules they want to teach the students here something unique and quite out of the common, something that is not to be found even in the best English text-books on Geology, however well-known and universally respected they may be. Be that as it may, and anyhow since Geology is admittedly not an easy subject, and considering that Calcutta is situated in the midst of an immense alluvial plain and that those natural teachers of Geology, *viz.*, hills and valleys, sea cliffs and coast sections, are entirely absent here, —a circumstance of great and special disadvantage to the Geology students of Calcutta,—the abolition of text-books in Geology, can only be defended by the complete and adequate provision for a full staff of professors and demonstrators, with a fairly equipped laboratory and museum in the Presidency College. For the Presidency is the only college within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University that undertakes to

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teach Geology for the different University Examinations, and the provision that exists there for the teaching of this subject is all that exists for the purpose within the Calcutta University.

But what is the provision that we actually find existent at the Presidency College with regard to Geology? From the syllabuses for the various examinations in the University we should expect there at least a complete staff of professors and demonstrators for the boys taking up Geology for the B.A., B.Sc., M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations. But as a matter of fact we do not find there even a single whole-time lecturer or professor in connection with Geology at the College, but the entire teaching staff seems made up of a single part-time lecturer (with British qualifications) and one or two demonstrators. This lecturer, with his so few theoretical lectures a week,* supplemented by what the demonstrators can do, is supposed to look after both the beginners as well as the advanced students, imparting to the former a thorough grounding in the elements of Geology and also helping the latter in the advanced courses of study for the higher examinations; thus enabling the students to go in successfully for the several degrees of B.A., B.Sc., M.A., and M.Sc. Now if any one that can believe that all this can be accomplished by a single lecturer --and that lecturer able to give not his whole and entire time and attention but only 3 to 5 hours or so per week to the boys—believes in something which is physically impossible. Were this lecturer a whole-time one, even then he would have found his task pretty tough for a single hand, but might find it tolerably manageable provided he had able assistants. But the task is simply impossible when there is only one lecturer and that lecturer able to give only so few theoretical lectures a week.

It must be remembered in addition that this lecturer is not a veteran educationist, with vast previous experience of teaching, at all. He does not belong to the Education Department even. He belongs to the Geological Survey of India, which details, it must be remembered, at its convenience, one of its members to lecture at the College from time to time, replacing one lecturer by another according to the exigencies of the Survey, and these men are, as a rule, without any previous experience as professors or lecturers. That this kind of provision for teaching a subject like Geology is open to serious objection ought to be patent to every reflecting mind, and it seems very strange that with the introduction of everything new in this new Calcutta University this old arrangement, apparently tentatively introduced on a provisional experimental measure under the old regime, so many years ago, should have been allowed to continue so long and under the present conditions. The main objections to this old antediluvian arrangement may be briefly summed up as follows: —

The lectures are by far too few. It is not possible for any lecturer, however brilliant he may be, to cover by so few lectures a week, even the most important parts of Geology for the requirements for the Intermediate Arts and Science, the B.A. and B.Sc. and M.A. and M.Sc. students. We must again remember that the elementary parts of a subject must be entirely taught by a master; for the elements of a subject are the most difficult to acquire and the grounding in them should be as thorough as practicable, for unless the grounding is thorough and sound, all superstructure, that is, subsequent additions to one's knowledge on the subject, is likely to be more or less useless to the pupil. And it must not be forgotten in this connection that the country hereabouts is neither hilly nor mountainous and that an additional burden is thereby imposed on the lecturer on Geology who is thus obliged to make intelligible to the beginner many a very elementary fact in Geology which though ordinarily appearing as perfectly obvious or simple, would require ample and special elucidation for boys who have seen nothing but an alluvial country in all their lives. To our question then, namely, whether a single part-time lecturer is likely to be able, with the little time he can spare for the boys, to see that all the beginners in his subject are thoroughly well grounded in the elements of his subject and that the advanced students also receive the attention that is their due, we are reluctantly obliged to come to the conclusion that the attention

* We understand that the programme of lectures for the present session is 5 hours a week and that previously it was about 3 hours weekly.

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that a part-time lecturer can give is far from adequate for the present requirements of the students for the various degrees. Were this part-time teaching of Geology his sole concern or even the most important of his duties, even then it would not be easy for him to succeed in his work single-handed; but as it happens, this teaching of Geology is neither his sole concern nor the most important duty of the lecturer. For naturally with a member of the Geological Survey the chief concern must be his duties with the Survey, all his prospects and promotion depending on how he performs his duties there, and the teaching work at the Presidency College must therefore necessarily be a secondary matter.

Another point that we must notice in this connection is the want of continuity in the lectureship necessarily involved under the present scheme. That is to say, as the detailing of a man for the lecture-work depends on the exigencies of the Department, replacement of one lecturer by another may and does happen at frequent intervals, a circumstance which must act as an additional cause of detraction of interest on the part of the lecturer for the time being in his teaching work. For veritably he is a bird of passage and there is hardly any stimulus for taking any special interest in the work of the College, or making any special exertion in connection therewith.

Under the circumstances one is naturally led to inquire why the present arrangement, started so many years ago as an experimental measure and evidently far from satisfactory, has been allowed to go on so long. The plea or pleas urged in reply will probably be—That the educational authorities are not aware that the old arrangement has proved unsatisfactory; that Geology is not a subject important enough to require a whole-time lecturer or professor; that, were the subject important enough to require for its adequate treatment a whole-time man, the Educational Department has not money enough to spend on him; or that the present provision is ample, the subject being simple enough to be dealt with by a part-time lecturer with the help of a demonstrator or two, however short the time he could spare from his Survey work. With regard to the plea mentioned last, *viz.*, that the present provision is ample, however short the time the part-time lecturer may spare from his proper Survey duties for lecturing purposes, the reply is that Geology is not so simple a subject as some might suppose, but becomes difficult of comprehension, especially to beginners, on account of the alluvial nature of the surrounding country which must entail additional and extra labour on the part of the lecturer if his boys are to be thoroughly well-grounded in the elements of the subject; and that *prima facie* it is physically impossible for one lecturer, and that lecturer a part-time one and one, again, whose chief interest lies not in these lectures but in work elsewhere, to do even ordinary justice to his subject and to the pupils, however exceptionally brilliant and veteran an educationist he might be; and that as a matter of fact the lecturer is not an educationist at all, having had no previous experience as a lecturer on Geology. But it may be replied in defence that all this is inference and questioned in return whether there are any facts to justify the inference that the students taking degrees in Geology are not thoroughly well-grounded in the elements of their subject. As truly an ounce of fact may be worth more than a bushel of inference, here is a fact or two which the writer can vouch for. In an examination in Geology *higher than the Bachelor's Degree* held a few years ago, in certain (theoretical) paper or papers the majority of the candidates showed a lack of knowledge of such an elementary character that the candidates certainly did not deserve to pass this (higher) degree examination. Yet the names of the candidates were in the list of the successful candidates! 'Oh but', one can almost hear said in reply, 'this was what happened sometime ago and things must have improved since surely?' Well, let us see what story the B.Sc. Examination of 1912, that is, the one latest held, has to tell us. The rumour is that in the Pass Practical there was one question to which the examiner had evidently set great value, but which all or the majority of the candidates failed to answer. And as the failure to answer this question threatened to involve the failure of all or nearly all of the Geology candidates, naturally there was great consternation as well as dilemma. Now

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there was more than one point of special interest involved in this connection. If the question had been of a highly speculative or of an exceptionally stiff character, demanding a knowledge of a very intricate point of Geology, and not one of much practical value or interest, the question could have been passed over, without much harm to anybody. But the question was not of this nature; it was really of an elementary but of a very practical character, so much so that to confer a degree in Geology on a candidate who had not acquired knowledge enough to answer it would certainly have been mockery to Geology. But the candidates (who, it is believed, all came from the Presidency College) declared in a body, on the other hand, that they had not been taught in the class at all how to answer such questions. In the end we find that the candidates were declared to have successfully gone through the examination for the degree. Now certainly it was an injustice to Geology that the candidates should have been declared successful in the examination for the degree; but it was also an injustice to the students that they had not been taught such an elementary, yet essential and practical thing in Geology such as the drawing of a section across a country. But what can the authorities expect? For, as we have repeatedly said, it is simply impossible for a part-time lecturer to do even bare justice to his subject. He must leave out many things however important and essential they may be, from his lectures, which from their fewness can but take in a portion of the syllabus on Geology.

The above should be proof enough that the same old state of things has been and is still going on with the same old result and ought to serve as an eye-opener.

The University Authorities may certainly confer degrees on whomsoever they choose, but unless the candidates possess the ability and competence implied in the possession of such degrees, it ought to be seriously considered whether the graduates are likely to prove a credit or a discredit to themselves, to their *Alma Mater* and to their employers later on.

If what has been stated above is true, the educational authorities need no further proof that the old arrangement so long pursued has not proved satisfactory, and that it requires overhauling and revision, if Geology is to be taught in reality and not in name alone, at the Calcutta Presidency College.

As to the question whether Geology is or is not an important subject and is worth spending more money on it than it costs now, it seems that considering the increasing demand for geologists in connection with the various Economic Inquiries in different parts of India and Burma that have been recently going on and remembering that India appears to be waking up in the matter of industrial pursuits, there can be but one conclusion, *viz.*, that it is certainly an important and useful subject. If Geology then is an important and useful subject, it is certainly worth more money than is spent on it now.* Not only so, it ought to be plain even to a person of ordinary intelligence that it ought to be taught in a manner commensurate with the importance and utility of the subject, or it should not be taught at all. Nothing of value was ever achieved without an equivalent expenditure in labour, pains and money. By having a subject like Geology taught in a half-hearted manner, a great injustice is done not only to the subject, but to the students as well. Provide full facilities for the teaching of the subject in the shape of good lecturers and professors,—professors who will associate with the students, not for 3 to 5 hours a week but from week's end to week's end, will study their wants and difficulties, will feel for and with them, inspiring them with interest and zeal in their subject by their constant example and precept,—and you will see whether Indian boys can become good geologists or not. But if you cannot or will not provide such facilities but are bent on exercising the strictest possible economy you can possibly devise in connection with the subject, then you must not complain if the University cannot turn out men as it is desired it should do, and must give up your ambition and exclude Geology altogether from the curriculum of studies at the Presidency College and have nothing whatever to do with it. For it is not good to be ambitious where one is not prepared to spend adequately. So it would be alto-

* The present lectureship costs about Rs. 200 a month.

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gether preferable—as it would involve injustice to nobody—not to have anything to do with the subject than to pretend to have it taught under the present system. For simply it is not possibly to teach Geology successfully as it is being attempted to be taught now.

On the question whether there is money to spare for Geology, it may be further observed that no one will deny the importance of the study of humanities. By all means let them be taught as fully as possible in our Universities. But while doing this we must not forget that subjects like Geology, in these days when the industrial and material prosperity of a nation is not to be despised, must be given at least as high and prominent a position in our curricula of studies as that of the humanities, if not indeed a higher. That is to say, if we have any money to spend on education at all, a subject like Geology ought to have a first claim, seeing how the development of the mineral resources of a country tends to the material prosperity of a people. This ought to be plain to those who have the real progress of the country at heart.

One thing may be safely predicted here in this connection. That is, should the Educational Authorities persist in their present plan and decline to alter it either in deference to the old system or for fear of offending somebody or other, the consequence will be that we shall soon have critics proclaiming at the house-tops that 'the Bengali students (all or nearly all of the Geology students at the Presidency College being Bengalis) are worthless and thoroughly incapable of appreciating Geology; for, lo and behold! after years of teaching it at the Presidency College at Calcutta, it has not been able to turn out men with a thorough knowledge of the subject, and that this is a circumstance which admits of but one explanation and is proof positive and complete that the Bengalis are not fit for geological work and investigation, and therefore certainly not fit to be employed on the Geological Survey!' Everybody is aware how Anglo-India is prone to generalise when the incapacity of Indians for any executive or scientific work is to be established.

On inquiring whether the Geological Survey of India lends anywhere else any other of its members for lecturing purposes, it appears that while another member is lent to the Madras Presidency College, a third lectures at Poona (Bombay Presidency). Thus we have 3 men from the Geological Survey of India lecturing one at Calcutta, one at Madras and a third at Poona. This deputation of men from the Survey for lecturing purposes to different parts of the country seems rather a unique and singular arrangement; for, so far as the writer is aware, nowhere in England or Scotland is a member of H. M.'s Geological Survey permitted to have anything to do with the teaching of Geology in any of the Universities or private institutions there; and as most of the things done in India are patterned after things English, one naturally wonders why the teaching of Geology in the three chief Indian centres, *viz.*, Calcutta, Madras and Poona, should be in the hands of the Geological Survey of India.

For whose good and advantage then, one may inquire, is this arrangement? We have seen the arrangement is not beneficial but certainly prejudicial to the Calcutta Geology students. The Madras boys are certainly much better off, because the Professor of Geology there, though belonging to the Geological Survey, has to give his whole time and attention to the teaching work and is not permitted to look upon and treat the teaching work as a secondary matter. Poona too seems somewhat better off than Calcutta, for though the lecturer is there during the rainy season (the recess time of the Geological Survey) only, *i.e.*, from May or June to September, he is obliged, while there, to give his whole and undivided time and attention to the boys and not a fraction of his time only.

Thus it is clear that of the three places, Calcutta, Madras and Poona, the Geology students of Calcutta are the worst off, since they never get the benefit of the entire time and attention of their lecturer, who being actively and mainly employed on his Survey duties all the time can but spare a very small fraction of his time and attention for the boys: this lecturing work being naturally and necessarily a matter of secondary interest to him. The Madras boys do not suffer much except from a change of professors every three years, which however is no small disadvantage, in as much as the

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professor must remain there for at least three years. At Poona the geology students are under the present arrangement entirely cut off from their lecturer for about eight months in the year, for the gentleman, being a member of the Survey, goes out on Survey tour from October to April or May. During this period of interregnum either the geological knowledge of the Poona boys remains in entire abeyance, or it takes the boys about 8 months to digest what they had taken in during the preceding four months!

So far as the students are concerned. Looking now at the matter from the side of the lecturers themselves, let us see how they are affected. The man who goes to lecture at Poona is cut off during the months of recess (May to September) from all touch with the Survey. That is to say, for the three years or so he may be engaged to lecture at Poona, he is completely debarred from the advantages of using and consulting the Geological Library, Laboratory and Museum at Calcutta, a very important consideration to a working geologist and must thus be a loser. The Madras man is entirely cut off from all association with the Survey for the entire time (3 years) he works as professor there. That is to say, the three years of his service is entirely lost to the Survey. The time he spends at Madras certainly counts as service towards pension, but as a member of the Geological Survey can retire on pension after 20 years service, he who works as professor at Madras say, once only, *i.e.*, for 3 years, would seem to be entitled to retire really after 17 years of service with the Survey. This must mean some loss to the Survey (or the Government of India, which pays the pension), though the member of the Survey in question suffers no loss. As for Calcutta, the lecturer is certainly not a loser, for while he remains all the time in close association with the Survey, the honorarium paid him for the lectureship, being in addition to his proper Survey salary, is a gain to him. But while personally he may be a gainer, he must be retained at headquarters all the year round for purposes of lecturing at the College, which must mean a loss to the Survey especially should he be a senior man and a valuable man. Should he even be a junior man, his stay at headquarters for any length of time must be a loss to himself in as much as it keeps him from his real work, *viz.*, that of the Geological Survey. So all things considered it ought to be apparent that this system of deputation of Survey men to teach Geology cannot be considered fair, wholesome or beneficial either to the Geological Survey itself or to the Geology students themselves.

So if the present plan is not good either for the Geology students or for the Geological Survey itself, there is no reason why it should be allowed to continue any longer. It was probably started as an experimental measure, at least so far as Calcutta was concerned. A little reflection ought to convince the Geological Survey authorities themselves that by detaching three of its men thus for lecture work, the Survey must lose in strength and working capacity, a loss it can hardly afford (seeing that it is such a small body comparatively) and for which there is no visible and adequate compensation. It may be the arrangement sounds well for the *Namkewaste* of the Geological Survey, as every one can now see that it has the teaching of Geology in whole India also under its complete control! But since this *Namkewaste* business involves unfairness both to the students and the Geological Survey there is no reason for its continuance, except that the *Namkewaste* of the Geological Survey may suffer by its discontinuance. The Calcutta arrangement has been in force for a good many years but the scheme to bring the Madras and Poona lectureships also under its control was apparently planned while Sir Thomas Holland was Director of the Geological Survey. Everybody knows Sir Thomas was a man of wide ambition. So it looks very possible that desirous of keeping under his own control even the teaching of Geology in the different Universities, *viz.*, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, he thought he could best secure this object by deputing men from his own Survey, evidently regardless whether the arrangement would work for good or evil. If the Geological Survey can really spare three men from its staff for teaching work, then the Survey as at present constituted must be overmanned and it would be worth the while of the Secretary of State for India to consider whether the present strength of the Survey should not be reduced. There is dearth of money and cry for financial

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retrenchment everywhere in India. So here is at least one direction for retrenchment and reform to which the attention of the Secretary of State can be invited.

But if on the other hand the present staff of the Geological Survey is all that it really needs, then it cannot possibly spare three men for teaching work without real loss to its proper work. That is to say, it ought to be obvious even to the man in the street that if the Survey is overmanned, its strength should be reduced; and if it is not overmanned, it cannot then spare three men from its small body for educational work without corresponding serious detriment to the proper work of the Survey itself.

It might be urged in defence of the present scheme that it is an advantage to the boys that their lecturers should be members of the Geological Survey, as the lecturers as well as the students should in that case be in close touch with the Survey, and so on. We have seen that the Madras lecturer is entirely cut off from all touch with the Survey during his tenure of professorship there and that the Poona man is in touch with the boys for four months out of a twelve, and though he goes on Survey tour during the field season, he too is practically out of touch with the other members of the Survey for the three years or so he lectures at Poona. The Calcutta man is certainly in closest touch with the Survey undoubtedly. But may we ask here whether this close association either of the lecturer or of the boys at Calcutta with the Geological Survey of India has done the Presidency College or its boys any good? The lectureship at the Presidency College has been instituted more than 20 years, and all along, that is, from the very beginning a member of the Geological Survey has been the lecturer on Geology there. And it cannot be considered impertinent to ask here whether this close association of the boys with the Geological Survey has borne any fruit? Of the many students that must have attended the Geology classes at the Presidency College and taken their degrees, either B.A., B.SC., M.A., or M.SC., has one single student been yet taken on the Geological Survey even as an experimental measure during all these years? The reply is an emphatic "No." Either the lecturer, who, we need not repeat, is a member of the Survey itself, is satisfied with his handiwork, or he is not. That is to say, if he is satisfied that the men who come out as graduates in Geology under him have really mastered their subject (so far as it is possible to do so at College), then some at any rate might have been taken on the Survey for encouragement of the study of Geology at least. But if he thinks that the Calcutta graduates in Geology are not worth their salt, an assumption justified by the complete absence of a single Presidency boy on the Geological Survey list, then the fault must lie either with the boys, or with the system of teaching the subject, *i.e.*, the lecturer. In the case of the defect lying with the boys it would mean that the boys are too stupid to understand and follow Geology and it should then be the plain duty of the lecturer to report the matter to the Educational Authorities and ask them to stop the Geology classes altogether and prevent the further waste of public money. In fact no degrees should have been awarded in Geology. But as a matter of fact graduates have been turning out in fair numbers and so far as the public are aware no such protest as to the incapacity of the boys has ever been heard of. So the presumption is that the system of teaching itself is at fault, that is to say, it is not possible under the present system of a part time lecturer to produce men well grounded in the elements of Geology and thus fit to be placed on the Survey (that the present system of teaching by a part-time lecturer cannot be satisfactory is a conclusion we have, it will have been seen, arrived at from other considerations). And really if this is so, it appears that it should be the duty of the lecturer himself to point out to the Educational Authorities that single-handed it is impossible for him to do justice either to the students or to the subject, and eventually to resign if he found his representations unheeded, as otherwise it must be clear to him that it would be hardly fair to the students to continue the classes under conditions under which neither the students nor the subject itself could be dealt with fairly and conscientiously.

So visibly and outwardly this close touch with the Survey does not seem to have been productive of much good to the Calcutta Presidency College boys. But while not

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one student from the Presidency College has yet been taken on the Geological Survey of India during all these years, the unsatisfactory state of teaching Geology by a part-time lecturer wholly unconnected with the College or University and quite independent of both has, though he may be a member of one of the most distinguished Geological Surveys in the world, threatened to show itself in wholesale or nearly wholesale failure of the candidates at their degree examinations (this year's B.Sc. Examination results will, for example, bear witness to this).

The conclusion therefore one arrives at is that the present arrangement must be regarded as faulty and unsatisfactory; that if the Universities desire to have Geology taught thoroughly, efficiently and well, they must pay for and engage men who will be prepared to give their whole heart to the work and whom the Educational Authorities will be able to hold responsible for seeing that the students are well and efficiently taught, or they could inquire into the reason why, an inquiry they are debarred from making under the present arrangement.

To entertain an apprehension that the Director of the Geological Survey or the Superintendent of the Indian Museum might not give the students the same facilities for study in their museum as they have hitherto been doing, were the lecturer or professor of Geology at the Presidency College unconnected with the Geological Survey of India, would hardly be consistent with their dignity and position. They are honorable men and we cannot doubt that they will be pleased then as they are now to help in the educational work of the students by giving them every facility in their power for the proper study of the subject by allowing liberal access to their library and museum.

J. C. Sen.

THE PRIDE OF NATIONALITY

By N. C. Mehta, b.a. (Cantab).

In the ups and downs of the history of humanity no factor has been more important or played a more dominant part than the element of patriotism. Originating in wandering tribes as a means of co-operation in providing for the few elemental needs of primitive people it assumed manifold forms till it came to be regarded as one of the most exalted and altruistic feelings of man. Operating first in the family group of the paleolithic man it took hold by means of conquest of an ever-increasing number of minds till it was recognised as the chief characteristic of any organised tribe or race.

Biologists teach us that the struggle for existence is keenest among members of the same species and that war is the selective agency of nature that preserves or eliminates the type according as it is suited to the environment or not. Obliged by the exigencies of life the primitive man no less than the modern inspired by feelings of greed and love of power, in his search for the means of livelihood, brought members of different tribes and communities under his dominion. In course of time the conquered became assimilated with the conquerors—became naturalised so to say, and began to share the common life. The sting of hostility was neutralised by the growing love of the land of adoption and by feelings of amity for the newly acquired associations. Centuries passed and the feeling of being aliens was forgotten. New ties of fraternity sprang up as a result of constant intercourse, long-continued residence and perhaps even intermarriage. The old purity of descent began to disappear; the small tribal circle began to expand and absorb new communities that had hitherto remained in isolation. The feeling of pride that had hitherto dominated families of close relations extended its sway over ever-growing

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and expanding communities. Though pure races were extinct, the pride that had animated them, persisted.

Tribal patriotism soon gave way to a feeling based on the hypothesis of common origin. In course of evolution it came to be inseparably connected with territorial possessions. Now it was not a matter of ethnological origin but one of descent and residence. The widening sphere of human activities had destroyed or cut across the simple lines of tribal isolation and amalgamated a heterogeneity of races under a homogeneous rule.

But the persistence of the fighting instinct that had dominated the paleolithic man, rendered the existence of a spirit of fiery patriotism an indispensable condition of existence, and made it the most effective rallying cry to fight against the common foe. In the crude state of civilisation where might is right, patriotism is invariably coupled with a spirit of active militancy. The love of *la patrie* is the sole cementing bond between citizens of diverse social strata, of different avocations, even of antagonistic interests. It is one of the few elements of human nature that appeals to people *en masse* and drowns their differences in an impulse of enthusiasm and a spirit of self-sacrifice for the father-land. It is a disciplinary force that has oft displayed the noblest traits of human character and illuminated many a dark page of history. It is a passion that has evoked the highest energies and appealed to the general sympathies of mankind. Its influence is paramount when the spirit of parasitism is strongest among peoples. It is a virtue only in an imperfect state of civilisation.

In course of evolution the territorial as well as numerical range of this feeling is widened. The narrow sphere of tribal pride is definitely abandoned and merges into the wider sphere of 'national' pride, which is sometimes based neither on race nor on common culture. The development of the nation-states marks an important step towards the ideal of cosmopolitanism. It cuts athwart the lines of ethnological origin and substitutes instead the principle of common sovereignty.

Another stage in the history of patriotism is when it is claimed not on grounds of nationality but of possession of a distinct civilisation. Owing to differences of climate, inherited qualities, opportunities and environments the type of civilisation that grows up in different countries, is different. Hence the phenomenon that at present an Englishman or a German going to China and other oriental countries claims superiority not on grounds of his own particular nationality but of his being a representative of Western civilisation. So the range of that original tribal feeling is enormously extended; it no longer possesses the sharpness of definition and it fundamentally differs from the one that inspires the nations of the modern world. It is the result of the advance of civilisation, of the awakening consciousness and growing enlightenment of mankind.

The primitive feeling in its most modern form has changed almost beyond recognition and appears as if it is losing its *raison d'etre*, and as if humanity is perceptibly approaching the realization of its ideal of universal brotherhood. I mean the rise of Imperialism. It is not new in essence, though its problems are in a way novel. Empires are the effects of ambitions of virile nations, and imperialism is the element that issues from them. Under modern conditions the lot of the subjugated is better than what it was in the days of Imperial Rome. The conquered—if not entirely barbarous, are granted or likely to be granted full rights of citizenship at least theoretically, with those of the victors. The new citizens are preached a gospel of a wider and a higher 'patriotism.' The British Empire is a case in point. The people of those islands have a far greater affinity—both of origin and past traditions with the people of the United States than either with the Boers of South Africa or the French of Canada or the Hindus of Hindustan. Yet the teaching of British imperialism inculcates the unity of the Empire, the ideal of citizenship of Greater Britain. It asks the components of this vast heterogeneous aggregate of territories to cherish not the narrow ideals of national interests but to cultivate a spirit of co-operation for the good, the stability of this mighty edifice of Empire built up by the exploits of the Anglo-Saxon race. British Imperialism proposes to lay aside the narrow allegiance of their respective

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territories and holds out to them the glorious ideal of the common good of the Empire. It appeals to them to unite under one flag, one monarch, and to protect by their mutual efforts this modern Babel of politics against the rising jealousies of rival states. But in its cry for co-operation it upholds the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon race, believes in the dream of world-domination, and rejects the right of equality on the part of the other constituent States of the Empire. It is amalgamation on unequal terms. But an idealism that does not accept equality as its basis cannot be but a dream to disappear at the first flush of consciousness.

Thus Imperialism is not in advance of nationalism but rather an abnormal result of the imfringement of it. The essence of pure nationalism is consideration and equal treatment for others. Neither Jingoism nor Imperialism is the proper fruit of nationalism.

The normal course of civilisation gradually demolishes the barriers erected by tribal isolation; it changes the entire nature of the feeling that animated the primitive man in everything but the name. Only the name remains as the relic of the world that has passed away, of conditions that have through lapse of time become non-existent, of ideas that are now obsolete; it merely persists in order to produce confusion in the minds of the easily confounded; it exists as a striking testimony to the innate conservatism of human nature. Patriotism in its evolution becomes the property of an ever-expanding common wealth, till it is the common feeling of whole mankind. It originates in a certain state of imperfect civilisation, operates exclusively in various commuinities indeed, in friction, giving rise to racial animositism, till at last by degrees it loses its venom and grows into that humanitarian impulse of universal brotherhood - the dream of philosophers. In its higher stages it obliterates all distinctions and emerges into a feeling of General Good. States then become merely the units of efficient administration, not indeed acting against each other but operating as parts of the whole. Racial pride and patriotism are ever vanishing factors in the march of human progress. Amidst the din of growing armaments and the rumours of antagonistic designs and the clouds of wars the discord that is heard and which appears as a result of racial antipathies or national pride, is merely a passing phase of a deeper harmony of the future. The present state is but a passing storm, only a prelude to a scene of lasting placidity.

LORD ISLINGTON'S COMMISSION

LAST year when his Majesty the King Emperor was about to visit India to celebrate his Coronation, it was confidently expected by some oversanguine persons, who are blind believers in the automatic fulfilment of the plighted word, that at last the portals of a military career would be opened to the scions of noble families of Indian birth, and that a royal boon would declare Indians eligible for commands in the British Indian Army. As we all know, these expectations of a military career were dashed to the ground when the Delhi announcements were made.

In the same way there are some who sincerely believe that Lord Islington's Commission will remove all obstacles in the path of our holding the highest civil appointments in the land of our birth. As has already been announced, the Royal Commission on the Civil Services of India has been appointed to enquire into the methods of recruitment, the conditions of service and the working of the existing system and to recommend such changes as may seem expedient. Let us see how far Lord Islington's Commission is likely to fulfil our hopes of a high career in the Civil Service of the Government.

One of the terms of reference reveals the

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attitude of mind with which the Commission is started on its work—'such limitations as still exist on the employment of non-Europeans' will be one of the subjects for investigation. It will be seen that the language is so framed as to suggest that these limitations are very few and growing fewer still with the process of time. But this hardly is the truth. Open any Provincial Civil List, and you will find that there are practically no Indian names in any of the higher branches of service. In the debate on the public services in the Viceroy's Council on the 17th March, 1911, the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir Archdale) Earle had to admit that of late, the number of Indian competitors for the I. C. S., had undergone 'a large falling off.' The Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao, (who, by the way, should in common fairness have been appointed a member of the Commission for his valuable services in bringing the question so prominently before the Government and the public), had no difficulty in pointing out that this was due to the unjust rules by which they had in recent years been handicapped. Since the days of Messrs. R. C. Dutt and K. G. Gupta no Indian has been appointed Commissioner of a division. The self-respect of the few high-placed Indians is bound to be deeply wounded when they find that as a rule, all the most healthy mofussil stations are reserved for European civilians and that departments presided over by Indian officers are shorn of all power and patronage. Only two Indians have been appointed to the Indian Educational Service in the course of the last fifteen years; Indian police officers have been practically deprived of the chance of holding district charges by the creation of a Provincial Police Service; whereas those of the minor Civil Services which had previously been barred to them, *e.g.* the excise and the telegraph, show no signs of unlocking their gates. The salary enjoyed by a European departmental head often exceeds the aggregate pay of all the Indian subordinate officers working under him.

Here, at last, we come to the core of the disease. The superior European services are enormously overpaid, the subordinate services are miserably underpaid. And the remedy is clear: Reduce the salaries attached to the higher posts by employing indigenous agency, and increase the pay of the army of clerks and menials. At least one English member of the commission knows this well. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in his *Awakening of India*, says :—

"We may expect a relative diminution in the number of Europeans in the service, and the demand of the Indian that Civil Service Examinations shall be held in India will receive augmented support.....At present policemen, chuprassies, lower grade clerks, and others at the bottom of the service receive so little wages that they must accept and even exact bribes in order to live at all."

As for Indian clerks, after lucubrating for many years, the Ministerial Officers' Salaries Committee have published their recommendations. The pay of certain posts has no doubt been increased, but the number of officers has been reduced, so as to keep the total increase of expenditure within modest limits, and by the time the scheme is likely to come into full operation, the strength of the staff and the scale of pay will both be found to be so inadequate that another committee will have to be appointed to devise a new scheme. It is apt to be forgotten that as bricks cannot be made without straw, so no real improvement can be effected unless the government is willing to open its purse-strings a little wider on behalf of its Indian employees.

Whenever complaint is made regarding the poor prospects of Indians under the British Government, we are referred to the less than half a dozen members of the various Executive Councils and the little more than a dozen Judges of the various High and Chief Courts. But it is conveniently forgotten that in the case of the other high appointments the claims of the children of the soil are simply ignored, and these, forming the vast majority of high civil appointments, are usually filled by Europeans.

It was partially to remedy this glaring injustice that the Public Service Commission recommended in 1887 that at least one-sixth of the covenanted charges usually open to Civilians, should, under the name of 'listed' posts, be made available for Provincial Service Officers. When the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao moved a resolution in the Imperial Council in March 1911 for the appointment of a commission 'to consider the claims of Indians to higher and more extensive employment in the Public

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Service,' the Hon'ble Home Secretary said in reply that 'the appointment of a commission would merely mean waste of time and labour' and he proceeded to point out that sixty-three 'listed' posts still remained to be filled up by the Provincial Service Officers and that the Government of India would lose no time in communicating with the Local Governments as to whether all these posts could not be filled up at once. The Government displayed so much enthusiasm in this matter that the Hon'ble mover of the resolution was assured that considerable progress in the direction indicated would be made in the course of the year. This was in 1911, but the next year we find that the appointment of as many as sixty-three Indians to high executive and judicial posts proved too much for our generous bureaucracy, and the 'waste of time and labour' involved in the appointment of a commission was considered a more expedient way of dealing with those troublesome Indians who, like Mr. Subba Rao, were disposed not to forget the question. And so we read in the papers that the schemes for the improvement of the Provincial Educational and other services which were on the point of being forwarded to the Secretary of State for sanction have been once more held up *sine die*, after passing through the unusually prolonged period of incubation which all schemes, intended to benefit mere Indians, have invariably to pass through in this country.

For what, in truth, do we find to be the real object of the commission? It is revealed in the following passage of Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons in connection with the Indian budget debate on July 30 last :

"The Indians with whom the young Indian civil servant comes into contact will be better educated, with a wider knowledge of other countries and of the world, as the years go by. As we improve our system of education, and as we increase the capacity for the expression of popular opinion, and as Indians come over to this country, not only government students, not only Indian princes, but zemindars and merchants, and travel in Europe, learning of England at its best and at its worst, it becomes all the more important that we should not risk any deterioration of our service but that we should give to India, as we have undoubtedly done in the past, the very best material we can. It is obvious that to open both the Home and Indian civil services to one examination gives us a wider choice, because it gives to the candidate a choice of profession when he passes the examination, but it will be for the commission to consider how far now-a-days it results in our getting only the leavings of the Home Civil Service and how far, further, an examination which can admittedly be passed mainly by cramming is the best possible way of securing our Indian Civil servants."

The success of the Indian Civil Service, which only a few sentences earlier in his speech Mr. Montagu, in common with every one else who wants to tickle the national vanity of Englishmen, described as "the marvel of the whole world and a source of continued pride to the people of Great Britain", was therefore proving itself to be less and less reliable, in as much as it was such success only as could be expected from 'the leavings of the Home Civil Service' who had passed an Examination 'mainly by cramming.' The object of the commission thus is, so to recruit the Indian Civil Service as to enable it to cope the better with the more educated and wide-awake Indian public of the present day. The questions which are suggested by Mr. Montagu for the commission to solve—*e.g*, Is the year's probation long enough? Is it spent to the best possible advantage under the present system?—are as old as the hills and have been discussed *ad nauseam*. In practical usefulness the discussion of these tinkering remedies is on a par with the wellknown metaphysical disquisition of our Pundits about the cup and the oil—the root-questions, questions affecting principle rather than detail, do not seem to figure very largely in Mr. Montagu's speech.

That the entire subject is handled from the standpoint of the European Civil Service and not of the people of the country will further appear from another point mentioned by Mr. Montagu for the consideration of the Commission. It is—

"Ought not the training they (our Indian Civil Servants) receive to be supplemented by more intimate knowledge of our legal procedure in this country? Might not certain difficulties of our Indian judicial system be overcome by some such means as these?"

What these 'difficulties' are, may be gleaned from the recent articles of ex-Judge Batty in the *East and West* for May last and Sir Henry Prinsep in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*. They arise, in short, from the fact that the subordinate Indian judiciary and the Indian Bar ('The Vakil Raj' of Sir Henry Prinsep) have proved their unmistakeable superiority to the Civilian Judges in legal learning and judi-

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cial capacity. If the intention of the government, as declared in repeated royal proclamations, had been to appoint Indians to the highest posts they had proved themselves qualified for, it would have welcomed this opportunity of displacing the costly Civilian element on the Bench by less expensive Indian lawyers of proved ability and worth. This is however a remedy of which Mr. Montagu, the Ex-Judges above-mentioned, and the Government alike fight shy. They are all for 'giving to India of their best' in such matters, not for allowing Indians to supply the needs of their own country out of their best, even where, as in the case of the subordinate and the district judicial appointments, the best that India is able to give is admittedly much better than what the European Civil Service can afford to spare. After this, Mr. Montagu's fine sayings about 'the problem before us' being to give educated Indians 'the fullest opportunity in the government of their country' appear to us to be nothing more nor less than unmitigated Pecksniffian trash. But the following extract from ex-Judge Batty, urging the I. C. S. not to relax its hold on the Indian Judicial posts on any account, beats anything that we have come across in the shape of sanctimonious assumption of altruism to disguise a most barefacedly selfish advice:

"But it would seem to me a desertion of the great trust and the lofty duties which Englishmen have taken upon themselves in attempting to aid India in governing herself, if we were to cry off from the task of fitting ourselves—and the rising generations of Civilians—for the work we have undertaken of administering justice and supervising its administration in India on the lines recognised by the most advanced civilisations of the world."

The truth is, any amount of fine words will not be a substitute for action. But we know why fine words are all that we can expect. The vested interests of powerful classes of Englishmen are affected, and hence all this verbal jugglery, these long delays, these repeated consultations, this driving from pillar to post, this marking time, and not a single actual step in advance. There are some high appointments made by the Secretary of State from outside the ranks of the covenanted European Services, and there are others reserved exclusively for such services. But outsiders or civilians, both the classes are eager to bear 'the white man's burden' in India as long as they possibly can. The I. C. S. would however like to see the former posts abolished, for they do not improve but rather interfere with their prospects, and the Secretary of State would not object to bring some of the latter within the sphere of a policy of retrenchment rendered necessary by a decreasing opium revenue and expanding sanitary and educational expenditure. But in both cases the vested interests involved set up a mighty hullabaloo, with the result that neither class of appointments, reserved almost exclusively for Europeans, suffers any diminution of pay and prospects, and the administration has to find the cost of these expensive appointments by cutting down, say, the expenditure on the native Indian army. Those who have followed the recent history of some of the Director-Generalships and Inspector-Generalships will have no difficulty in recognising the truth of our remarks.

It is the same everywhere—the weak must go to the wall, despite loud professions of sympathy. 'It is necessary to have a European element in almost all the services,' sapiently observes Mr. Montagu. As if the European element is in any danger of being eliminated, and the question is not how to give the Indian element some chance of entering the superior services from which they are now practically debarred. The *Pioneer*, following the clue supplied by Mr. Montagu himself, supports in most unexceptionable language the theoretical claims of Indians to high appointments, but the moment an attempt, however halting and moderate, to reduce the theory into practice is apprehended, it professes, on behalf of the European Civil Service, to entertain a grave doubt if Indians had not already got more than their fair share of the loaves and fishes of office, knowing very well that though the exact opposite of this was true, the suggestion will have its effect on Lord Islington's Commission. This is how falsehood, backed by power, forces its way to the seat of authority, and gains recognition at its hands. The good old rule—

> That they should take who have the power
> And they should keep who can

still governs the affairs of men in this mundane world.

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HISTORY OF THE SILK, WOOL, AND JUTE INDUSTRIES OF INDIA DURING THE LAST CENTURY*

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Section I.

Silk Industry.

Early history.

INDIA has been famous for her silk goods from time immemorial. It is difficult to decide whether sericulture was indigenous† to India or that it was brought to India from China. However the travellers of the middle ages, and of the later times, speak in high terms of the Indian silk goods which were exported to various countries. Varthema (*Travels*, 1510) mentions that the vast silk trade of India was concentrated at Patna, Cambay, and Muslipatam. Sir Thomas Roe wrote in 1616 of "Silks of Bengala plenty at reasonable prices." The Dutch carried on a large trade in Indian silk manufactures from an early date; but the first references to the export of silk goods by the English date from 1617. From some letters of the East India Company in 1620 it would seem that the Company had weaving 'factories' for silk at Surat and at Agra, and that orders were given for the establishment of silk filatures at Patna. Terry in his "*Voyage to East Indies*" (1655) described the natives of India as very clever in the art of weaving cotton, silk, and woollen cloths. Bernier (*Travels* 1656—8, 439-40) wrote "There is in Bengale such a quantity of cotton and silks that the kingdom may be called the common store-house for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindoustan or the Empire of the Great Moghul only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms and even of Europe." Travernier (*Travels in India 1676 ed. Ball* ii. 2-3) tells us that in his time Kassimbazaar a village in the kingdom of Bengal, furnished about 22,000 bales of it annually, each bale weighing 100 lbs. "The Dutch generally took either for Japan or for Holland 6000 to 7000 bales of it and they would have liked to get more but the merchants of Tartary and of the whole Moghul Empire opposed their doing so, for these merchants took as much as the Dutch, and the balance remained for the people of the country for the manufacture of their own stuffs. All these silks are brought to the kingdom of Gujarat, and the greater come to Ahmedabad and Surat where they are woven into fabrics."

Bernier also informs us that—

'The Dutch sometimes employed 700 to 800 Natives in their silk factory at Kassimbazaar where in like manner the English and other merchants employed a proportionate number.'

18th Century.

This early silk trade was continued in 17th and 18th centuries; though the silk manufactures of India were discouraged in England, importation of Indian raw silk was encouraged. With the establishment of the East India Company's trade and authority, the exports of silk went on increasing. The quality of the raw silk, however, being unsatisfactory the company made systematic attempts to improve it: with this view Mr. Richard Wilder (an Italian expert) was sent to Bengal in 1757, and Mr. Joseph Ponchon

* This forms a part of the writers' "History of Indian Manufactures during the last Century," and should be read with the chapter on Cotton Manufactures which appeared in the April 1912 issue of this Magazine.

† Sanskrit literature abounds in numerous words for 'silk' such as *Kouseya Patta, Patta Pattaja* (Mahabharat 2,51,26), *Krimija, Krimija Sutra, Kittantu Kitaja*, which express not only the weaving of silk cloth but also a knowledge of the rearing the cocoon. The word for silkworm is *Pundarika* and silk rearers in Bengal are still known as Pundarikakshas or Pundas. Moreover, there are references, *e.g.*, by Manu, to certain mountain tribes—*Pundarikas*—who carried on sericulture. The occurrence of various species of Mulberry in a wild form throughout the Himalayas at altitudes between 500 and 4000 ft. is also an argument for the indigenous character of the industry.

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in 1761 to improve and organise the industry. The increasing importance of the exports of raw silk can be judged from the fact that" in 1768 the Court of Directors advised the Government of India that it was to the increase in raw silk that they looked chiefly for the means of bringing home their revenue." As a result of this suggestion, by 1771 the quality of Indian silk had been improved by the introduction of Chinese aud Italian eggs and by the adoption of Italian methods of growing the mulberry, rearing the cocoon and reeling the silk. The silk obtained by this new method was met with a favourable reception in the markets of Europe and by 1772 was able to displace the silk imported from Valentia, Aleppo and Calabria. Soon a large and prosperous export trade was established, which was met with by the farms and factories of the East India Company. However, this prosperity did not last long; with the retirement of the Company from the Industry, private enterprise in India was unable to compete with the more successful and scientific methods of sericulture introduced into France and Italy. Consequently, after the acclimatisation of the silkworm in these countries (in 1830), the Indian industry languished by the decreased demand, until the quantity became so impoverished as not to permit of competition with Europe. However, after 1858 when it was discovered in England that waste silk could be carded and spun like cotton, a demand for silk waste and wild silks of India resulted in increased exports; at present the bulk of the exports of Indian silk consist of the latter, while a minor portion only consists of reeled silk. Thus it appears that though in 1780, "Indian silk was so good in quality as to drive out all competitors from the European Market, save China and Italy, in 1884 it was so bad that European manufacture could not buy it." It had gradually lost its reputation from want of quality. "But the silk itself, that is the fibre as it rested in the cocoon, has not altered in these hundred years. The method of reeling it from the cocoons has not kept pace with that of other countries; it has in fact fallen back, and gone worse until Indian silk has lost its place in the world's market, and, worse still, the manufacturers in India, (who generally use China or Bokhara silk) except in some parts of Bengal, do not buy it." The Bengal silk if properly reeled has several properties which peculiarly fit it for sewing-silk and for weaving purposes but there are two defects,† *viz.*, the very defective way in which it is reeled from the cocoon and the difficulty of winding it when reeled, which have diminished its use. The following figures show the export of raw silk during the century :—

19th Century.

Exports of raw silk during the century.

	lbs.		lbs.	Value in lakhs of Rs.
1772	180,000	1867-8	2,226,201	155
1785	324,307	1877-8	1,512,819	70
1792	400,000	1880-1	1,300,000	55
1805	835,904	1890-1	1,460,000	52
1825	919,436	1900-1	1,604,275	51
1834	1,203,512	1908-9	1,833,644	54
1835	727,535	1909-10	2,075,612	50
		1911-12	1,749,946	45

A singular feature of these returns appears to be the reduction in value inspite of increase in bulk of exports; this is due to the fact that as much of the exported silk as 66 per cent. is silk waste, while only 34 per cent. represents reeled silk. Thus during 1900-1. out of the 1,604,275 lbs of total silk exported 1,030,523 lbs consisted of *chasam* or waste, 13976 lbs of cocoons and only 559776 lbs. of reeled silk. A great portion of the exports go from Bengal, which contributes about 75 per cent. and from Madras, which (through Mysore) contributes 90 per cent. while the rest consists of the exports of the Kashmir silk through Bombay. Out of these exports about three-fourths go to France and approximately one-fourth to the United kingdom. It is also a significant fact that while the total exports of raw silk (great portion of which consists of waste silk) seem to be expanding, India has to import large and increasing quantities of

Imports of raw silk.

* Dr. J. F. Royle, *Productive Resources of India*, London 1840.

† Opinion of Sir Thomas Wardle in the Proceedings of a Conference on silk held in the Office of the Revenue and Agricultural Department of the Government of India at Calcutta on 8th January, 1886, p.2. Also refer to the Handbook of sericulture by N. G. Mukerji, Calcutta, 1906.

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the same from other countries for the manufacture of her famous silk goods: this is shewn by the figures for the last ten years

	Imports of Raw (reeled) Silk.	Exports of Total Silk (reeled and waste).
1901-2 ...	2,128,483 lbs. / 80,46,200 Rs.	... 1,935,761 lbs. / 66,34,209 Rs.
1909-10 ...	2,330,185 lbs. / 97,70,000 Rs.	... 2,075,612 lbs. / 50,76,000 Rs.
1911-12 ...	2,239,105 lbs. / 105,97,000 Rs.	... 1,749,946 lbs. / 45,84,000 Rs.

It will be seen that in 1911-12, the imports exceeded the exports by 472,145 lbs or 2 per cent. in amount; while taking the values, the value of the imports is nearly three times that of the exports. Bombay is responsible for a large part (80 per cent.) of the Imports; the Handlooms in Gujarat, and the Punjab together with the silk factories in the City of Bombay are among the most important consumers. The large import trade is carried on between Bombay and China mainly as a consequence of the cheap freights by the return opium steamers to Bombay. It would then appear that while Bengal is the largest producer of raw silk, Bombay is the largest consumer and importer in India. It need not be explained that the large exports may indicate the capacities of the country for the production of silk of indifferent quality; but the larger imports indicate the immense wants of India, and her depressed sericulture, while pointing out the scope and necessity for development of the industry along scientific lines. On the whole, the silk trade of India at present shows that she cannot be said to be a producer of raw silk but rather an importer and consumer of a commodity for which she was once famous among the trading nations of the world.

Silk Manufactures.

Turning to silk manufactures we have to repeat the same doleful story of ruin and desolation as that of the cotton manufactures. As already indicated, from early times down to the middle of the 17th century, India exported large quantities of silk goods; this soon attracted the notice of the English merchants who obtained first the imposition of heavy duties, and then the prohibition of their importation into England till as late as 1826. As Dr. Wilson pointed out, the Indian goods were so cheap and good that they could be sold with profit inspite of heavy duties; and the removal of the prohibition, after a period of about 30 years, when the silk manufactures of India were thought to have died out, soon showed the strength of the silk industry of India. After the removal of the prohibition in 1832 the imports of silk goods increased so greatly that the British silk exports to France (where Indian goods were preferred) soon decreased as can be seen from the following Table *:—

Prohibition in England.

Exported from the United Kingdom to France.

Years.	British silk goods.	Indian Bandannas and Handkerchiefs.
	£	£
1832 ...	50,600	29,500
1833 ...	36,300	60,400
1834 ...	32,700	77,700
1835 ...	16,800	114,400
1836 ...	15,600	107,600
1837 ...	10,000	174,500
1838 ...	9,400	202,200
1839 ...	5,500	168,500

Apart from the invidious prohibition of silk imports in England, "as early as 1769, the Directors wished the manufacture of raw silk to be encouraged in Bengal, and that of silk fabrics discouraged; and they also directed that silk winders should be made to work in the Company's factories and prohibited from working outside 'under severe penalties, by the authority of the Government."†

The following description of the methods of East India Company, by an Englishman who had lived in India shows how the industry was depressed by the undue interference of stringent laws:—

"The East India Company competed with the private trader in the production of raw silk. They had their commercial residents established in the different parts of the silk districts, whose emoluments mainly depended on the quantity of the silk they secured for the company who permitted these agents (or Residents as they were called) to charge them a certain commission on its value. The system pursued by both the parties was this:—Advances of money before each bund or crop, were made to two classes of persons—first to the cultivators who reared the cocoons; next to the

* Quoted by R. C. Dutt, in "India in the Victorian Age", 1906, p. 118, from the Evidence of Joseph Tucker, a silk merchant, before the Commons committee of 1840.

† R. C. Dutt's Economic History of India under Early British Rule, p. 256.

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large class of winders who formed the mass of the population of the surrounding villages. By the first the raw material was secured, by the last the labour for working it. The advances were regarded as legal earnest money, or as pledged by the receivers to confine their dealings to the party disbursing it. The larger the quantity of the silk the Resident provided for his masters, the greater was his remuneration—a state of things which naturally created a jealousy between the functionary and the private trader, as their interests clashed. But there was no equality in the competition, the one being armed with arbitrary power, the other not. I will state a case of everyday occurrence. A native wishing to sell me the cocoons he produces for the season takes my advance of money; a village of winders does the same. After this contract is made, two of the Resident's servants are despatched to the village, the one bearing a bag of rupees, the other a book, in which to register the names of the recepients. In vain does the man to whom the money is offered, protest that he has entered into a prior engagement with me. If he refuses to accept it, a rupee is *thrown into his house*, his name is written before the witness who carries the bag and that is enough. Under this iniquitous proceeding, the Resident, by the authority committed to him, forcibly siezes *my* property and *my* weavers even at *my* own door. Nor does the oppression stop here. If I sued the man in court for the repayment of money I had been thus defrauded of, the judge was compelled before granting a decree in my favour to ascertain from the Commercial Resident whether the defaulter was in debt to the East India Company. If he was, a prior decree was given to the Resident and I lost my money. Another weapon in the hands of the Resident was the settlement of the prices to be paid to the cultivators at the close of each season, the East India Company's price regulating that of the private trader. The higher the price, the greater his commission—the money was not his own, and his master had a long purse."*

Decline of the Industry.

In the face of such difficulties as indicated above, the silk manufactures of India met the same fate as that of cotton manufactures. The winders and the manufacturers of silk were in the hands of the Company whose policy was to export raw silk rather than the manufactured product. Moreover, the dependence of the winders of weavers on the Company led to moral degeneration which was seen at its worst after the retirement of the Company from trade in 1833. Since that date, for want of the usual control, the goods declined in quality with a corresponding diminution in demand for Indian goods, owing to the causes already described. Though the quality of the Indian silk had been deteriorating, that of the manufactures of silk was not spoiled. This is explained by Wardle:* "The Indians, like the Chinese and Japanese, have never cared so much for what in Europe is termed excellence of quality, which means for the most part mechanical regularity in texture and pattern, and although they have had to weave with threads often much varying in regularity and thickness, yet they have down today managed somehow or other, if they had a pattern to weave, to put so to speak soul into it and to raise it above the commonplace fabrics so often produced in modern Europe." It would seem that the excellence of Indian goods lay in the Artistic Skill of the weaver rather than the quality of the raw produce; and that this skill being unaccompanied by mechanical arts, or technical knowledge, just as in the case of woollen and cotton manufactures, could not stand with the progressing methods of European countries. The downfall of the Indian Industry is indicated by the following figures, which show a fall in the value of manufactured exports and steady rise in that of the Imports of foreign silks:—

Exports and Imports of silk goods.

EXPORTS.		IMPORTS.	
1819	468 bales.	1849	£ 120,000
1824	1,105 ,,	1858	£ 100,000
1827	971 ,,	1869	£ 480,000
1849	£ 302,322	1879	Rs. 90,00,000
1858	£ 158,224	1881-2	Rs. 135,00,000
1881-2	Rs. 28,84,000	1885-6	Rs. 120,00,000
1886-7	Rs. 32,00,000	1890-1	Rs. 170,00,000
1896-7	Rs. 16,00,000	1895-6	Rs. 120,00,000
1800-1	Rs. 12,54,000	1901-2	Rs. 14,847,00
1903-4	Rs. 8,00,000	1903-4	Rs. 183,34,000
1906-7	,, 686,000	1906-7	Rs. 182,50,000
1909-10	,, 817,000	1909-10	Rs. 226,00,000
		1911-12	Rs. 265,50,000

This table indicates that just as in the case of raw silk, the imports of silk goods have increased steadily while the exports have also been sinking. India has lost her former position in the foreign market; and further she is no longer able to supply her own demands, and has to import both raw silk and silk goods in increasing amounts, much to the discomfiture of her silk rearers and handloom weavers. The *exports* have fallen from 28 lakhs in 1881 to 8 lakhs in 1909; while the imports have

* The personal narrative of two years imprisonment in Burmah 1824—26 by Henry Gouger. London John Murray, 1860, p. 2, quoted in the Modern Review, May 1908.

* "Silk: its Entomology, History, and Manufacture" by Thomas Wardle, London, 1887, p. 16.

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swollen from 135 lakhs to 226 lakhs during the same period. Bengal contributes about 80 per cent. of the export, Bombay 15 per cent. and the rest is divided between Burma and Madras; these exports are mainly to the United Kingdom, which absorbs as much as 50 per cent., and in smaller quantities to France, Arabia, and other minor countries. The *imports* are mainly from Japan and China which are together responsible for 91·3 per cent. of the total, the rest being shared in by France, Italy, and the United Kingdom; Bombay shares 70 per cent. of this trade, Burma 22·5 per cent. and Bengal 5·6 per cent. only.*

Causes of Decline.

Among the causes of the decline of the silk industry may be mentioned the strength of the competitors who like those in France, Italy and Japan are supported by the Government, giving bounties or subsidies on production. Thus in France foreign silk goods are charged with an import duty, while the home industry is protected by means of a subsidy of half a franc for every kilogramme of cocoon produced; this amounts to 3 annas per lb. Moreover the scientific side of sericulture is little known or practised in India; this has tended to lower the quality of Indian silk which, though at present inferior, may be improved to the European standard by the adoption of modern methods. It is recommended† that European cocoons should be imported, and that the present cost of rearing them be reduced by growing well-manured mulberry trees instead of shrubs: scientific methods should be practised for combating silkworm epidemics, and improved machinery should be used for the proper reeling of cocoons.

Present condition.

However, the case of Indian silk Industry is not quite hopeless, though depressed. There have been started recently several powerloom factories in Bombay and Calcutta, and Ahmedabad. In 1907, there were in India 59 silk filatures and 3 silk mills worked by mechanical power and 15 silk filatures and 4 mills not worked by machinery. Besides, the artistic handloom work is still holding its own. "The Corah silks of Bengal, rudely produced by looms that would raise the smile and wonder of the Europeans, the coarse Tussur fabrics woven in the same and other districts, the magnificent kinkhabs of Benares, Ahmedabad, and Surat, in which gold and silver form such important decorative features, the plainer silks of Delhi, the delicate and beautiful silks of Thana, the lovely brocades of Surat, incomparable for living beauty and Arabian grace of design, the ruder though not less interesting silks of Peshawur and the surrounding country, the satins of Asimgurh, Amedabad, Surat, Dhrangadhra and Kathiawar, the wonderfully constructed patterns of the *patola* weaving with 'tie and dye' warp and woof, the silks of Berhampore, Cambay, Cutch, Indore, Kathiawar and Bombay, all testify not only to the skill achieved by Indian dyers and weavers during many ages, but also for the fascinations which have held these people spellbound in the production of their fabrics of mystery and beauty."* India still possesses the artistic skill of her weavers and what is wanted is a better organisation of the industry on modern scientific methods. By the recent improvements in sericulture introduced in various experimental farms in different parts of Bengal, Madras, Burma and Assam and by the State help to the industry, it is possible that the revival of this great industry of India may be realised in near future. Kashmir and Mysore have already made good progress, and it is to be hoped that their success will open the eyes of others.

Section II.

Woollen Industry.

Woollen Manufactures.

The woollen Industry of India is of a very ancient date; woollen fabrics are mentioned in Rigveda in hymns to Pushan the god of the shepherds. Manusmriti mentions wool as a pure material fit for making sacrificial thread, and for wearing while performing sacrifices, etc. Though the woollen goods were thus known in India since a very long time, they

* *Review of Trade of India*, 1909-10, p. 34.

† For more detailed suggestions, reference may be made to Mr. Mukeji's books, or to the papers read before the Industrial Conferences and to a paper by Mr. N. G. Aiyangar in Journal of South Indian Association for April, 1911.

* Wardle-Loc. Cit. pp. 15—6.

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did not form an article of commerce like the cotton and silk goods. The reason was probably twofold, *viz.*, the want of necessity for woollen clothes in the tropical climate of India, and the absence of wool of good quality—which varies with climate, becoming less curly, less scaly, less soft, and more hairy as we pass from the temperate to the tropical zone. However, the manufacture of shawls besides that of the coarse woollen cloth for the poor was practised in the hilly tracts of Kashmir, and the Punjab for consumption by the rich, The Ain-i-akbari (1590) and Bernier (1658) reportthe industry (introduced in the Punjab from Kashmir by Akbar) to be in a flourishing condition. This shawl industry was a very prosperous handicraft in bygone times but is now merely a shadow, being displaced by cheap machine-made European goods. Dr. A Mitra writes ("Arts and Industries of Kashmir State")—

Early History.

"There was a time when 60,000 persons were employed in the shawl weaving industry, and brought 50 laks of rupees to the State:"

but now only a few shawls are made for local consumption. These Kashmir shawls were very much valued as marks of nobility, preserved as family relic from time to time, not only in India but in Europe also. The French nobility had caught a strong liking for these shawls, and the French traders, who annually came to India to buy them, spoiled the artistic conceptions of the shawl-weavers and caused their ruin by introducing new styles to suit the changing fashions of Paris*. In the words of Sir George Walt—

"It was perhaps an unfortunate circumstance that the French Nobility sought out these expensive shawls. French traders visited Kashmir to purchase their annual supplies and year by year dictated the changes in style which they deemed necessary to suit the ever-changing fashions of Paris. An incalculable injury to the art-conceptions of the Kashmir people was a necessary consequence of this new trade, and when the Franco-Prussian War put a complete check on the demand, the Kashmir weavers who had become dependent on their French customers were ruined. Meantime, Paisley had imitated completely and successfully the Kashmir shawls, and at a price far below the hand-weavers could accept. Although these imitation shawls had the severity of all powerloom fabrics, they reproduced every detail of the originals, were marvellously woven and extremely beautiful and delicate in texture, so much so that by many they were preferred to the more clumsy though more artistic shawls of Kashmir. The cheapening process soon, however, effected its own ruin. Paisley shawls became so common as to cease to be popular. The demand terminated, and the Paisley new Industry had to be abandoned, its expensive and ingenious machinery sold as old iron, and its weavers converted into sewing-thread-spinners, just as the bulk of the Kashmir shawl-weavers had to become either carpet-weavers or agriculturists. But Paisley has recovered from the loss of its shawl-weaving industry; Kashmir has not."*

Effect of French influence, and of the Paisley mills.

The Indian shawls were very highly valued in England also, and so the East India Company exported them in large quantities, together with cheaper "chadars" and other woollen goods, towards the end of the 18th century. But the jealousy of the English woollen manufacturer was soon roused, and an import duty of a prohibitive nature was soon levied. In 1812, Indian woollen goods paid a duty of 71 per cent. on being imported into England; in 1824 it was 67½ per cent; and in 1832 it was reduced to 10 per cent. The effect of these heavy duties need not be described as it was quite similar in operation to the other duties on silk and cotton goods. Moreover, imitation shawls were produced at Paisley by means of machinery and so were very cheap though the quality could not be as fine as the Indian. Sir Thomas Munro while giving evidence before the Committee of 1813, expressed a very high idea of the excellence of the Indian manufactures of his time:—

Duties on Indian shawls in England.

"Paisley Shawls are hard and hairy and have the greatest defect of throwing off their wool by wearing: Indian shawls do not show this defect....I have used a shawl myself in India as a kind of blanket in cold weather upon my couch, and I found very little difference in it after having used it for seven years....I have never seen any shawls of European manufacture of equal quality or inferior price to those made in India: I have never seen an European shawl that I would use even if it were given to me as a present."†

* "The Cashmere trade in Shawls has been ruined through the quickness with which the weavers have adopted the "improved shawl patterns" which the French agents of the Paris Import-Houses have set before them—Birdwood's Industrial Arts of India, p. 134.

* Sir George Walt. "Commercial Products of India," London, John Murray, 1908, p. 1127.

† Minutes of Evidence on the East India Company's

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Thus, Munro had laughed out the idea of the Paisley shawls displacing the Indian shawls. However, the ruin of the industry was worked out by the prohibitive duties upon their importation to England which was the only market for Indian goods, (the French market being closed during and after the Franco-German War). In this period, cheap British woollen goods were being poured into India almost duty free.

"The result was that from 1828 to 1838, the total importation from India had not averaged more than £28,000 per annum. By stopping this trade British manufacturers were not benefited, as the shawls of England were mostly made on the continent."*

These diminishing exports soon saw their end in the middle of the century since which time we do not find India exporting woollen goods, but on the contrary importing large amounts of these annually.

Handloom weaving of wool.

The industry is not utterly extinct as the last sentence would indicate. Besides the mills, which will be referred to a little later, a fair amount of handloom work is yet done in producing the shawls and chadars, and the woollen-pile carpets. The chief centres are in the northern India—including Kashmir, Sind, the Punjab and the United Provinces. Coarse blankets, carpets, rugs, "pattu," and "pashmina" are produced mainly for local consumption. The shawl industry of Punjab proper (though not very extensive) may be said to date from 1833, when many of the weavers left Kashmir in a year of flood and famine. The carpet industry of Northern India was the result

Export and Import Trade

of "the interest aroused by the carpets sent from India to the London Exhibition of 1851." Inspite of this development, it seems that the woollen fabric industry is declining and that raw wool is exported rather than worked in India.

EXPORTS AND IMPORT RETURNS IN LAKHS OF RUPEES.

	Exports of Raw wool.	Imports of Raw wool, (in Bombay) mainly.	Exports of woollen goods.	Imports of woollen goods.
1876-7	107	5·3	9·6	77·5
1898-9	172·4	12·0	25·6	162·3
1900-1	122·9	...	34·2	219·6
1902-3	141·5	...	28·6	150·5
1904-5	215	9·1	28·9	317·7
1906-7	272	8·6	28·2	222
1908-9	209	...	...	291
1909-10	286	...	...	208
1911-12	255	...	...	340

The above figures indicate the state and progress of the Indian woollen Industry. While the internal demand, as judged by the increasing imports, is steadily rising, raw wool has been exported in increasing quantities. They also show that inspite of the progress of the Indian woollen mills, the exports of Indian woollen fabrics have not increased nor the imports of foreign goods diminished. Thus India exports the raw produce in large quantities and at the same time imports woollen goods in still larger quantities.

Powerloom Factories.

However, the woollen mills that were started in the eighties of the last century form a healthy and promising feature of the Indian woollen industry. The progress of the mills, and the history of their growth is best told by the following table :—

	1876	1886	1896	1900-1	1904-5	1906	1907
No. of Mills	1	4	6	4	6	6	6*
Capital in lakhs of Rs.	0	18	32·5	44·5	46·25	46·25	46·25
Spindles	0	5,420	18,658	22,986	25,931	27,105	28,868
Looms	0	242	530	549	737	759	820
Persons	0	1,375	3,017	2,874	3,468	3,402	3,487
Production { lbs–		798,062	2,345,570	3,406,962	3,508,700	2,827,000	2,944,705
Production { lakhs of Rs.		5·2	24·9	30·2	36·7	34·8	34·1

The progress made by the above mills during the last twenty years is noteworthy, though mainly due to European capital and enterprise; the kind of fabrics manufactured by the mills upto 1898 consisted "chiefly of blankets, serges, and cloths worn by the Army, and the police." Since then, however,

Affairs, presented to the Select Committee of House of Commons, London. 1813, p. 323.

* Evidence of Mr. Montgomery Martin before Committee of 1840, quoted by R. C. Dutt Loc. Cit., p. 114.

* Out of these six mills the one at Cawnpore employed in 1907, 1815 persons, the other at Dhariwall employed 1036, while the three mills at Bombay together employed 393 men and the sixth at Bangalore employed only 243 persons, on a daily average.

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the range of production is extending, and at present include some European patterns *e.g.*, broadcloths, serges, flannels, tweeds, travelling rugs, etc., worsted, knitting-yarns, Berlin wool, knitted goods like socks, jerseys, and hosiery etc. The raw material used by these mills is either Indian wool for the lower qualities, or, English or Australian for the higher qualities, and a mixture of both in some cases, and this is probably the cause of the swelling of the imports of raw wool; sometimes the imports include Indian wool bleached and cleaned in European countries. Though the progress indicated above may appear to be great, there is ample room for development of the industry as is shown by the huge increase in the imports of woollen goods during recent years specially as there are little signs of expansion in the work of the mills during the last ten years. Out of the six mills working at persent in India, two of them, one at Cawnpore and the other at Dhariwal, employ between them 70 per cent. of the total capital invested in the Industry, and contribute as much as 86 per cent. of the total outpost of these mills. The amount of capital employed in the industry has not greatly increased since 1898 (44·5 lakhs): nor has there been much increase in the production which were valued in 1898 to 30·7 lakhs, while for 1907 the corresponding figure was 34·1 lakhs. On the other hand the imports of woollen manufactures are rapidly swelling, having increased from Rs. 152·3 lakhs in 1898 to Rs. 262·2 lakhs in 1907, and to 340 lakhs in 1911-12.

Section III.

Jute Industry.

The History of the Jute Industry is interesting and important, as it illustrates the rapid growth of an industry developed solely through the contact with British Industrialism within recent times. Although the jute plant was known in India for a very long time, its industrial utilisation, cultivation on a large scale, and conversion of the raw material into the manufactured commodity, all prove a credit to the benign effects of the British Government and show one of the advantages of being associated with highly advanced countries, as pointed out in the first part of the maxim of Frederick List, quoted in the beginning of the present book.

Jute Manufactures.

The earliest references to the Jute plant are those made by the various famous travellers, in 16th and 17th century, who, however, confuse the different varieties of the plant. It is mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari as being worked up into Sackcloth (Tat). The first experimental cultivation is reported to have begun in the first decade of the 19th century. Report of the experiment was, however, not published earlier than 1820, which mentions also the profitable production of large quantities of Tat or Sack-cloth. With the advance of European manufactures, the cloth was soon valued in Europe for packing purposes. Therefore, a demand was created for this fibre which could be so easily and cheaply produced and manufactured; this demand was soon responded to by the cultivators in East and North Bengal. In the beginning there was a prejudice against the use of Jute, (which was not grown or known in Europe) as a substitute for "San-hemp"; but the enterprising experiments of a Dundee manufacturer who succeeded in removing the difficulties of softening the fibre, showed the value of Jute. The other difficulties in the manufacture, *viz.*, about the bleaching and the dyeing of the fibre, were also soon removed and Bengal began to export large amounts of the fibre for being worked up in Dundee. Also, a petty handloom industry was organised, every poor family used to weave the gunny-bags out of the fibre which was a cheap commodity. However, there was no improvement made in this handloom industry, nor were any attempts made to introduce European machinery till 1854, when the supplies of flax and hemp to England were cut off by the Crimean War. It occurred to an Englishman, Mr. Auckland, that (just as in the case of cotton mills) considerable economy would result by importing machinery into India and spinning the raw material on the spot; that the cost of transporting the heavy raw material would be saved, and that the cheap and plentiful labour in India would also reduce the cost of production. Thus in 1854 the first Jute Factory in India was

Early History.

First Jute mill.

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established at Serampore, and some years later specially after 1888, the number of factories sprang up rapidly in and around Calcutta, until the banks of Hughli (which affords means of cheap transport) are "now literally dotted with smoking chimneys." The following table indicates the progress of the mills :—

		No. of Mills.	Nominal Capital in Lakhs of Rupees.	Persons employed in 1000's.	Rooms in Thousands.	Spindles in Thousands.	Gunny Bags in Millions Exports.	Gunny cloth in Million yards Exports.	Value of Jute cloth in Lakhs of Rs. Exports.
1854	...	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1857	...	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1863	...	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1879—84	Average.	21	270·7	38·8	5·5	88	54·9	4·4	124·9
1884—1889	Average.	24	341·6	52·7	7	138·4	77	15·4	162·9
1889—1894	Average.	26	402·6	64·3	8·3	172·6	111·5	41	289·3
1894—1899	Average.	31	522·1	86·7	11·7	244·8	171·2	182	578
1899—1903	Average.	36	680	114·2	16·2	334·6	206·5	427·2	826·5
1904-5	...	38	809·3	133·1	20	409·2	201·4	575·5	993·9
1905-6	...	39	876·3	144·9	22	453·2	233·3	658·7	1244·8
1906-7	...	44	949·5	166·9	25	520·5	257·7	696·1	1571·6
1907-8	...	50	1052·8	187·8	27·2	562·3	293	789·8	1829·8
1908-9	...	...	...	...	29·5	602·3	300·9	769·7	1573·6
1909-10	...	...	...	...	32·4	666·3	364·3	940·1	1709·6
1911-12	...	...	...	...	35·2	696·3	294·6	877·0	

Progress of the Jute Mills.

The above figures show that the industry has expaned very rapidly during the last 30 years; thus the returns for 1879 and 1907 would show that the number of mills has increased to $2\frac{1}{2}$ times, the capital to about four times, the number of persons employed and of the looms to about five times, and the spindles to $6\frac{1}{2}$ times. The exports of gunny bags have expanded to more than five times, that of the gunny cloth to about 18 times; while the value of the total exports of jute manufactures has increased by 14 times the value in 1879. Returns for the production of these mills are not available for the whole period. Yet from the following figures a proportionate increase can be also seen. In 1890, 137·7 millions of bags and 333·9 millions of yards of cloth were turned out, while in 1910 the corresponding figures were 464·6 and 1005·8 millions respectively. The progress along these lines would thus seem to be uninterrupted (except by occasional periods of reaction and overproduction such as those observed recently), and perhaps would have been difficult to avoid under the prevailing circumstances. The demand for jute cloth has been constantly increasing, and while Bengal practically commands the Jute supply of the world, there have been no causes of outside disturbances such as have harassed the Cotton Industry of Bombay.

Nature of capital employed.

The jute industry of Bengal, however, is entirely in the hands of the Europeans and owes its development to European capital and enterprise. It appears on the first sight from the returns of the capital of the joint stock companies that control these jute mills, that the Indian capital has advanced more rapidly than the European capital. Thus during 1891 and 1907 the capital in Rupees is returned at 137 and 541 lakhs, and the capital in sterling at 1·7 and 2·7 millions respectively. But, perhaps this indicates nothing more than that the companies were floated in England or India with the nominal capital expressed in sterling or in Rupees, while the shares may have been subscribed by Europeans or Indians without any special distinction. At least it appears from the names of the managing agents and directors, that a majority of these concerns are under European control and management. Apart from the question of the employment of capital, the fact that few jute mills are under the management of Indians shows the one-sided growth of this great factory industry of India.

Hand-looms.

With the rise of these mills, the hand-loom weaving of jute is practically extinguished; "the decline in the domestic craft of jute handloom weaving is far greater than in the case of cotton," but the evil effects are not so great as the jute cloth was scarcely

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used for garments and was mainly exported. Moreover, the industry has made the cultivation of jute a paying business to the farmer, and has given employment to an increasing number of mill-hands: one of the complaints of the jute manufacturer at present is the scarcity of labour and the consequent high wages and low efficiency.

Cultivation of Jute.

The expansion in Indian Jute Industry can be also realised from the increase in the area under cultivation, and the total outturn from year to year. The value of the jute fibre is being appreciated and can be felt in the rise of the exports of raw jute: the demand for the raw jute seems to be expanding at such an enormous rate that inspite of the slight increase in the area, the price of the raw produce has gone up, while that of the jute cloth does not show a corresponding or proportionate rise. Jute has been used for various purposes, the most important of which are:—"(a) for making cloth of different qualities ranging from substitutes for silk to shirtings, curtains, carpets, or gunnies; (b) for paper, which is chiefly prepared from 'the rejections' and 'cuttings'; and (c) for cordage which is made from stronger and coarser qualities." It is this variety of uses that has created and sustained a steady demand for jute fibre. The following table* indicates the growth of cultivation and demand for jute:—

* This table is adopted from the figures given in the account of Jute by Mr. G. H. C. Maistre in "The Investor's Indian Year Book, 1911". The first two columns (official forecasts) do not give trustworthy records, as the way in which they are arrived at are not reliable. The figures in fourth column indicate the actual consumption of jute in the Indian Mills: to which must be added about 300,000 bales used in the country by the handloom weavers to arrive at the proper figure for Indian jute consumption. Figures for 1911-12 from the Review of Trade of India, do not agree with Mr. Maistre's figures.

	Estimated area under cultivation. Thousand Acres.	Estimated outturn in Bales of 400 lbs. Thousands.	Total Bales Exported.	Consumption in India (actuals).	Average price of Fine Jute per Bale.	Yearly average price of Gunny bag per 100 bags.	Average price of Gunny Cloth 100 yds.
					Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
1820 ...	30	0	0	0	0	0	0
1872 ...	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
1890 ...	1,984	0	3,422	0	28 10	0	0
1895 ...	2,242	6,421	3,494	1,557	33 3	0	0
1900 ...	2,043	6,000	3,534	2,415	37 0	28 11	8 6
1902 ...	2,116	5,280	3,253	2,726	33 0	24 11	7 6
1905 ...	3,145	8,993	4,136	3,226	47 3	34 4	8 12
1908 ...	2,841	6,310	4,640	3,593	55 15	26 9	8 6
1910-11 ...	2,937	7,932	3,009	...	43 13	25 6	7 1
1911-12 ...	...	8,332	4,207	4,592	52 4	30 9	11 14

The increase in the area under cultivation is not as rapid as could be desired; in fact within the last ten years it has neither been regular nor steady. The expanding demand for jute necessitates that the outturn should be increased both by the increase of yield per acre and by the increase of the area under cultivation. The complaint that the jute fibre is deteriorating is due to the deliberate dishonesty of the middlemen who damp the fibre with water and sand to show an illegitimate increase of weight; the dampness remains till the bales are opened, thus causing the fibre to decay and loose its strength. It is thought that very stringent measures are necessary to check this evil, unless a rise in the acreage or the outturn per acre increases the total supply.

Prospects of Jute cultivation.

Jute can be cultivated on soil of almost any texture, though it requires heavy manuring. At present however the cultivation is restricted to a part only of the Bengal portion of the Gangetic Alluvium; and is capable of being easily expanded. The cultivation of jute is, again, a profitable business; according to Mr. Finlow, the Government Jute specialist, the outlay for a crop of 15 maunds per acre is about Rs. 35, while the return of the 15 Mds. at Rs. 8 per maund amounts to Rs. 120; thus it affords a profit of Rs. 85 on an outlay of Rs. 35, or 242 per cent. The possibilities of the expansion of jute in Bengal can be judged from the fact that the present area amounts to only 3 millions

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out of the total cultivated area of 39 million acres, which again is a small part of the total area of Bengal, Eastern Bengal, and Assam, *viz.*, 84 million acres. It has been also shown that Jute cultivation can be successful in the Assam Valley, and Behar; but here, as also in Lyallpur (Punjab) and Belgaum (Bombay), the experiments are not likely to be paying on a commercial basis, on account of the high cost of labour. However, the latter can be reduced by the employment of machinery in the extraction of the fibre.

The importance of the jute industry to Bengal can be seen from the fact that the Bengal farmers obtain for the fibre about 20 crores of Rupees every year; and this is sold by the middlemen for 30--33 crores of Rupees. Estimating the total crop at about 85 lakhs of bales on an average, out of which 40 lakhs are exported (at about 40 Rupees per bale) to bring 16 crores of Rupees; the rest 45 lakh bales when converted into jute cloth and bags by Indian mills are worth about 30 crores of Rupees: thus the jute industry pays Bengal about 45 crores of Rupees annually. Looking to the exports of raw jute and of jute cloth we find they enjoy very good places in India's foreign trade.

Export and Import trade; India the sole producer.

This is due to the fact that India is almost the sole producer of Jute in the world. She contributed in 1911-12, over 8 million bales of jute out of the total demand of 9 million bales in the world. Jute occupies an important position in the exports of Indian raw products, after cotton and foodgrains. In 1911-12, jute represented 22·9 per cent. of the exports of raw materials.

Again the export of jute cloth occupies a very prominent place in the exports of Indian manufactures. Jute Munufactures in the three years ending 1910-11, represented 44·6 per cent. of the total value of exports of Indian manufactured articles. In 1911-12, this percentage rose to 45·4. Among the customers of Indian raw jute, United Kingdom stands first with a percentage of about 40, while Germany takes 22 per cent., United States and France each take about 10 per cent., while the rest is shared in by Italy, Austria Hungary and Spain. The exports of jute cloth are distributed among United States (33 per cent.), Australia (15 per cent.), United Kingdom (6 per cent.), Germany, Turkey and China and Straits Settlements.

The Export and Import Trade in Jute for the last 30 years is indicated by the following table:—

EXPORTS IN LAKHS OF RUPEES.

	1876-7.	1886-7.	1896-7.	1904-5.	1906-7.
Raw Jute ...	263	486	1055	1196	2683
Twist & Yarn ...	...	...	4·6	·35	3·2
Bags ...	64·6	105	351	475	734
Cloth ...	6·9	9·8	163	511	825
Others ...	·3	·25	1·8	6·3	7·75
Total ...	335·6	602	1,576·4	2,190	4,255

IMPORTS IN RS.

Raw Jute ...	179	7,007	3	840	501
Twist & Yarn ...	75	20,170	97,268	1,04,570	1,20,812
Cloth ...	9,221	68,225	2,12,531	4,12,947	4,49,704
Bags ...	35,872	2,51,801	4,27,790	6,45,585	7,49,542
Total ...	43,347	3,47,203	7,37,592	11,63,942	13,20,559

One or two points in this connection may be touched here. The value of the exports of raw jute has increased to about 10 times during the period 1876 to 1906; while that of the manufactured goods has increased to about 20 times. It has been already indicated that a great portion of the raw jute goes to United Kingdom, some to be re-exported and the rest to be worked up at Dundee; at the same time exports of manufactured jute from Dundee have fallen; this shows that Dundee cannot maintain its position as a jute producer or manufacturer. The Continental countries (specially Germany)

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take increasing quantities of the raw jute; they tax the jute fabrics with 20 per cent. duty while the raw jute is admitted free; thus they are enable to compete successfully with the Calcutta mills. The consequences of this method of working (*viz.*, admission of raw jute free while the jute fabrics are charged) may be seen in the diversion of the trade of the United Kingdom, from the following table :—

World's consumption of Raw Jute (thousands of Bales).*

	1884.	1894.	1904.	1906-7.	Duty on Manufacured Jute.
United Kingdom ...	1200	1200	1200	1842	Nil.
Bengal mills ...	900	1500	2800	3517	Nil.
Continent of Europe ...	850	1100	1800	2056	20 percent in France and Germany and Austria 10% in Belgium.
America, &c. ...	0	500	500	609	20%
India (Internal demand)	500	500	500	500	
TOTAL ...	3450	4800	6800	8524	

With reference to the increased *import* trade in jute and jute fabrics, it might be noted that it is indicative of the loss of monopoly of jute which India enjoyed in the seventies and eighties, of her inability to supply her own wants for the finer jute cloth which is imported in increasing amounts. One thing more may be pointed out that a fairly good proportion of the jute cloth that is exported is returned to India after being transformed into floor- or oil-cloth in various bright coloured patterns; it is possible to utilise the jute cloth for this purpose in India and thus to save the enormous freight charges, and to increase the profits of the industry.

The position of India at present seems to be very strong, but her prospective future cannot be told with certainty in the face of state help given in other countries to jute manufactures and jute cultivation.

The Present state and future prospects.

However, the various uses to which jute cloth is being put (*viz.* for packing purposes, &c.), seem to be growing rapidly and so the demand for jute fabrics is likely to expand continuously, so long as their price is cheap and so long as no snbstitute is found for jute. The industry is therefore likely to progress almost indefinitely; but it is threatened at present by an abnormal rise in the price of the raw produce. The first table in this section shows the relative rise in the price of the raw produce and the fabric; the former has *risen* during the last 10 years (1900 to 1910) by about 16 per cent., the latter has *fallen* by 13 to 15 per cent. The fall in the price of Jute cloth was due to the too rapid expansion of production, and was so great, that many mills could not work at these unremunerative rates and had to close. The overproduction was caused by a rapid increase in the number of looms within recent years, and by the greed of the Managing Agents of some mills, whose commission depended not on the profits they made but on the quantity of the fabrics sold. Many attempts have been made to form an Association for regulating the output by limiting the number of hours of work, but they do not seem to have been attended with great success. However, the real remedy lies in the reduction of the price of raw jute, which has risen on account of the increasing demand while the supply is stationary. Only by the extension of area under jute cultivation and by increasing the yield per acre is it possible to meet the increased demand and to reduce the price or to check fraudulent watering; that there is abundant scope for the increase in jute cultivation has been already indicated. Thus with the exception of this flaw the progress and the possibilities of the industry have to be admitted to be great.

* This table is prepared from "India and the Empire" by Mr. M. de P. Webb, 1908, pp. 95 and 98.

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PURULIA LEPER COLONY

IT is 38 years since a missionary was deeply touched by the misery of lepers, which he had observed in so many ways in India. He went to Great Britain and succeeded in interesting many on behalf of the poor afflicted, and it was decided that immediate steps should be taken to provide a Home for them. The name of the gentleman is Wellesley C. Bailey. Within these 38 years, 78 homesteads for lepers have been founded. The Society for ameliorating the conditions of Lepers has no missionaries of its own, but aids Missionary Societies of different denominations liberally.

The largest of the Indian homesteads for lepers is in Purulia, in Bengal, about 179 miles from Calcutta. It was founded by the Rev. H. Uffmann, who was succeeded by Rev. F. Hahn. Both have since been "called Home," and are beholding the glorious fulfilment of their faith. Since 1902 the Rev. Paul Wagner has been working here.

The foundation dates back to nearly 25 years. At the beginning of the '80's, a philanthropic government official, moved by compassion for the lepers, allowed them to settle down, outside the town of Purulia. But when he was transferred, another official took his place, who not only withdrew the permission to remain there, but burnt down their huts, had the sick driven away, and adopted severe measures to make another settlement impossible. Some of those who were banished at that time are still living. They relate how some of them who were too weak to go elsewhere, were left lying under the same trees where their huts had stood and then died a pitiful death.

About that time Mr. Bailey, mentioned above, visited that district and gladly gave to the missionary who was then stationed at Purulia, the Rev. H. Uffmann, who was called Home in 1901, the means for the support of a few lepers and for the building of some houses.

Soon the news spread that such a Home had been built, and unfortunates came from great distances in order to end their lives there in peace and what comfort their condition permitted. Suddenly objections were raised by the Corporation against the settlement of the lepers, and it seemed that this blessed work would be destroyed.

Just then an unexpected opportunity offered itself. A big plot of land with a dense forest was placed at the disposal of the Rev. H. Uffmann, and soon the roads were laid out, so that now in a new spot, quite outside the precincts of the town, Purulia, a new Homestead could be built.

There now actually a little town has opened out. Whoever sees it from a distance, as it lies picturesquely, in the midst of a forest of Indian oak-trees, some of the last slopes of the Vindhya Hills forming a background, has no conception of the amount of misery which is harboured there.

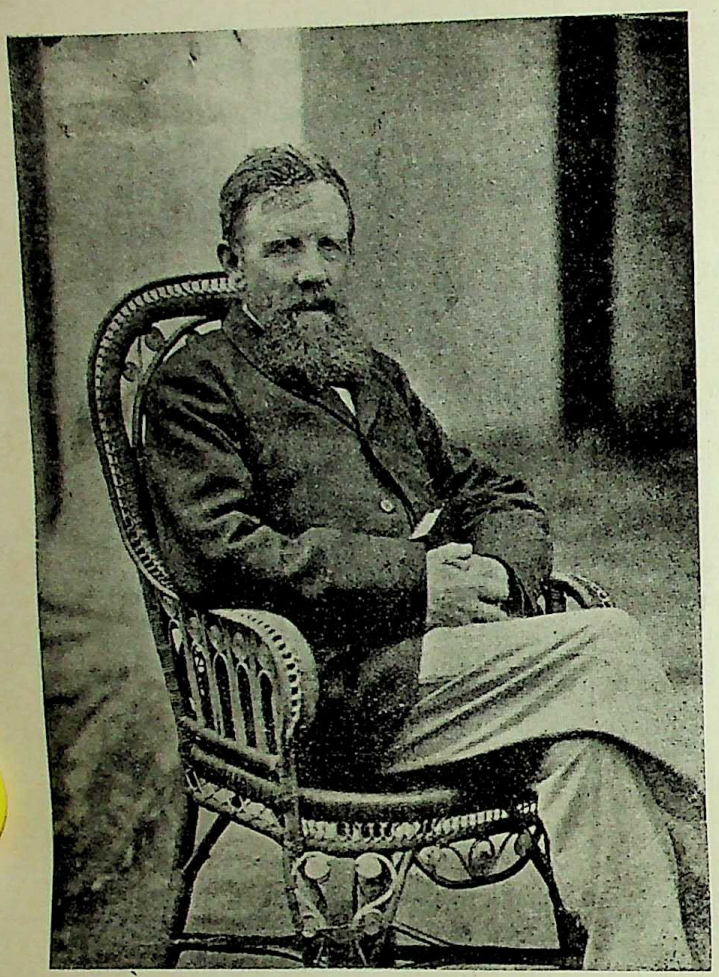
A road laid out and taken care of by the lepers, leads into the town, whose isolated houses with flat roofs and various colourings, some chrome, others blue, and again others pink, look quite picturesque along the broad horizon.

A wall which stretches from north to south through the whole length of the place divides the property into two big parts, upon one of which the women and girls live and on the other the men and boys. Coming from the mission property and entering the place from the east, one sees right at the entrance the school buildings for the girls and the 18 houses for grown-up women. The houses are joined by streets and every house affords room for 12 to 14 women, a number which owing to lack of buildings, has often to be exceeded. The houses are 45 feet in length and built at a distance of 50 to 75 feet apart. Each has a verandah in front, with arches upon pillars.

On the farther side of the wall are the dwellings of the men, to whom entrance to

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THE LATE REV. H. UFFMANN, FOUNDER OF THE PURULIA LEPER-COLONY.

the women's side is strictly forbidden; as also to the women to the men's side. The architecture is the same, only the number of houses is greater, namely, 22, excepting the school buildings and the dwellings of the boys.

In as much as for some houses entrances both for men and women were needed, such as the Dispensary, the Shop, the Church, a Warehouse, a Sitting-room as well as a Hospital, are built immediately on to the wall, with doors to the east and west.

Painful cleanliness prevails everywhere. A doctor and an apothecary are continually at work to help the sick. Fine tanks in the centre of the road, several springs of water, good drainage,—all this makes a favourable impression, which is accentuated as one sees more than six hundred inhabita

and realises immediately that they are not in an Abode of Misery but in an Abode of Peace.

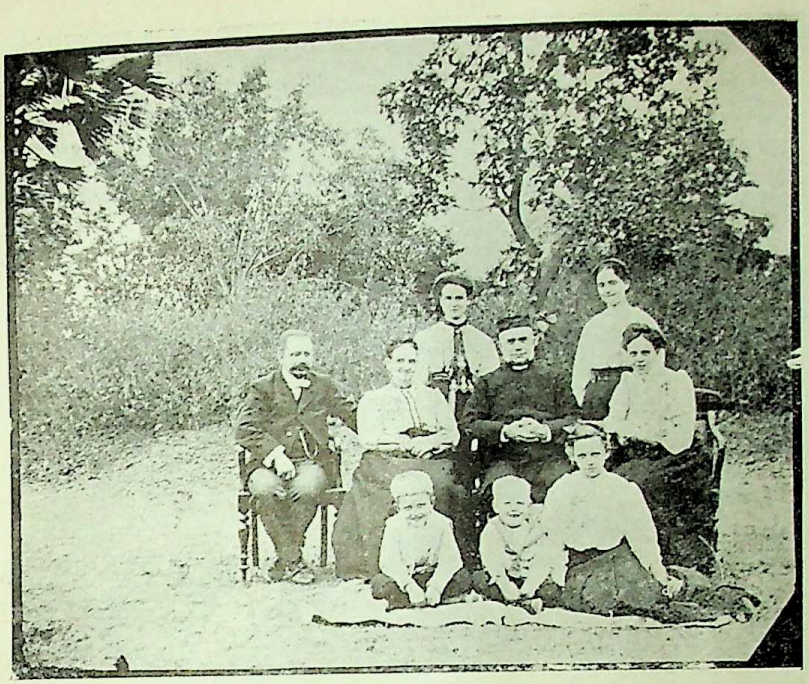
With great care forethought has been taken that the singular properties of this little town should be retained. There exists hardly any city in the whole world which bears so peculiar an impress as this leper-town. For its direction some officials and workmen are naturally needed: Indians who are not lepers, but of these there are only a few. Each house has its own Leper Superintendent or Leper female Superintendent. (Elders they are called). Each individual is responsible for what happens in his own house. The community of these lepers forms the Council; one each for the men and women. All the little arrangements which are necessary for such a community are first discussed with the members of the Council before they are put in force. They are fully conscious of their dignity and watch the execution of every order. There are all kinds of things to decide and discuss. The members are mostly elderly people, who have already been for many years in the Colony.

For maintaining order some leper-policemen have been engaged: and the Council also provides for the cleanliness of the streets through some sweepers who have been employed for this work; and have plenty to do. As managers of the schools several school-inspectors have been chosen by the Council, who zealously attend to their office. All these offices are, of course, honorary posts, the bearers of which are treated exactly like the others.

As far as possible, the lepers are trained to work. Though many are completely incapable of any occupation, most of them, however, can be trained to work. To think of an industry is entirely out of question, as nobody would buy any articles made by lepers. But at road-building, at repairs of houses, at digging at new buildings, at tree preserving, and many other things, there is

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Miss D. Hahn. Miss A. Hahn.

Rev. Wagner. Mrs. D. Hahn. The Late Rev. F. Hann. Mrs. Wagner.

Master Siegfried Wagner. Werner Wagner. Miss E. Hahn.

so much to do that one is never at a loss to find work for them.

In spite of physical weakness, work shows also with them its beneficial influence, but still ever so much suffering and anxiety remain to be borne by them. That is also the reason why they are not simply fed, but only the daily portion of rice is given them, while they have to provide for themselves all else, for which they weekly receive some small pocket money. For their money they can buy what they wish: wood, vegetables, pepper, salt, or whatever they have a desire and sufficient money for.

In as much as they are not allowed to go to the public market, a shop has been built on the grounds, in which everything can be had that is necessary or useful for an Indian. The Hall on both sides of the shop is mostly full of visitors, who make their purchases there, and, by the way, have a leisurely chat. They must pay cash for all; and in order to make any infection through the money given by them impossible, they must place their copper pieces in an earthen pot, containing strong carbolic acid. The money is then rinsed, thrown into boiling water, and again disinfected, before it is brought into circulation again.

At specially festive occasions, as at Christmas, or otherwise casually, entertainments are arranged for them, at which competitive games and competitive songs take place. These, with the warm weather in India, it is possible to conclude with a common evening meal in the open air.

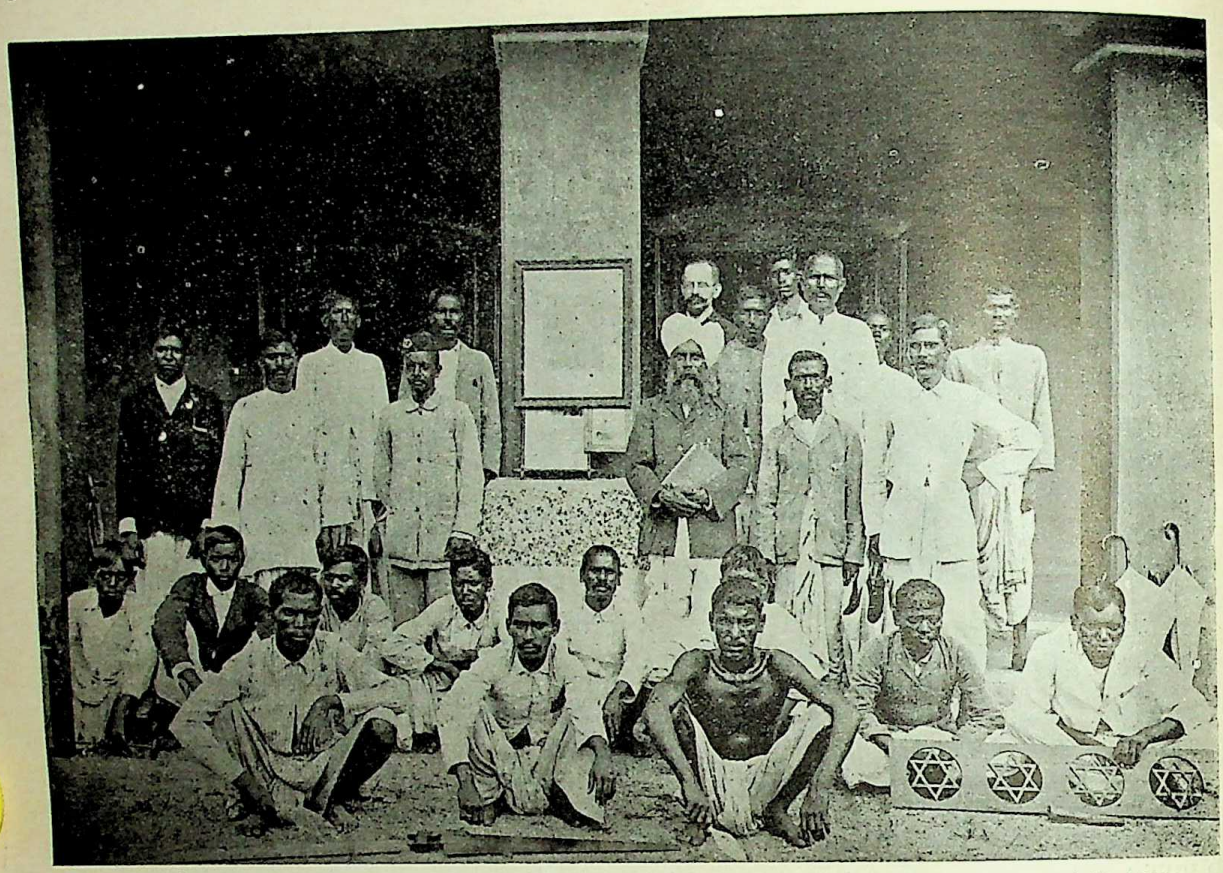
What of the Evil Days! Ah! how often, when walking through the rows of houses and single dwellings, can one see real frames of horror, mutilated; and heart rending are often the lamentations, when the fingers, the hands, the arms, or other limbs, decayed by leprosy, drop off! Or, when the fearful wounds open, who can describe it! What agonies must the poor endure!

The Superintendent says that he has experienced it, not only once, but repeatedly, that in spite of the pains many sufferers have sung hymns of praise. What a doleful sight: a human being, covered with wounds, in extreme helplessness, lying on a low bamboo frame strung with ropes: and even then hymns of praise! Truly, who can speak here of Evil Days?

Though leprosy is not necessarily hereditary still it is natural that children of lepers would be specially predisposed to fall victims to the same disease. If healthy children are soon removed from the environments of lepers, one succeeds in very many cases in saving them. Some are infected at a very tender age and cannot be brought up with the perfectly healthy children of lepers, even if they show no signs of the disease; such must be brought up in connection with the Leper Colony, in as much as they, too, are abhorred as unclean by the natives, as soon as it is known that their parents are lepers. What is then to become of the children? Are they to perish by the

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STAFF OF WORKERS IN THE PURULIA LEPER-COLONY.

wayside? From the above it will be seen that three distinct educational establishments are needed, namely: firstly, for the real victims of leprosy; then, for those who are suspected of infection; and lastly, for those who have no signs of leprosy.

The healthy children of leprous parents are brought up in the "Children's Home," which has been built apart from the Leper Colony, and consists of a dwelling for girls, one for boys, and a school house, on the north-west side of which the house-father, himself a son of a leprous mother, lives with his healthy family.

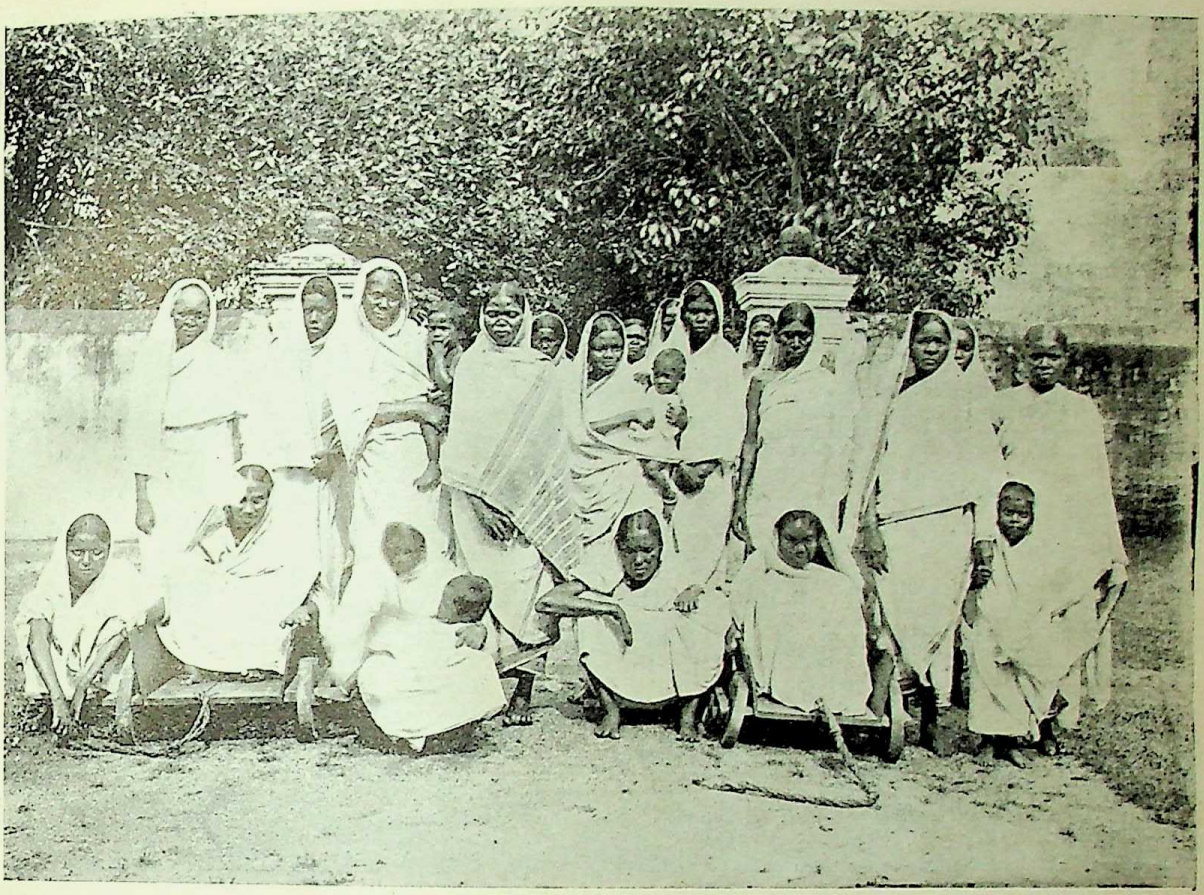
Teaching is given according to the Government Code; the regular course of five years is open to all, and specially gifted pupils are given the option to study up to the standard of the middle school. The reason is that means and ways must be found to fit them all for some profession. Many become craftsmen, as most of the carpentering and brick-building in the Leper Colony is carried out by former pupils of the Children's Home. It was possible to train some to be apothecaries, others to be teachers, shoemakers and tailors,—in short, for each one there is plenty of work to do in the leper-town. As leprosy usually breaks out during the period of adolescence, the girls can safely be married as soon as they are full grown. Of course this must be done amongst the children of lepers. Up till now, not a single case has occured, where such a union has proved fatal. The grown up young g rls are taught chiefly needle-work, which proves of great use to the lepers. Last year, for instance, all needful skirts and jackets were sewn by them.

The second group of children, who are brought up separately, are those suspected of leprosy. The ominous marks are there: patches have appeared. The educational course for them is that of village children. Their dwellings and class-rooms lie at the extreme borders of the two divisions for men and for women.

And now at last the poor children who

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FEMALE ELDERS OF THE PURULIA LEPER COLONY.

are already victims of leprosy. Pitiful figures are among them. Of any regular school instruction can, under these conditions, be no question, although daily instruction is given, and the routine is the same as the one for the healthy children. Whoever can, takes part in the industrial classes and in drill. Many a one, unable to walk, has to be conveyed to school. An old wooden box, with wheels, as primitive as Noah, no doubt, must have had already, does excellent service for this. Astounding it is to see, in some instances, that girls with stumps for hands, and completely crippled fingers, embroider their shawls and jackets very neatly, and it is a real pleasure to see with what delight leprous boys play at ball and other games in the open air.

When one sees the disfigured and shrivelled faces, wrought by suffering, one learns to be specially grateful that God has granted to the young a spirit of cheerfulness and play, as a special gift.

Not many of those who come to the Colony remain Hindus or Muhammedans, nor continue to offer to evil spirits. Already from a distance one can see the spire of the church steeple, which was built in the centre of the town, over-towering everything. No one is forced to become a Christian, and Christians are not treated differently from non Christians, and yet most of them turn Christian.

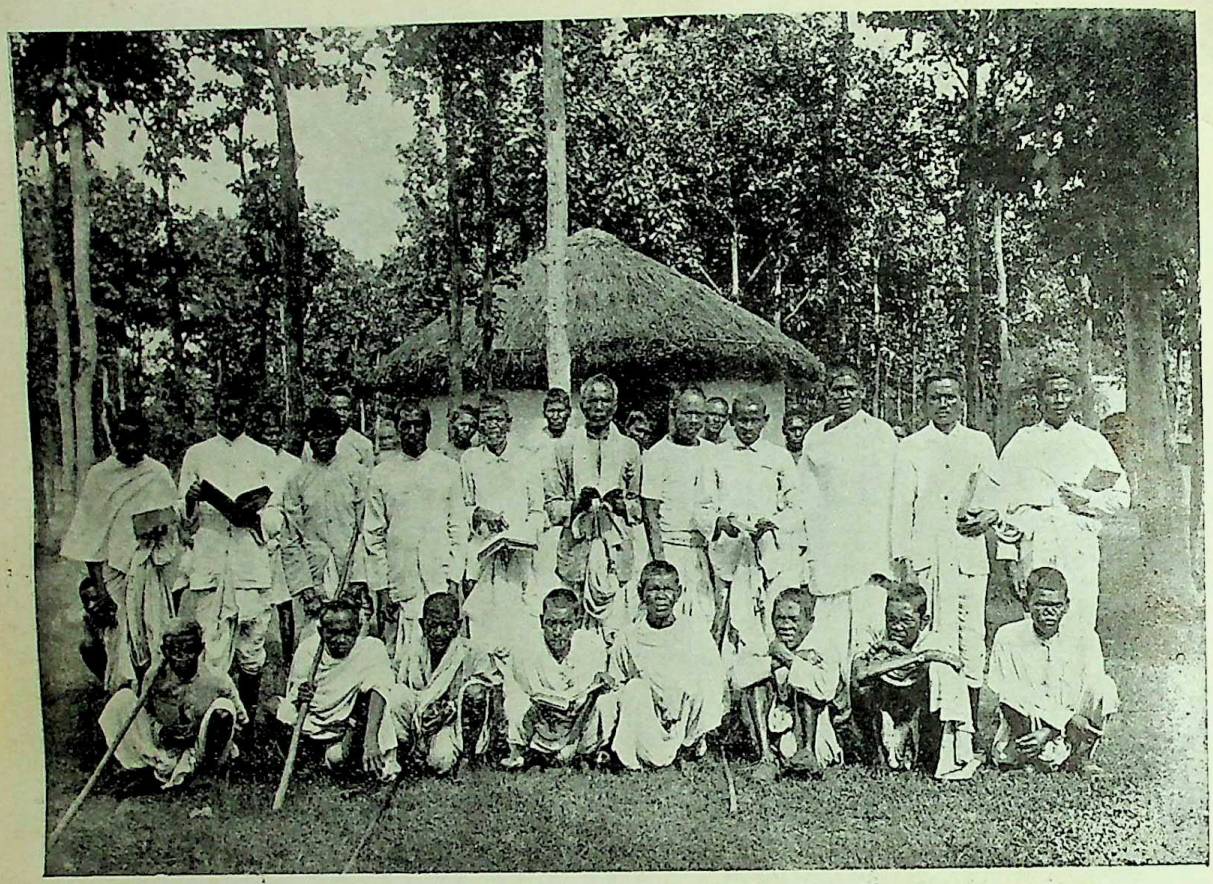
Thus the Leper Colony has become a city which is set on a hill; it cannot be hid. Manifold blessings have gone out from it.

A great number of indescribable unfortunates have received shelter in that city, as they come from great distances in order to be admitted here.

The work amongst the Lepers in Purulia was begun in the fall of 1886, but the Purulia Leper-Asylum was opened only in 1888 on a spot close to the Mission premises and within the boundaries of the Municipality. For these reasons it was deemed

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MALE ELDERS OF THE PURULIA LEPER-COLONY.

necessary afterwards to remove it to the present site, an open elevated spot of land, measuring about 200 bighas, outside the limits of the Municipality.

The land was purchased on behalf of "The Leper Mission Trust Association," Dublin, for the sum of Rs. 800 and is held under a perpetual lease at a yearly rent of Rs. 101. Besides some plots have been later acquired for the purpose of building the home for untainted children, the quarters for the working staff, and some lands which have now been brought under cultivation.

There are altogether 65 buildings belonging to the Asylum, including the Children's Home and quarters for the working staff. The whole expenditure on the buildings including tanks, wells, and drainage arrangement has been over Rs. 1,00,000.

Including leprous children and suspects under observation, there are at present in the Asylum :—

Men	248
Boys	47
Women	247
Girl	52
Untainted boys in the children's home	22
Untainted girls in the children's home ...	20
TOTAL ...	636

most of them belonging to the Manbhum District. 578 are Christians.

The whole establishment is divided into two parts ; on one side of the Dispensary, shop and church are the wards for men and boys, on the other those for women and girls. Those under observation are accommodated in separate buildings. Strict segregation is enforced.

In 1902 the Leper-Act was introduced in the Manbhum District, and three Wards have been built at the expense of Government for the admission of lepers under the Act. Five Lepers are detained under this Act.

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The lepers are occupied in different ways. A vegetable garden has been laid out, in which each block owns a special plot in which its inmates cultivate such vegetables as they require for their own consumption. Some make country bedsteads for their own use, or ropes ; and others assist in cleaning the roads, watering trees or tending cattle. Shopping and cooking go a long way to occupy their time. Reading, singing, and playing indigenous instruments form a favourite occupation of not a few of those whose health is comparatively good. The cultivation of the arable lands is entirely done by the Lepers themselves.

An Indian Christian Doctor is in charge of the medical work. He has received his diploma as C. H. A. in the Government Medical College at Agra. The Civil Surgeon of the station exercises control ever his work and occasionally visits patients and does major operations. The chief remedies employed are Gurjan oil, Chaulmugra oil, Arsenic, Quinine and Carbolic oil, and besides special cases are treated with Nastin and other specifics. The Nastin treatment as well as the Aiouni treatment have not as yet resulted in a cure.

Men receive four seers of rice and five annas nine pies per week in cash. Women get $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers of rice and four annas cash per week. In the shop of the Asylum lepers purchase their requirements of dal, salt, oil and tobacco. Intoxicants are not allowed in the Asylum. Special diet consisting of milk or sago and bread is given to those who need it in lieu of rice and money. The tainted children, the suspects and the untainted children receive cooked food only, but no money.

Twice a year each leper gets a suit of clothes, consisting of a coat, a dhuty for men and a jhula and sari for women. All wash their clothes themselves, except in cases of great debility in which the stronger ones help the feeble.

As a rule no healthy child over three years is permitted to stay with the parents inside the Asylum. All children above that age are admitted either to the observation wards or, if they are uninfected, into the "Children's Home" which is half way from the town on the way to the Asylum. Those who become suspects here are sent over into the observation wards, and those who develop leprosy are put in the Wards for tainted children. The inmates of the children's home are under the immediate care of a resident house-father. All receive a primary education. The girls cook and wash and mend and make garments for the institution. The boys of the children's home when grown up, either learn a trade or are trained as helpers and teachers, or as compounders in the compounders' school which is recognised by Government. In their leisure hours they are engaged in sports and gardening.

Different schools are maintained in the Asylum and Children's Home, *viz* :—

(1)	Tainted Girls' schools with	38 pupils.
(2)	Suspect Girls' with	14 ,,
(3)	Untained Girls' school with	20 ,,
(4)	School for leprous women	36 ,,
(5)	Kindergarten with	20 (for children of the staff.)
(6)	Tainted Boys' school with	31 pupils.
(7)	Suspect Boys' school	16 ,,
(8)	Untainted Boys' school	22 ,,
(9)	School for leprous men	17 ,,
(10)	Compounders' school with	5 students.
	TOTAL ...	219

The Leper-Colony is receiving a Government-Grant of Rs. 1,000 p. m. & Rs. 50 p. m. as school Grant and an annual Grant of Rs. 100 in lieu of Medicine. The proceeds of cultivation and property left by deceased lepers, if any, proceeds of sale of vegetables grown in the Untainted home and donations go to the funds.

The local subscriptions and special donations in India last year amounted to Rs. 1,095, while the 'Mission to Lepers in India and the East' contributed Rs. 24,015 raised by charity in the United Kingdom, on the Continent and America.

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THE TEXT OF SHAKSPERE

I.

SHAKSPERE wrote not for an age, but for all time. "What Kalidasa is to India that Shakspere is to the world," said the Bengali poet. Is it not curious then that in no vernacular of India is a complete translation of the immortal plays to be found, that no Indian scholar has made any contribution of moment to the ever-growing Shakspere-literature? Of earnest students of English literature there is no lack in the country, but who has yet suggested a new opening in what has been well called the eternal chess-game of Shaksperean study? Not even a rushlight at the shrine can be claimed by an Indian student.

Now one reason for this lamentable state of affairs no doubt is that English after all is a breadstudy in this country and the energy of our most promising young men has to be devoted to the earning of the daily bread even before they have obtained the University degree. The hungry mouths at home must be fed, the wolf at the door must be fought. These duties are elemental and imperative, and few indeed are Indian students who can indulge in the luxury of post-graduate research.

But another reason, which is no less important to my mind, is that the average Indian student never studies Shakspere in the proper way and the right spirit. In the educational department there have been men of talent and ability. But they have, in teaching Shakspere, generally contented themselves with giving lessons in elocution or paraphrases of the text. All the existing universities being merely examining bodies, their *alumni* have naturally not found it necessary to probe deeper. Publishers in England and India have discovered a ready market in India and are now flooding the same with "special editions for Indian students", which do not seem to have any other *raison d'etre*. The only thing "special" about them is the wholesale paraphrase which they incorporate in the shape either of annotations or a so-called introduction. This in my opinion is very injurious to the best interests of our students. It is true that many years ago in England the plays of Shakspere were supposed to furnish only so much material for the study of philology or grammar, and learned commentators even entered their protest against what they were pleased to call "signpost criticism." But for some time past it has been fully recognised by all competent authorities that these plays above all are works of art and must be presented in their literary aspect even to young students. It is the essential poetry which they must be taught to appreciate, and this a teacher can do not by merely explaining the meanings of words or by directing his pupils to read up Gervinus or even Dowden, but by helping them to consider the dramatic value of each scene and the part which it plays in relation to the whole, and by suggesting to them points of view from which the analysis of dramatic motive and dramatic character may be profitably undertaken. Professor Herford, among others, saw that for exegetical work on the prince of dramatists the interpretative rather than the matter-of-fact order of scholarship is more in request, and the editors of the "Warwick Shakespeare" set an example which has since been followed by Mr. A. W. Verity and, more recently, by the editors of the "Tutorial Shakespeare." Mr. Verity's "Student's Shakespeare" (of which only three volumes seem so far to have been published) cannot, in its own sphere, be beaten, and I do not see at all what room there can be for a "special edition for Indian students" by men who have nothing new to say. I admit that aesthetic judgments cannot be final, but what help do the majority of professors in India afford to the forming of any such judgments whatever? Dr. William Miller enjoyed a deserved reputation as an educationist in this country and after 40 years of genuine work in the class and the study he published

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four essays on the four greatest tragedies of Shakspere. These essays are marked by good sense and sound morality,—the sermonisings are perhaps never so ponderous as those of a German critic like Gervinus,—but as a criticism of Shaksperean tragedy they cannot be mentioned in the same breath with Dr. Bradleys well-known lectures. Our students are never put in the way of studying these plays properly and that is why there is so little of what may be called Shakesperean scholarship in the country.

I do not for one moment wish to belittle the importance of understanding the text of Shakspere as fully as possible. Shakspere does not need fear notes, as Grant White thought. I entirely agree with W. J. Craig that though to Shakspere was given the rich gift of ready and felicitous expression to an almost superhuman degree, yet often he is a very remarkably obscure writer. We not seldom

> understand a fury in the words
> But not the words.

These difficulties, however, the paraphrasist does not endeavour to solve. And the Indian student is injured because, when he finds so much paraphrase ready-made to hand, all independent endeavour on his part is sapped. The spectacle is not uncommon of an Indian graduate being unable to understand or appreciate a play of Shakspere which he had not to get up for his examination.

II.

I have said above that in the editions of Shakspere's plays prepared specially for Indian students more attention is paid to the words than to the poetry or the art. "There is no subject of Shakespearean study more important or more difficult," says a recent critic, "than the ascertainment or settlement, so far as this is, humanly speaking, possible, of the text." Do Indian students, speaking generally, take any interest in this most important and difficult matter? And do the editions prepared specially for their benefit teach them to take any such interest? This last question can be easily answered by comparing two editions of *Macbeth* which have been published during the last few months. One is an English Edition, part of the "Arden" series, prepared by the critic last quoted from, Mr. H. Cuningham. The other is part of Longmans' series for Indian students, and has been compiled by Mr. R. M. Spence, Principal, Government Training College, Jubbulpore. Every schoolboy knows that the folio text of *Macbeth* is very corrupt, and that portions of it have been rejected by competent critics as not being the work of Shakspere at all. Upon the latter point Mr. Spence seems to be severely reticent, and upon the first point the information which he vouchsafes to his readers is entirely inadequate. It is generally a B.A. or an M.A. student in our country who is required to study *Macbeth*. How can a graduate's acquaintance with this play be considered satisfactory in the year of grace 1912 when he does not possess even so much information about it as could be easily picked up 43 years ago from the Clarendon Press edition?

The learned authors of this edition, in the preface to their classical *Cambridge Shakespeare*, remark,

> "As our knowledge grows, so also our admiration and our pleasure in the study increase, dashed only by a growing sense of the textual imperfections and uncertainties which stand between the author and his readers. For, besides the recognised difficulties, we are convinced that there are many passages, still easily scanned and construed, and therefore not generally suspected of corruption, which nevertheless have not been printed exactly as they were first written. Some ruder hand has effaced the touch of the master."

This is not all. No careful student of Shakspere can deny that there are interpolations more or less extensive at places. Take the last two lines, for instance, of Act I, Scene v, of *King Lear*. The old king has just discovered the true nature of his eldest daughter and is about to depart from her palace. With his affectionate heart almost sundered in twain he exclaims,

> "O! let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven;
> Keep me in temper; I would not be mad!"

And within two lines of this the fool comes out with an obscene and offensive couplet, which is wholly irrelevant, and which some buffoon actor must have improvised to tickle "the ears of the groundlings."

Take again the great thunderstorm scene in the same play, Act III, Scene i. The prophecy with which it concludes is entirely out of place and cannot be justified on any

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theory of dramatic contrast or the like. The rhymes closely follow some lines wrongly ascribed to Chaucer, and should be struck out from all authentic editions of Shakspere's text.

As I have referred specially to Mr. Cuningham's edition of *Macbeth* above, I may say a word or two here regarding the portions of the play to which this learned critic takes exception as spurious and un-Shaksperean. These are Act I, Scenes i, ii, and iii, lines 1—37; Act III, scene v, and Act IV, Scene i, lines 39—43 and 125—132. I agree with recent critics in rejecting the Hecate portion as also the witches' dance and the speech which leads up to it (that is, the portions of Acts III and IV specified above). Mr. Verity apparently thinks otherwise. He admits that Hecate does not seem to advance the action of the play at all, in an artistic sense she is an intruder. But his faith in the first Folio is strong, and his conclusion therefore is that her introduction is "at least explicable as a piece of the orthodox machinery of witchcraft; tradition inspired what dramatic economy might, pehaps, have dispensed with." Upon this reasoning large portions of Middleton's *Witch* might be incorporated with *Macbeth*, and I do not see why this ingenious critic has excluded the full texts of the two songs,

"Come away, come away", etc.,

and

"Black spirits," etc.,

from Act III, Scene v, and Act IV, Scene i, respectively.

I am not prepared, however, to reject the first 118 lines of the play. With regard to the very first scene Mr. Cuningham quotes Seymour to the effect—"The witches here seem to be introduced for no other purpose than to tell us they are to meet again; and as I cannot discover any advantage resulting from such anticipation, but, on the contrary, think it injurious, I conclude the scene is not genuine." This seems to me completely to miss the point. As Coleridge has pointed out, the first scenes of Shakspere have generally great significance, and the first scene of *Macbeth* in particular strikes at once the key-note and gives the predominant spirit of the play. This scene, in my judgment, is necessary to create the proper atmosphere and place the spectator or reader in the correct mood. As the curtain rises we are in a desert place and see the physical nature in commotion, thunder, lightning and rain,—and there at such a time the influences of evil appear embodied and declare that to them "fair is foul and foul is fair." We are also told that these influences are directed against Macbeth, and our interest is at once aroused in the hero of the play. When the latter does later on appear, the very first words which he utters are partially an echo of the creed of the weird sisters, and we recognise with a start that even before he has actually met them an affinity has been established between their temper and his. It is very important to understand the nature and meaning of Shakspere's thought which found concrete embodiment in what have been called "witches."* If this is done, I do not think a reader will feel oppressed with Seymour's criticism of the first 37 lines of Act I, Scene iii,—"All that we hear of the sailor and his wife is rather ludicrous and impertinent than solemn and material." A similar criticism may be directed against the incantation scene (Act IV, Scene i). The brewing of the powerful charm, whose ingredients are so carefully described, does not seem, it has been said, to have any definite purpose, for nothing seems to be done with it. Yet no critic has impugned the genuineness of this portion of the scene. The fact of the matter is that Shakspere wanted to bring out forcibly the essential malice, the propensity to wanton evil, with which he invested his supernatural creation, and at the same time to make them present a sufficient external resemblance to the dreaded creatures of vulgar prejudice so as to act immediately on the imagination of his spectators.

The second scene of the first act is not, however, so easily disposed of. It is not the slovenly metre, nor the bombastic phraseology, which presses me much. Shakspere could write bombast, and I would be the last person to admit the force of a piece of destructive criticism which is based only upon a person's individual sense of style. People speak glibly no doubt of passages or touches which are Shaksperean and of others which are not. But it has

* In the text of the play they are nowhere described as such by Shakspere

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been well said, "style is *the* uncertain quantity of literature." Nor is it necessary to descant upon the absurdity of making a severely wounded soldier the messenger of a victory. His appearance on the stage may, on the other hand, be said to fill it with the very atmosphere of battle and add to the dramatic appeal of the whole episode. The real difficulty to be explained is the discrepancy between what is said of the Thane of Cawdor here and what is said of him in the following scene. Mr. Verity's theory of dissimulation on the part of Macbeth is, in my opinion, inadmissible. But I entirely agree with him in thinking that so far as the scene itself is concerned (apart from all its contents), it has an essential relation to the evolution of the play and to remove it dislocates the opening altogether. Before the hero is brought upon the stage and tempted, we must be told something of all that is great and good in him so that we may the better realise how great was the subsequent fall. Duncan's attitude towards him must be made clear, so that we may the better appreciate the magnitude of his ingratitude. The internal rebellion and the foreign invasion lead Duncan to settle the succession. And this forces Macbeth's hand, the new 'addition' with which his king just previously rewarded him having only given an impetus to his evil meditations. The Macdonwald-Sweno element is thus an integral part of the play and cannot be cut out. I therefore think that the explanation of the discrepancy must be found in the fact that portions of the play as originally written were subsequently tampered with by inferior hacks, possibly at the instance of the stage-manager. That there was such tampering is clear from Act III, Scene vi, too. There we are told that Macduff, who was living in disgrace because he failed his presence at the tyrant's feast, has already left for England. But in the antecedent Scene iv Macbeth tells his wife that he had only heard by the way that Macduff denied his presence and would send for him, and the next day betimes he was going to seek the weird sisters. And it is only in the fourth Act, after Macbeth has interviewed the sisters, that, towards the close of the first scene, messengers come to inform him that Macduff is fled to England.

My conclusion therefore is that we should delete from the authentic text only these portions which Mr. Chambers has placed within thick brackets in the "Warwick" edition of *Macbeth*. I may add that Mr. Fleay, an acute critic whose instincts are all directed against conservatism, upon mature reconsideration of the matter, condemns only Act III, Scene v, and Act IV, Scene i, lines 39—43.

III.

As for purely textual criticism of the genuine portions of Shakspere's plays, Indian students are never invited, and they seldom care, to study the original quarto and folio editions. If they did, they would not be slow to discover that the modern texts, which they find so easy to read and construe, have been built up by tedious years of patient, accurate and industrious scholarship. In neither the quarto editions nor the folio recension do the plays appear "cured and perfect of their limbes." Both versions are in places hopelessly incorrect and almost everywhere full of misprints of all sorts and kinds. A reader who wants to enjoy Shakspere and not bother himself with various readings, is no doubt well advised in selecting a reliable text and troubling himself no further. But to the true student, who is prepared to think for himself and live laborious days, the restoration of the pure text of Shakspere appeals as deeply as that of our ancient monuments does to the archaeologist or the art-critic. To every man is not given the genius of Theobald which inspired the Porson of Shaksperean scholarship to divine '*a babbled of green fields* where the original prints the nonsense "a Table of greenfields," or to emend the prose of "this bank and schoole of time" into the immortal poetry of *this bank and shoal of time*. But every humble student, who works in the genuine spirit, may do something to clear the *debris* and polish up the old columns. No worker, however, is qualified for the task who has not prepared himself by long and devoted study of Shakspere's works and close and careful examination of all contemporary literature.

Of mere misprints no explanation can be given and the reader must rely upon his own ingenuity and knowledge for a clue to the right reading. But there are some

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mistakes, by no means uncommon, of which an explanation may be given, and, for the benefit of students who care for the pure text, I will give here a few illustrations of these.

Let us consider a passage in *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene iii, lines 73—74, which in the first folio runs thus :

'And they in France of the best ranck and station
Are of a most select and generous cheff in that.'

This, as it stands, is not intelligible, though Malone threw out a desperate suggestion that *chef* is a heraldic term and means the upper third part of a shield. It is hard to print any nonsense out of which the ingenuity of man can not extort some sense. Most editors have, however, felt that there is some mistake and several emendations have been proposed. But a consideration of the quarto text may help us to solve the difficulty. The first Quarto reads :

And they of France of the chiefe rancke and station
Are of a most select and generall chiefe in that.

The second Quarto gives,

And they in France of the best ranck and station
Or of a most select and generous chiefe in that.

What seems to have happened is this. The printer's eye caught "of" and "chiefe" in line 73 and introduced them in line 74 after "are" and "generall" respectively. In the second Quarto "generall" was corrected into "generous," it was recognised that the two "of"s and the two "chiefe"s in two successive lines could not be correct, so the first "of" was altered to "in" and the first "chiefe" to "best," and, the sense of line 74 as it stood not being clear, "or" was substituted for "are." [Professor Dowden approves of the last substitution, see Arden edition, p. 33.] The Folio reading is the same as that of the second Quarto except that "chiefe" is spelt *cheff*. The true reading of line 74 then seems to be simply

Are most select and generous in that.

This Grant White read and Clark and Wright approved.

Now it will be found that the printers have frequently introduced or misspelt words by their attention having for the moment wandered to something above or below the line they happened to be then composing. In the famous *crux* of "Brach Merriman" in the introduction to the *Taming of the Shrew*, I believe the same thing has happened. The word *Brach* has been caught from the close of the following line, and it is now impossible to say what word in the original it has replaced.

In *Macbeth*, Act III, Scene iv, line 105,

If trembling I inhabit then, protest me,

the word *trembling* seems to have been caught from line 103 ("shall never tremble"), and we can only guess as to what the original word was. If this is not so, then I would adopt Herford's explanation, *viz.*, "if I display trembling, invest myself in it as an outward habit," but read "enhabit" for *inhabit* to make it clear that Shakspere, in his usual style, had consciously formed a new verb by prefixing *en* to the noun *habit* (=dress). At one time I was inclined to read

If trembling I inhabit hence [or thence],

construing "if I fly this place in tremb ling habit." Shakspere often separates the adjective from the substantive which it qualifies, and two distinct words being run into one is a common press error. But I am not satisfied with this conjecture now.

To take another instance from *Macbeth*. Line 44, Act V, Scene iv, stands in the first Folio thus,—

Cleanse the stufft bosom of that perilous stuffe.

The Clarendon Press editors question this reading and observe, "One or other of these words must be due to a mistake of transcriber or printer." Other editors think the repetition is in Shakspere's manner. But as Mr. Cuningham points out, "Here there is neither point nor quibble to be made in the mere repetition of 'stuff'." He refers to Henry V, IV. i. 19—23, and conjectures *slough* (spelt "sluff" formerly). I would not change the last word in the line but am prepared to take *stufft* to be an error for "slufft," and read

Cleanse the slough'd bosom of that perilous stuff.

This accords better with "a mind diseas'd" in line 40.

In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I, Scene i, lines 131—2,

Which then most sought where most might not be found,
Being one too many by my weary self,

the second *most* is clearly a misprint for "more", as Allen saw. The meaning obviously is 'perfect solitude,' and when

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Shakspere wrote this youthful piece he was "not the man to let slip the chance of running through the degrees of comparison, *many*, *more*, *most*."

Another class of mistakes is due to the transposition of words or even letters. A good illustration of the latter is the *study* of the second, third and fourth Folios, which was substituted for "dusty" ("the way to dusty death") of the first Folio in *Macbeth*, Act V, Scene v, line 23, and which was actually accepted by Rowe, Pope and and Capell! An illustration of the former may be taken from the same play, Act II, Scene i, line 57, where all the Folios read

Hear not my steps, which they may walk.

Rowe corrected, "which way they walk."

This word "way" or "may", I may remark in passing, is a fruitful source of error in old texts. Readers will remember

Her smiles and tears
Were like a better way.

in *King Lear*, Act IV, Scene iii, lines 19-20. Numerous emendations have been suggested. At one time I was inclined to think that the words *way* and *a* had changed places and were misprints respectively for "nay (or why)" and "far." I now suspect we should read "Were like, O better, say." The speaker's thought at first evidently was that Cordelia's smiles and tears were like the appearance of the April sky when sunshine and rain come together, but he immediately corrects himself and says that she looked much more beautiful indeed and the comparison does not do justice to the loveliness of her countenance and expression. (*A*, I may note, is very frequently misprinted for "O" or "ah." A good illustration is afforded by *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I, Scene i, line 207, where "A word" in the second Quarto and the first Folio has been corrected to "O, word" in the later Folios, and modern editors, following Malone, generally read "Ah, word.")

I believe in the famous passage,

But these sweet thoughts do even refresh my labours,
Most busy lest when I do it,
The Tempest, III, i, 14-5.

the words *most* and *lest* (corrected to "least" in the later Folios) have got displaced, and we should read

Least busy most when I do it.

The meaning which best suits the context is that the sweet thoughts lighten Ferdinand's physical toil in such a way that he is really least busy when he is most employed in performing the task imposed upon him.

I am not sure that in *Macbeth*, Act IV, Scene ii, lines 21-2,

But float upon a wild and violent sea
Each way, and move,

we have not the same error. Steevens' emendation 'And each way move," and Capell's "And move each way" have the merit of simplicity. I am disposed, however, to agree with the Cambridge editors in thinking that *move* is a misprint for "none." The meaning as they express it, is—"we are floating in every direction upon a violent sea of uncertainty, and yet make no way."

Another class of errors is due to the fact that the "copy" was often dictated to the compositors and they did not hear every word aright. Numerous instances may be given. I will content myself with two. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I, Scene i, line 105,

To know our farther pleasure in this case,

the Folios and the third Quarto give "our *Father's* pleasure." So for "sure" ("Thou sure and firm-set earth") in *Macbeth*, Act II, Scene i, line 56, the first Folio prints *Sowre*. In Act IV, scene i, line 6,

Toad, that under cold stone,

the superlative inflexion of *cold* seems to have been dropt for the same reason. Otherwise the defect in rhythm cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

(Here I must add a word as to the necessity of familiarising ourselves with the principles of Shakspere's versification. If we do so, we shall discover numerous errors in the Early editions which an uncritical ear never notices. A fatal objection, for instance, to the Folio reading in *Macbeth*, Act V, Scene v, line 42, "I pull in resolution," is that the emphasis must be laid on *in* contrary to the rhythm of the verse. But the professedly Indian editions have little to say about the metre.)

It is possible, however, that in the instance above given the printer dropt the final two letters of "coldest" because they happened to be identical with the initial two letters of the following word "stone." This is a fruitful source of error too, and I believe here the key is to be found to the

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well-known *crux* in *King Lear*, Act III, Scene vii, line 68.

All cruels else subscribed.

(This is the Quarto lection, the Folio has "subscribe.")

I read

All cruels self-subscribed,

that is, all cruel creatures surrendered, at least for the time being, the essential cruelty of their nature. (The long *s* was often confounded with *f*. For the word "subscribed" see Act I, Scene ii, line 24 *ante*, and for the form "self-subscribed" compare "self-covered," Act IV, Scene ii, line 62 *post*).

Another class of errors which it is desirable to notice is the omission of a line or a part of a line which render the remainder of the passage more or less unintelligible. See, for instance, *King Lear*, Act II, Scene ii, lines 171—3,

and shall find time
From this enormous state, seeking to give
Losses their remedies.

In such cases all emendations must be pure guess-work.

There is clearly a lacuna in *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene i, lines 117-8,

As stars with trains of fire and dews of blood,
Disasters in the sun.

Malone conjectured

Astres with trains of fire—and dews of blood
Disastrous dimmed the sun,

and Staunton further emended the last line of this,

Discoloured (or distempered) the sun.

In my college days, when my judgment was green, I was disposed to read

Astres with trains of fire and dews of blood
Disaster'd in the sun.

(The conceit of comets, meteors or other skyey bodies coming into collision is not extravagant, as will appear from a somewhat similar passage in *Richard II*). But I now prefer to think that a line between the present lines 116 and 117 has been lost, and instead of composing one for Shakspere we should follow Moberly's example and borrow one from *Julius Caesar*, Act I, Scene iii. Henry Morley read heroically,

And stars with trains of fire and dews of blood
Disastrous omen gave.

This is a good illustration of what not to do when attempting to emend the text of Shakspere.

As there are errors of omission, so there are errors of commission. Their name is a legion. A good instance may be taken from *Hamlet* again. Lines 36—8, Act I, Scene iv, are printed thus in the second Quarto:

the dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of a doubt
To his own scandal.

Eale manifestly is a misprint for "evil" or "vile." The trouble lies with the words *of a doubt*. It is close upon a quarter of century now that I conjectured that this was a misprint for "out of doubt," a phrase which is common in Shakspere (see, *e.g.*, *Henry V*, iv. i. 20; *The Merchant of Venice*, *passim*), and means 'undoubtedly.' The word "out" having been missed, *a* was introduced for the sake of metre, as in Act I, Scene iii, line 74, discussed above. "Doth" I understand to mean 'works' and so 'converts,' and I do not take it for an auxiliary verb. Professor Dowden takes "scandal" to be the principal verb, and Corson so construes "substance." But the order of the words shows that either interpretation is impossible. "Oft" or "often" for *of* or *of a* is an obvious emendation, but in my opinion is inadmissible. As Mr. Verity remarks, "'Often' would admit exceptions where something of universal and invariable experience is, surely, intended."

Before I conclude I must say a word about the famous *crux* of "runnawayes eyes" in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III, Scene ii, line 6. I consider this a misprint. Professsor Dowden in his beautiful way asks, "How should any critic neglect to add his stone to the cairn under which the meaning lies buried?" (Arden edition, page ix). My stone is "Sun's weary eyes."

I have only to state that the above discursive observations owe their origin solely to a desire to show how very interesting and important the study of Shakspere's text even in its external and verbal aspects is, and what a vast field of delightful research the Indian student leaves uncultivated. My remarks are wholly inadequate and incomplete, and I ask for nothing more than a sympathetic consideration for the suggestions I have put forward above.

SATISH CHANDRA BANERJI.

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION—ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE

IT is in the air that the National Council of Education is shortly going to be wiped out of existence. Positive statements even are being made that its span of life extends over some two or three months more. It is needless to say that such statements come from those who have never cared to take any the least interest in the affairs of the Council and it is left to the public to take their remarks for what they are worth. The reasons why such uncalled for comments are forthcoming from every direction are not far to seek. The first and foremost of them appears to be the falling off of students both in the Calcutta and the Mofussil Institutions of the Council.

Secondly the unfortunate withdrawal of Mr. Palit's aid of Rs. 2000/ a month has also prejudiced the public opinion.

With regard to the falling off of the number of students, it is easy to see that though, generally speaking, that is an unerring index of the decay of an Institution, yet, having in view the peculiar circumstances under which the National Council of Education first saw the light, that is to be considered as an exception rather than rule. The immense enthusiasm for everything national which prevailed in this country during the last few years, gave the Institution an impetus which, from its very nature, could not be expected to continue to be the chief factor of its steady growth and development. Despite all opinions to the contrary, people better informed know, that the idea of National Education was not solely the product of that enthusiasm alone, though it undoubtedly gave the idea its first concrete shape. It was not less than some four years before the late movements or any movement that the first idea of imparting education to our boys strictly on national lines, dawned upon the mind of some eminent Indian educationists and large sums of money were offered to make the scheme a success.

Now, as to Mr. Palit's withdrawal. There are people who believe that the loss has struck a death blow at the very foundation of the Institution. It must of course be admitted that the moral effect of Mr. Palit's withdrawal has been very serious. People have at once run away with the idea that the Institution must have worked badly enough to lose the patronage of such a benefactor as Mr. Palit. It must be admitted on all hands that while the gratitude of the country is justly due to Mr. Palit for the many instances of his liberality, and sacrifice, his want of patience cannot but be deplored by every true lover of National Education. It is frivolous to expect that an Institution newly ushered into existence, should at once rise to eminence and produce the desired results in all their manifold perfection. All tentative beginnings must be allowed a certain reasonable amount of time, in order that they may be stereotyped into success. What with the want of self-confidence, that must form an essential attribute of a public spirited man, and what with the strong influence of some important personages, Mr. Palit was hasty in concluding that the Council is unable to cope with the initial difficulties that confront it with regard to the proper management of the Institution. Experience has shown that even some of the best Institutions of England took at least ten years to come up to the standard of public recognition. The Technical Institute in Manchester had to wait for ten years before it was recognised by the British Parliament. The Roorkee College, as also the Sibpore College had to wait for considerable length of time before they were appreciated. It will not here be out of place to point out that the National College still retains an income of Rs. 53,333 a year (of which over Rs. 33,000 come from endowments) besides a workshop of Rs. 1,12,814, after deducting 10 per

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cent. depreciation, a library of Rs. 12,202 and a laboratory of Rs. 39,685.

An ambitious programme of education like the one taken up by the Council, which seeks to fuse the best elements of the West with those of the East, to combine technical education with general, and to supplement secular education with the religious, must be allowed a pretty length of time to come to perfection. Let us now consider how the Council has acted in pursuance of its objects and with what amount of success.

The Council has established the General side in which students are instructed in various academical subjects in order that they get that general sharpness and polish without which no man can be called truly educated and which is indispensably necessary to prepare them for any sort of technical training or to make them specialists. A greater part of the knowledge is thus in a way necessary for its own sake. Further, from the point of view of general intellectual culture, every opportunity is offered to the students to enable them to imbibe the best assimilable ideas of the West through the medium of the East, prominence being given to the vast and rich store of the East —its History, its Philosophy, its Theology and so forth. The general cry against a godless system of education has received the best attentions of the Council and it has made arrangements for a regular course of religious and moral education, in the Infant Class, as also the highest class of the Institution the Proficiency Class deriving the best benefit from it. It is superfluous to add that this feature is not to be met with in any other system of education. The method of teaching adopted by the Council is that of the inductive method going hand-in-hand with the deductive method. The training of young boys in matters technical—such as drawing, carpentry and various sorts of workshop practice stands out as the most prominent feature of the Institute of the Council. The brain and the hands of the students are thus given an opportunity to work together, so that even in the prime of their life, they become thoroughly practical in their ways of thinking and acting.

Advanced students of this Institute are at liberty to choose their own lines according to their aptitudes and may take up (a) Engineering—Mechanical or Electrical; (b) Medicine, of which Biology and Botany are taught in the Institute and the students can fully qualify themselves in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, where the door is open for such candidates.

The distorted and misrepresented facts of History, thus far written by outsiders who cannot possibly get first-hand information of or a thorough intimacy with Indian affairs, has for long kept us spell-bound. It is now high time that Indian must work for India—he must be an authority on Indian questions. It is left to the Proficiency students of this Institute to accomplish this purpose. The way has already been paved by illustrious scholars like Prof. Radhakumud Mukerjee, who fills the Hem Chandra Basu Mallick Chair of Indian History in the National Council of Education of Bengal, whose "A History of Indian Shipping and maritime activity from the earliest times" has elicited high praise not only from all parts of India, but also from the highest authorities of the continent of Europe.

One of the most important departments of this Institute is the Engineering Department. The authorities of this Institute have moulded the curriculum of study in such a manner as to enable the students to appear in the London City and Guilds certificate Examination. Moreover a practical knowledge of drawing, surveying, etc., is imparted them, so that they may miss no opportunity of getting themselves usefully employed in some respectable post even at the very start in their life. The subjoined list of some of the successful students, will at once prove how this department has hitherto worked.

Further, it is no small gratification for the Council to learn that the London authorities have, in appreciation of the proficiency of the students of this Institute been pleased to exempt them from hithertofore appearing at the Preliminary Examination in Electrical Engineering. The following few lines will serve to describe in brief the thorough practical training the students receive at the Institute. After finishing the ordinary workshop practice, they in the final year make instruments each with his own hands, first from model, secondly from drawing; and the more advanced students are directed to make any original modifications, if possible.

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In the fourth year, they have to make an Engine, a lathe and a dynamo or any other machine which is to be awarded to them on the completion of their course, to give them a start in life.

The whole plan was explained to Colonel Atkinson and Mr. Dawson, Principals of the Roorkee College and Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay, and the work of the students was shown to them. They have recorded their opinion as follows: —

"On visiting the Bengal Technical Institute we were agreeably surprised and pleased to find the equipment and organisation were much more efficient than we had expected. The earnestness and enthusiasm of the staff and Committee are undoubted factors and an excellent beginning has been made.

"We believe it is the wish of the Committee that instead of writing commonplace, though heartfelt expressions of good wishes for its future we should express our opinion on the lines which might be followed to produce a practical success.

"However well trained a youth may be in the best equipped of Institutions, it is an almost universal experience that he will not be lucratively employed in commercial work till he has had practical experience and has learnt the business side of his profession. The only method to secure this seems to us to arrange for apprenticeships on the completion of the tuitional course.

"These apprenticeships, if obtainable, will only continue to be so, if the employer finds the apprentice a useful man and one who will turn into a commercial asset. The aim must therefore be, to produce a man with theoritical and practical training required in the market; a man who will after experience and specialization turn into a valuable addition to the staff of his employers.

"Not only is theoretical and practical training necessary but the habits of obedience, hardwork, and the facility of accepting responsibility and action in emergency. At present, the education must not aim too high theoretically, but must be of an eminently practical nature.

"The beginner must be prepared to start on the lowest rung of the ladder and work upwards showing his ability, trustworthiness and grit. Further, the teachers must be the very best men of the same type it is intended to turn out.

"We would further recommend the Institute to concentrate its energies and funds on one branch at a time (say Mechanical and Electrical Engineering) until it has made it a practical success, and then to extend to other branches when it is fully satisfied that openings for employment are available for the men turned out."

The remarkable success of the students of the Institute in the practical field of work is more pleasing than anything else. One of our students has been awarded a gold medal from the Hon'ble Maharaja of Dharakota for the excellent work rendered by him in connection with the Electrical installation of the Maharaja's palace. The instruments made by the students were sent to the Utterpara Exhibition. The authorities of the Exhibition have presented a gold medal to the Institute for the excellent specimen of workmanship which the Institute exhibited. These instruments are now being exhibited in the Swadeshi Mela in Calcutta.

In the face of all this, we do not see why anybody should be dissatisfied with the working of the Institution. It is a trite fact that the idea of true education and culture is slowly disappearing from the minds of men. Students, after being trained up to be Masters of Science or Bachelor of Science, are finally made to take their refuge in some post of the executive officer. Scholars trained in the Agricultural colleges abroad come back to India to be a deputy or a judge, an inexplicable, anomalous situation indeed! Is the production of a country ever increased by the so-called knowledge of those who learn only to forget? Is this the true idea of education or culture? The names of Dr. Bose and Dr. Ray excepted, what is the achievement of the Indian Universities in the field of Science? Where is the suitable Laboratory for the Post Graduate study of the Indian student and what is the provision made for maintenance of such scholars?

The National Council is the only Institute where the people of Bengal have got the unique scope for exercising their power of organisation.

It is headed by such men as Dr. Ghosh, Sir Gooroodas Banerjee, Mr. Justice A.

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Chaudhury, Sj. Hirendra Nath Dutt, Dr. Indu Madhab Mallick and other men of recognised ability and learning. It is financed by such men as Sj. Brajendra Kishore Roy Chaudhury, the Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi Bahadur, Kumar Sashi Kanta Acharyya Chaudhury, Sj. Subodh Chandra Mallick and others.

The following results of the City and Guilds Technical Institute Examinations held this year give comparative idea of this Institute and the Victoria Technical Institute and the other table shows the prospects of some of the students in the respective lines :—

Bengal Technical Institute.	Appeared.	Passed.	Percentage.
Mechanical Engineering.			
Grade I	4	3	75
Grade II	2	2	100
Electrical Engineering.			
Grade I	6	5	83
Grade II (continuous currrent)	6	6	100
(Alternating current) ...		2	
Cotton and Wool Dyeing.	Two passed	In both two	
Two students appeared.	Two passed	appeared.	

Victoria Technical Institute.	Appeared.	Passed.	Percentage.
Mechanical Engineering ...	17	6	35
Grade I		5	
Grade II		1	
Electrical Engineering ...	39	21	68
Grade I		14	
Grade II (continuous current) ...		6	
,, ,, (Alternating current) ...		1	

Whereas the Victoria Technical Institute students have to pass the Grade I of Electrical Engineering Examination, our students are exempted from appearing in that Examination, as recorded above.

"These results compare very favourably with the results obtained is England, the papers and conditions of examinations being the same in both cases."

The above remark has been made with reference to the success of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute by the Amrita Bazar Patrika when in that Institute the percentage of pass is 68. Our countrymen are to judge the comparative merits of that Institute and Bengal Technical Institute in which cent. per cent. students, have passed.

It might be further observed that two students passed the Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Examinations, Grade II, continuous current, and Grades I, II Mechanical Engineering Examinations) of the same Institute. Last year, the students made the following instruments as a part of their practical course.

Instruments made—

4 Galvanometers.
4 Electric Bells.
3 Telephone receivers.
1 Permiameter.
1 Hysteresis Tester.
1 Indicator (Simplex Type).
1 Rheostat.
2 Universal Shunts.
2 Induction coils.
1 Ammeter.
1 Voltmeter.
1 Dynamometer.
1 Rolling mill.

Names of successful students of the Bengal Technical Institute (Sec. Department.)

Names.	Subject.	Division.	How employed after passing.
1909.			
Satishchandra Chatterjee ...	Mechanical Engineering.	1st	Not known.
Anathnath Sen ...	Do.	1st	Employed in the Dockyard.
Radhicaprasanna Mazumdar	Do.	1st	Rangpur tobacco Factory.
Bhupendranath Bose ...	Do.	2nd	Employed in the Dockyard.
Nitaichand Ghosh ...	Electrical Engineering.	1st	Working at Messrs. N. & N. Ghosh, Electrician.
Bagalacharan Mitter ...	Do.	1st	Undergoing practical training in the work-shop of Kidderpore Dockyard.
Aswinikumar Pal ...	Do.	1st	Employed in an Executive Engineer office on Rs. 50.
Narendranath Datta ...	Pottery	1st	Is engaged in securing funds for starting a pottery work at Tipperah.

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Names of successful students of the Bengal Technical Institute (Sec. Department).

NAMES.	Subject.	Division.	How employed after passing.
1910			
Bankimbehari Roy ...	Mechanical Engineering.	1st	Passed City & Guilds of London Examination. Working as contractor in Darjeeling.
Bhupendranath Banerjee ...	Do.	1st	Was employed under Messrs. Standard Oil Co., Ltd.,
Priyalal Guha ...	Do.	2nd	
Chandicharan Chatterjee ...	Geology	1st	Employed as a prospector under the Assam Oil Company, Ld., at Digboi, Upper Assam on Rs. 150.
Matilal Sen Gupta ...	Pottery	1st	Is a teacher in the Prem Maha Vidyalaya, Brindaban, on Rs. 50.
Benodebehari Bose ...	Dyeing	2nd	Doing business as dyer.
Bishnupada Chatterjee ...	Electrical Engineering	2nd	Is under E. I. Ry. Workshop at Howrah.
1910			
Bansidhari Pal ...	Mechanical Engineering and Electrical Engineering.	1st	Got a gold medal from the Maharaja of Dharakota. Employed under Messrs. Pyne Hughman & Co., on Rs. 140.
Umadutt Pande ...	Do.	1st	Is under Calcutta Tramways & Co.
Charuchandra Mallik ...	Do.	1st	Probation on Rs. 40. Electric supply corporation.
Benoybhusan Guha ...	Mechanical Engineering.	2nd	Was employed in Messrs. Martin & Co.'s dock. Now serving as an Engineer of a Tea garden, on Rs. 75.
1911			
Shibaprasad Ganguly ...	Mechanical Engineering and Electrical Engineering.	1st	Is employed as Foreman in Bengal Technical Institute. Passed the City & Guilds Examination, Grade II.
Bhutnath Karmakar ...	Do.	2nd	Has started the Sheet Metal work in the stamping Press of the Institute.
Brijlal Sakhuja ...	Mechanical Engineering and Electrical Engineering.	3rd 1st	Was employed as paid apprentice under E. B. S. Ry: at Sealdah, passed City and Guilds of London Examination, in Mechanical Engineering Grade II. Electrical Engineering Grade II, continuous current.
Panchanan Dutt ...	Mechanical Engineering	3rd	Is employed as paid apprentice under Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd.
Kalicharan Bose ...	Dyeing	2nd	Is undergoing practical training in the Institute, Passed the City & Guilds of London Examination in dyeing.

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Names of successful students of the Bengal Technical Institute (Sec. Department).

Names.	Subject.	Division.	How employed after passing.
1911			
Hirankumar Gupta ...	Geology	2nd	Has gone to England for further studies in Geology.
Durgasankar Bhattacharyya	Geology	2nd	Is employed as a Museum Assistant Geological Survey of India on Rs. 50—100.
Jogneswar Munshi ...	Geology	2nd	Appointed on Rs. 150—200 Assistant Geologist and Prospector.

Names of successful student, of the Bengal Technical Institute (Intermediate Department).

Names.	Subject.	Division.	How employed after passing.
1909.			
Janaki Nath Chakravarty ...	Mechanical Engineering.	1st	Carrying on contract business.
Sarat Chandra Gupta ...	Do.	1st	Employed in business (Nib and Button Manufacturer.)
Paresh Nath Mukherjee ...	Do.	1st	
Upendra Chandra Ghosh ...	Do.	1st	Employed in business (Nib and Button Manufacturer.)
1910.			
Bejoy Kumar Roy ...	Do.	2nd	Carrying on contract business.
1911.			
Rajendra Nath Bagchi ...	Mechanical and Electrical Fitting.	2nd	Is employed as a shift Engineer at Damukdea.
Auchutananda Narayan Roy.	Do.	3rd	
Secondary Department.			
1912.			
A. B. C. ...	.....	.....	Employed on Rs. 90 and allowance, passed City and Guilds Institute Examination Electrical Engineering, Grade I.
Rash Behari Banerjee ...	Electrical Engineering.	1st.	Employed under Messrs. Pyne, Hughman & Co., passed City and Guilds Electrical Engineering, Grade I.
A. B. C.	.....	.....	Employed as Aassistant Inspector of of Block Signal.
Surendra Kumar Roy ...	Electrical Engineering,	1st	Proceeded to America. Passed City and Guilds Electrical Engineering, Grade II.
Chandi Charan Sinha (2nd year student).	.....		Proceeded to America.
Dhirendra Nath De (3rd Year student).	.....	.....	Employed as a Sub-Overseer, Cuttak.
Primary Department.			
1912.			
Prafulla Chandra Rai. ...	Mechanical and Electrical Fitting.	1st	Working as a contractor.
Durga Charan Ghosh ... & Monoranjan Sircar. ...	Do.	1st	Started Electroplating Business.
A. B. C.			Assistant Foreman Mechanic, on Rs. 80 per month.

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Names of successful students of the Bengal Technical Institute (Intermediate Department).

Names.	Subject.	Division.	How employed after passing.
Mokshoda Prasad Manna. ...	Mechanical and Electrical Fitting.	1st	Button Manufacturer.
Sanyasi Charan Chanda ...	(Survey Student).		Carrying on contracting business.
Bishnupada Shahu ...	.....	1st	Midnapore Survey, Pay Rs. 50 to 100,
Nabin Krishna Mukherjee ...	.....	1st	Carrying on business.
Sudhamay Chatterjee ...	Proficiency in Chemistry,	2nd class.	Tata Iron Works, Rs. 40.
Satyaranjan Roy ...	Do.	.....	.....
Harendra Kumar Mukherjee.	Proficiency in Physics,	1st class.	Assistant Head Master, on Rs. 60 Mungheer Training School.
Sambhunath Bandopadhyaya.	Do.	2nd class.	Carrying on business.
Nirendra Kumar Ghosh ...	Primary Technical Student.	.....	Taken as 4th Year Apprentice in the P. C. Docks on an allowance of Rs. 20 per month.
Satish Chundra Banerjee ...	Proficiency in Chemistry	2nd	Formerly research scholar, now doing business.

A. B. C. indicate the name of an unsuccessful candidate.

Bhim Chandra Chatterjee, B.A., B.Sc.,
Electrical Engineer, Roorkee College,
Prof. of Engineering, National Council of Education.

KASHMIR AND THE KASHMIRIS

VII.

THE PANDIT-WOMEN.

WHEN one thinks of Kashmir, as a rule, "beauty" comes upper-most in his mind—I mean, one who has never been to Kashmir is accustomed to believe that Kashmir is the land of "beauty". And beauty he applies to and identifies with the women of that land of fabulous beauty.

The people are handsome, the climate is exceedingly healthy, the manners and customs and the mode of living of the people are classical. I can hardly imagine any other land more fascinating. But this is from a purely aesthetical standpoint.

To the lover of his country every nook and corner of his land, and every set of people are equally beautiful. Verily I can not put Kashmir above other parts of my land—India. However, the general belief is that the people of Kashmir are remarkably beautiful; and that beauty centres round the women of Kashmir. No doubt it is a fact that from the aesthetical point of view there is average beauty in Kashmir. Both men and women are as a rule handsome and one meets very few 'ugly' faces in Kashmir; I could not discover among young folks more than two in two months.

The complexion of the people generally and of Pandit-women is very fair with a rosy tinge. But the build of their body does not make a very favourable impression. Their stature is comparatively short. The legs are shorter still.

It seems their dress also does not heighten their personal charms. Old age deprives them of beauty much earlier than elsewhere.

No Parda.

Among the Pandits of Kashmir there is no Parda—except among a few aristocratic and rich families, whose number is very small and negligible. So in reaching Kashmir a tourist can not at once jump to the conclusion that the country is inhabited

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by men only. As a European lady-tourist once in the columns of this Review remarked in an able article that in North India women are invisible and she was at first lead to believe that there were no women in Hindustan. But in Kashmir on the contrary she would be impressed very much by the free and independent life the women lead there. They occupy a very important position both as helpmates of men and managers of the house-hold. Although as a rule women can not speak with the visitor in Hindi (men invariably do), yet if a Hindu visitor pays a visit to a Pandit-family (in the muffassil), he will talk to men, but it is the women of the house that will entertain him with tea and rice. They still follow the old Hindu custom of washing the feet of the guest before placing food before him. This hospitality is done by women. I was simply embarrassed when on various occasions this washing-the-feet-hospitality was going to be done to me. I always refrained from allowing my feet to be washed by them ; though the hot water with salt in it was a treat for poor feet in the cold climate after a long walk to the village.

This hospitality is met with only in the muffasil. The people of the city have come to have an unsocial, unhospitable, rough and close life—the bane of city life all the world over.

The advocates of Parda have much food for reflection here. The Hindu-Pandits in Kashmir, roughly speaking, are only 5 per cent. and they are living side by side with Kashmiri Muhammadans whose number is so overwhelmingly large that it comes to 90 p.c. and they (the middle and upper classes) have made it a part of their new faith to observe Parda. Yet the Hindus have not learnt this pernicious custom though they have been living together for nearly 700 years, whereas the Hindus of India proper have taken to Parda so ardently, and so rigorously. And the result on the physique of the Pardawala Muhammadans is so apparent. The Pandit-women keep by far the better health and are much more beautiful than the Pardanashin ladies of the Muhammadans although the same blood runs in the veins of both. I was told that gradually Muhammadan women on account of their confinement and the use of the veil (*burka*) are catching a sort of skin disease. They look emaciated and very pale, though they breathe the same air and live in the same healthy region. Parda can ruin the physique of people living in even the healthiest regions of earth.

Woman's influence.

In all social matters woman's voice predominates. As here in the plains of India amongst the Pardawala people women wield great power from behind the Parda, so in Kashmir it is the wife or mother who acts as the legislator of the family. She has the power of veto in regard to marriages. If it pleases her she can get a girl married at 7 and a boy at 5 years of age. She is the equal of man in every respect, with only the difference that like the women of Burma she do not go out to earn for the support of the man and child. Barring Burma my impression is that women among the Pandits occupy a more independent position than in any other part of India—Madras would stand as a rival to Kashmir in this respect.

Education among women.

Very few of them are literate. The Pandits have no objection to the education of women. But they have no facilities and can not get its advantages nor have they got a fancy for female education. Educational facilities are now being placed at their disposal and a start has been made in the town. The people are yet indifferent to woman's education, as they do not see how it can materially improve their lot. Besides they are too poor to spend anything on education. However, their being no *Parda*, one of the stumbling blocks in the way of female education in our land, I strongly hope that women's education will make a rapid progress, without creating a want for 'closed carriages for girl-pupils'. (I am not envious that our sisters go in carriages when we have to measure the distance by our legs; but the point is, why should tram-cars not be used to lessen the expenses).

Her position in the home.

In Kashmir, as the daughter of the house she is well clad and free to play and frolic. Her liberty is not curtailed even when she attains the age of puberty and is again

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PANDITS AND PANDITANI IN A HOUSE-BOAT.

as free when she comes to her mother's house from her father-in-law's. A young girl's life is a life of joy and frolic and fun. She plays, she jumps and she screams in fun. She goes to the bank of the mighty Jhelam and throwing off her skirt, down she flings herself on the bosom of the Jhelam and lo! here she swims like a mermaid.

Soon comes that period when restrained freedom and unwelcome responsibility and duty come upon her shoulders in the house of her husband. But there also before she is made to feel the burden of the household duties and the seriousness of life, she has a glorious and fascinating period of life.

She has been married to a widower of 40 years of age.* Her age is 15 years. It is her first day in her husband's house. She has three sisters-in-law who make love to her, caress her, fawn upon her, look minutely at her ornaments and apparel and in fine admire her beauty. The women of the village come in groups and individually to court her, to make friends with her, to see her; some come to find fault with her beauty, behind her back, others to praise her to her face. They ask her "How many brothers and sisters are you?" "We are seven" is most probable the answer, as it is an auspicious number and the deficiency can be made up by including cousins among brothers and sisters. Some ladies bring her presents. Now they will lead her to the stream of the village, now to the presiding deity of the village. Her sisters-in-law will show her their fields, and gardens and cowsheds. They treat her with kindest regard and a fondness mixed with respect. The new wife thinks she has been introduced to a new heaven, a fascinating world. She knows not that the friendliness and sympathy is likely to change into animosity and antipathy.

* I am quoting here a concrete example, for I was present in this marriage ceremony and I closely followed the new wife's life for 5 subsequent days while staying as their guest.

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A Panditani of Kashmir—"a study."

The first scene over, the curtain is raised and the adored bride is introduced into the household. Now, what is her round and routine of work? To some it might look as a piece of drudgery and slavery. But to be sure, an average Hindu wife loves nothing more than to handle the cooking pots and preside at home. True, her right position in the Hindu home is to be the presiding deity of home and hearth. Before she takes over the charge of the hearth and cooking pots she has to labour hard to reach that envied position, which she will inherit one day by right of succession and according to seniority. During the period of apprenticeship a Kashmiri wife has to lead a life of duty and beauty.

How women occupy their time.

In the early morning she and her sisters occupying yet the same subordinate position are given stale rice to eat and a cup of hot tea to sip. Breakfast over, the women of the house, excepting the matron, who is in charge of the hearth, go to the stream to fetch water. Then some of them disperse to milk the cow, some go to adjoining miniature gardens to pick up *karmakasag** (a famous and most remarkable and indispensable vegetable of Kashmir).

In the meantime the time for the midday meal comes round; and having served the dishes to men they wash their dishes. And how they wash dishes and other utensils of similar nature is indeed a very interesting and unique method. All the dishes are gathered together. By turns each dish is taken up. First each dish is washed (not cleansed) by water, then the lady washing them breathes her breath upon every dish and places them on one side. Then again she scours them one by one with dry dust, and the cleansing ceremony is done. Yes! different people have different ideas about cleanliness. True, the breath of man pollutes instead of cleansing! The dirt (dust) is dirt after all. I have noticed it among *Marwaries* also that they clean utensils with dry dust and the application of water is supposed to be pollution. And what on earth can be washed without water. The Kashmiri ladies do not take the trouble of going out to wash utensils. They do it within the house generally by the side of a window,

* It is so difficult for our readers to realise the use and importance of this vegetable, and what it means to the people of this land. They eat its green leaves while a tender plant. They eat its stem when it grows into a robust one, and when it gathers root below, it is a treat to them. The root is preserved generally for winter months when the land is covererd with snow and no vegetable can grow.

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through which they throw out the dirt, which gathers outside.

They are proverbially dirty people. And they say the extreme cold in winter has made them so. But in the summer they could go out with advantage. The snow is not blocking their doors. Yet I observed the above phenomena in summer months—not in one house but in several houses of middle class Brahmins. Perhaps habit is to be blamed for this!

Now comes the turn of women to eat. They can eat and chat as well enjoy their meal. They have no scruple to remove the dish of rice from one corner of the house to another or from room to room where it may be convenient to chat. Their favourite dining places are balconies and window sills. And how much they eat! Not more than double the amount of rice that their sisters could swallow in Bengal. But man I think eats thrice as much as one of the same sex can do here. I remember that to my great surprise I saw little children of 7 or 8 years of age eating double of what a young man of Hindustan could do.



A Panditani of Kashmir.

Then after the wholesale washing of utensils, comes a period of repose which is passed in gossip and telling tales and nods of sleep now and then. One thing, noticeable. They are social and communal, as unlettered women all over the world are. Modern education makes them unsocial, reserved and proud—of course there are exceptions everywhere to be found.

This repose is followed by activity. They join in a party to thresh paddy for the night's rice and for the next morning. Having done this they disperse to garden to pick up *karmakasag* and fruits. In the dusk they go to fetch water and welcome cows. Night comes on and brings night-duties to the hands of women; lighting the lamp, making the fire, cooking the food, laying the table and washing the utensils, *etc.* Having done justice to their own share of the meals they prepare the beds and then pass some of their time in talking to one another telling stories,—tales and legends from Hindu mythology.

In all the hill tracts of our land women even of the rich classes take a considerable part in agriculture, in some places they do much more work than men. But in Kashmir the women of the Pandit-class do no field work, however poor they may be, except in very few cases. It is because they look down upon agriculture as below the Brahmin's dignity. Therefore the lands of the Pandits are cultivated for them by Musalman peasants. This is one of the causes of the comparative poverty of the Pandits. The noblest profession discarded!

I had the occasions, in the muffassil, of closely observing the life and work of the women of Kashmir. It impressed me very much with its beauty in simplicity and peaceful life of the people! The homes are in themselves things of homely beauty. This life in the womb of the Himalaya is an ideal life for peaceful people of few wants and unqualified contentment. The calm, the leisure, the peace and seclusion from the busy world—retirement in nature's lap—if this is life, then life in Kashmir is beautiful and fascinating. But true life is the life of struggle, life of sorrow, life of work, life of progress, life of change and assimilation. But there is none of these ingredients of true life in this. It is a life of beauty and poverty. The people are poor indeed. But none is too poor to go out and stir for a better sort of living. They are contented and happy! And no doubt it is a life of beauty, of natural

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The Dress and Ornaments.

Beauty in simplicity is one characteristic of the Pandit-women of Kashmir and complexity in simplicity is another. They have only one shirt—a long shirt-like garment—for the decoration and protection of their body and apparently only one piece of white cloth for their head dress. But these two garments are so complex. The long shirt used by both men and women is called *Pheran* in the Kashmiri language. There is a great difference in the cut, sleeves and pockets, etc. of the *Pherans* of men, unmarried girls, married women, and widows.



A Panditani of Kashmir.

The *Pheran* of an unmarried girl is like that of man's in shape, except that it has broader and shorter sleeves. The *Pheran* of girls has a pocket on the right side like that of men. But when they are married their pocket goes to the left side. In the *Pherans* of unmarried girls, hem is not used whereas in those of married women a broad hem is used. The sleeves also become longer. The long sleeves of married women are turned upside at the wrist and the part turned-up is generally of different material than that of the cloth of the *Pheran*—it is, embroidered cloth or some brilliant coloured piece. The colour of *Pherans* is geneally red, blue or violet. Married Pandit-women have a red or green long piece of silk or wool or cloth round their waist over the *Pheran*. It serves the purpose of a belt but to the Pandits it has a particular meaning and has become almost a conventional piece of dress. Married women while at their mothers' can often dispense with it. But in their father-in-law's house they have no license to part with this belt-like-garment. They call it *Hul*. They begin to use this conventional garment after they attain puberty.

A glance at "A study", the illustration given, will, I hope give a real picture of the dress of Panditanis. The Muhammadan women's *Pheran* is less complex and differs in details. And the *Pheran* of the Pansari (Kshatriya) women differs from both and stands midway between the two. To point out only one difference, the sleeves of the *Pheran* of Pansari-women are open in the middle. This and other differences are intentionally introduced.

The head-dress of Pandit-women is much more complex. Before marriage girls use a kind of beautiful skull cap *Taach*. This is used in place of Tarang by such married girls as are too young or have not attained puberty; the headdress of the married women consists of four things: (*a*) *kalposh*, something like a skull-cap, (*b*) *zaje* is a strictly religious piece of headdress given to the bride at the time when she attains puberty; this is a long thing that spreads over the back, and the part that comes over the forehead is generally a coloured, brilliant piece; (*c*) *taranga* is a long piece of white cloth tied round the forehead as Parsi-women have; (*d*) *puch*, a long sheet that covers all those below, and, covering the whole head, spreads over the shoulders and the back; apparently this is their principal head-dress, a plain white sheet.

The above-mentioned four kinds of headdresses are given to the girl at the time of her marriage. But they are taken off imme-

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diately after, in the case of little girls and are given back to them when they attain puberty. On this occasion a solemn ceremony is performed, which costs from two to three hundred rupees even to middle class Pandits. From this time onward, *hul* and *zaje* (belt) are invariably used in the father-in-law's house. The latter can be put off now and then while at the mother's house.

As regards ornaments, the most important is *Dizharu*. The *Dizharu* is a beautiful gold ornament. It hangs down from the ear between the shoulders and cheeks by a silk thread pinned in the headdress passing round the ear. There is another ornament which goes with it. It is a sort of ear ornament. These two together rather form a single ornament and are never separated from a Pandit woman. It is an indispensible ornament for a Panditani after marriage. Even the poorest woman has to use it. Look here at the force of custom. How many of us, even those who get enough to eat, can afford to use gold ornaments? I am reminded here also of a similar custom among the peasants of the southern part of the Madras Presidency. I was struck to find all women in the fields wearing gold ear ornaments. Verily ornament is no guarantee of prosperity. There is one almost invisible ornament worn round the neck. It is called hattiful. This is used at the time of marriage and has to be thrown off every time a death occurs in the family, and is again used when one in the house is to be married. No marriage in the house can be solemnised before this ornament decorates the neck of the married women of the family. *Anant* are big gold rings used in the ears. Matrons use them. Those who like and can afford use all sorts together. These ear ornaments are all golden ones and they are regarded as religious and auspicious paraphernalia of a woman. They are above law. They cannot be confiscated. They cannot be sold to satisfy the creditors. The court cannot decree their sale. Silver ornaments are used in forms of bangles—*Kachchakkar* and *Guns* round the wrist. Grown up women use nothing on ankles or feet, only girls use *Rain* (anklets) of silver on ankles.

MUKANDI LAL.

CALCUTTA POTTERY WORKS

SOME twelve years ago Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar, Rai Bahadur Baikunthanath Sen of Berhampur and Babu Hemendranath Sen of the Calcutta High Court set their hands to an undertaking which ultimately led to the establishment of the Calcutta Pottery Works. At Mangalhat near Rajmehal there are some small hills. These consist for the most part of fine white sand. Mixed in considerable proportion with this sand is found Kaolin or the clay of which China-ware is made. The aforenamed proprietors of the Calcutta Pottery Works purchased these hills and established a firm for the sale of clay and sand, styled Rajmehal Quartz Sand and Kaolin Co. Kaolin imported from England is largely used in paper, jute and cloth mills. One of the objects of this Company is to replace foreign by indigenous Kaolin to some extent. Besides, sand for building purposes is also sold. Tanks, machinery and buildings for washing and separating sand and Kaolin have cost Rs. 30,000. When it was found that pottery could be manufactured from this same clay, the Calcutta Pottery Works was established in 1903 at 6, Maniktala Road, Calcutta. At first dolls were made here by Krishnagar artisans and glazed tea-cups, &c., by the hereditary potters of the country. But owing to the absence of properly trained workers, the things made here could not be improved even after Rs. 25,000 had been sunk in the business; but nothing daunted or discouraged, the proprietors went on making efforts to improve the factory. Just at this stage the inception of the Swadeshi movement helped the Works

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considerably; and fortunately in 1906 Babu Satyasundar Deb returned from Japan after receiving training in making pottery after modern methods and took charge of the Works.

Babu Satyasunder at once found by experiment that porcelain ware could be made from the materials obtained from Mangalhat. It was then decided that thenceforward porcelain ware would be made at the Works. The premises at Maniktala proving too small for the business, lease was obtained of about 3 acres of land at Tangra Road, near Baliaghata Station. On this site an engine room, machine room, mould room, furnace, kilns, &c., have been constructed at a cost of about Rs. 40,000.



Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi.

Engines and machinery worth about Rs. 20,000 were obtained from Germany and two kilns constructed at a cost of Rs. 6,000, The work of manufacture was begun here in 1907. At first only ten men were employed. Their number has gradually increased and now stands at a hundred and ten. The reason why the number has been gradually increased is that not a single trained workman could be obtained, this being the only Pottery Works in the country.



Rai Bahadur Baikunthanath Sen.

Consequently Babu Satyasundar began to train only a few men at first. In 1907 the whole years' outturn was worth only Rs. 3,000; but during the present year articles worth about Rs 5,000 are being made every month.

At first the sale depended solely on Swadeshi shopkeepers and patriotic purchasers. For the articles then made were not of good quality, and the outturn was not sufficient to fill the orders of even the Swadeshi shopkeepers. Consequently no attempt was then made to compete with the German goods imported by the Moorgihata dealers. But the outturn having gradually increased, an attempt has been made to oust foreign things from

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the market to some extent. At present hospital requisites are made in such large quantities that foreign imports of these things have almost ceased in the local market.* The Works can now compete successfully with Germany in the manufacture of cheap toys and dolls worth one to four pice each. But the demand for these things is so large that if an attempt has to be made to stop their import altogether the Works must increase its capacity fourfold. In making images of Hindu gods and goddesses the



BABU HEMENDRANATH SEN.

Works has beaten all foreign competitors. Vessels used in scientific laboratories and by photographers are also being made now. Many such things have been and are being made for the Sibpur Engineering College.

The proprietors have decided to convert the business into a joint-stock company even at a sacrifice of their personal interests ; but this will be done only when its dividend becomes sufficiently high to induce shareholders to invest their money in this factory.

One special feature of this factory is that, whereas in other factories for the manufacture of other things, many or most of the raw materials or ingredients have to be obtained from foreign countries, the raw materials used in this factory are all obtained in Bengal, from the property of the firm itself.



BABU SATYASUNDAR DEB.

All the ingredients in conjunction with which ordinary clay is converted into China clay are mineral in origin. All these ingredients have to be carefully selected and washed in water. Then they are ground fine and mixed in water in their due proportions with ordinary clay. From this fluid compound substance the watery portion is strained off by means of powerful filter presses, and then the solid body of clay is extracted from the press. This clay is not yet fit for use. It is now reduced to a proper condition by kneading machines. All these operations are performed by machi-

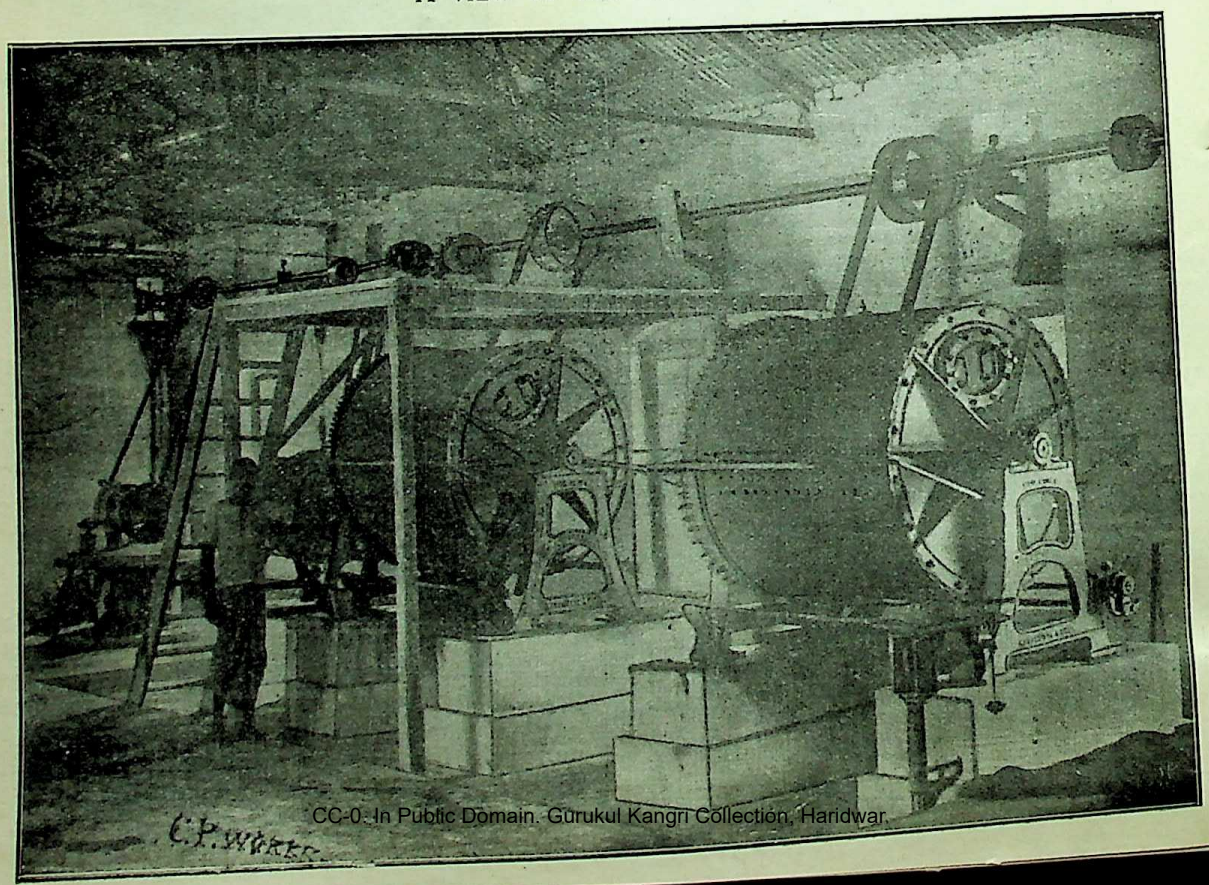
* Messrs. B. K. Paul and even English firms like Messrs. Smith Stanistreet & Co. use gallipots, feeding cups, urinals, &c., made here.

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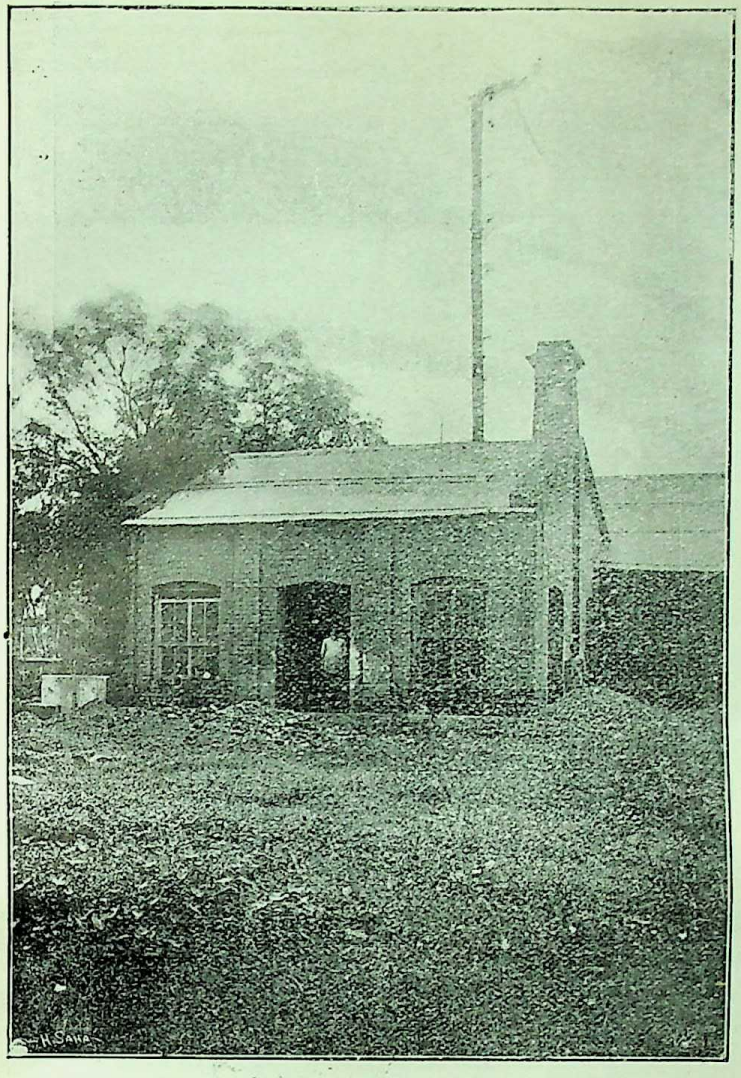


A VIEW OF THE FACTORY.



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THE ENGINE ROOM.

From the prepared clay articles are made in three ways :—

(1) Pressing, by means of machinery ;

(2) Throwing, as by the ordinary potter's wheel ;

(3) Casting, *i.e.*, pouring the fluid clay into plaster of Paris moulds and allowing the water to evaporate through the moulds.

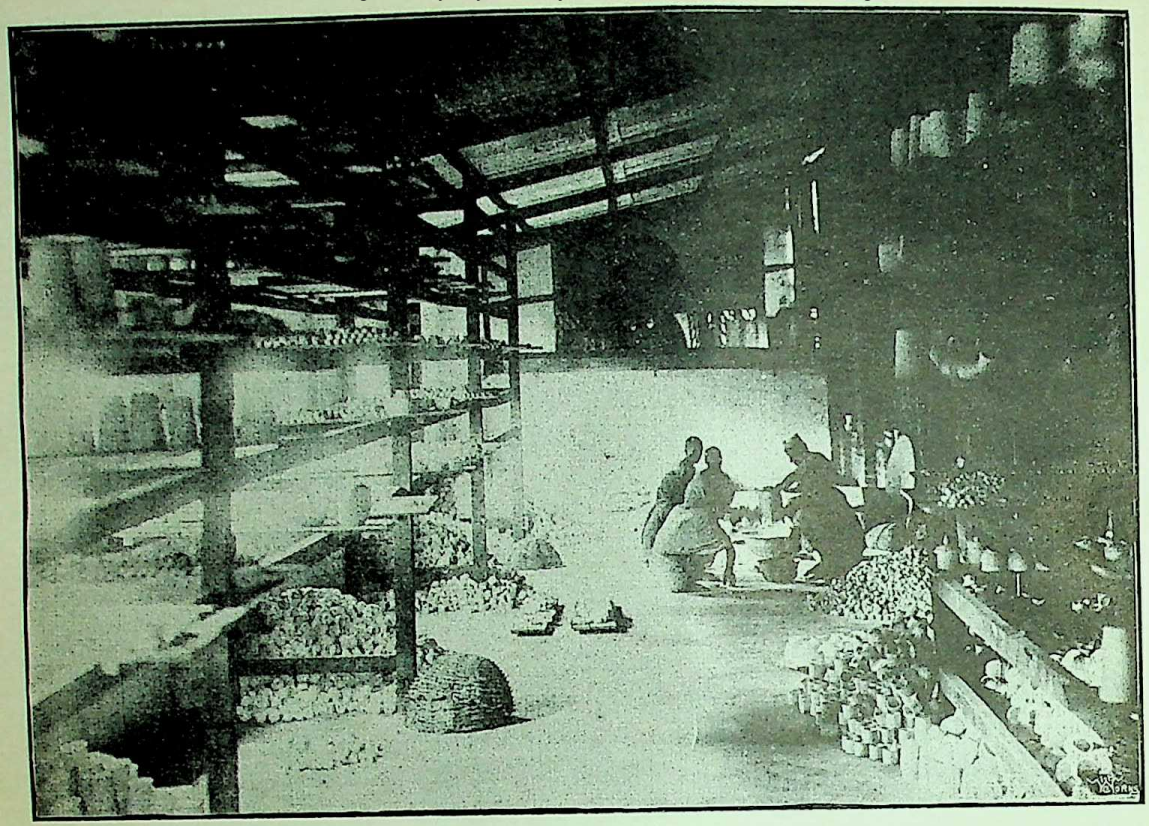
Things made in these ways are dried for some time and then sent to the finishing department. Then the articles are allowed to dry for some days. When they are thoroughly dry, they are burned and hardened at a low temperature. This is technically known as "biscuit" making. These "biscuits" are dipped in a solution containing glaze, by which means they are immediately covered with a thin coating of glaze. These coated articles are then arranged in vessels made of fire-clay. The fire-clay receptacles are placed in kilns in several layers one above the other, and exposed to a temperature of 1300° C. This makes the articles very hard and melts the glaze, thus giving them a glossy appearance. The temperature depends on the chemical composition of the clay. The purer the clay the greater is the heat it can bear, and the greater the temperature the higher the quality of the pottery made. In many factories in the continent of Europe articles are burned at a temperature ranging from 1400° C to 1500°C. As examples may be named the Sevres Factory in France, the Royal Porcelain Factory in Berlin, &c. Some of the things made at Sevres have fetched a price of Rs. 1,50,000 a piece. After burning the pottery are kept in the kiln itself for cooling. They are afterwards taken out and sent to the colouring department. Subsequently the colours are made fast by burning in the Enamel Kiln. Now the things are ready to be packed and sent off to the market.

The different departments of this Factory have been so arranged that, beginning with the mixing of clay at one end, the processes end at the packing department. This saves time and labour and allows things to be done methodically.

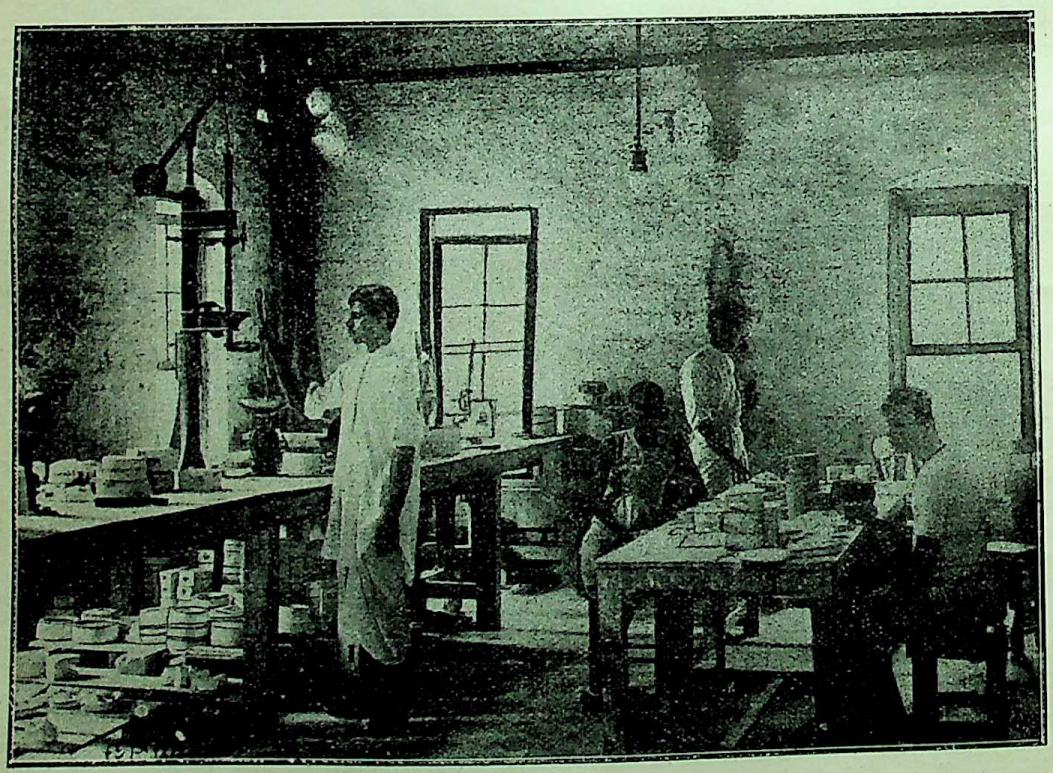
There are printed forms in which are recorded the daily work done by every workman, the daily consumption of clay and other materials, the daily expenses incurred in running the machinery, &c. With the help of these forms the cost of production of different kinds of articles is worked out.

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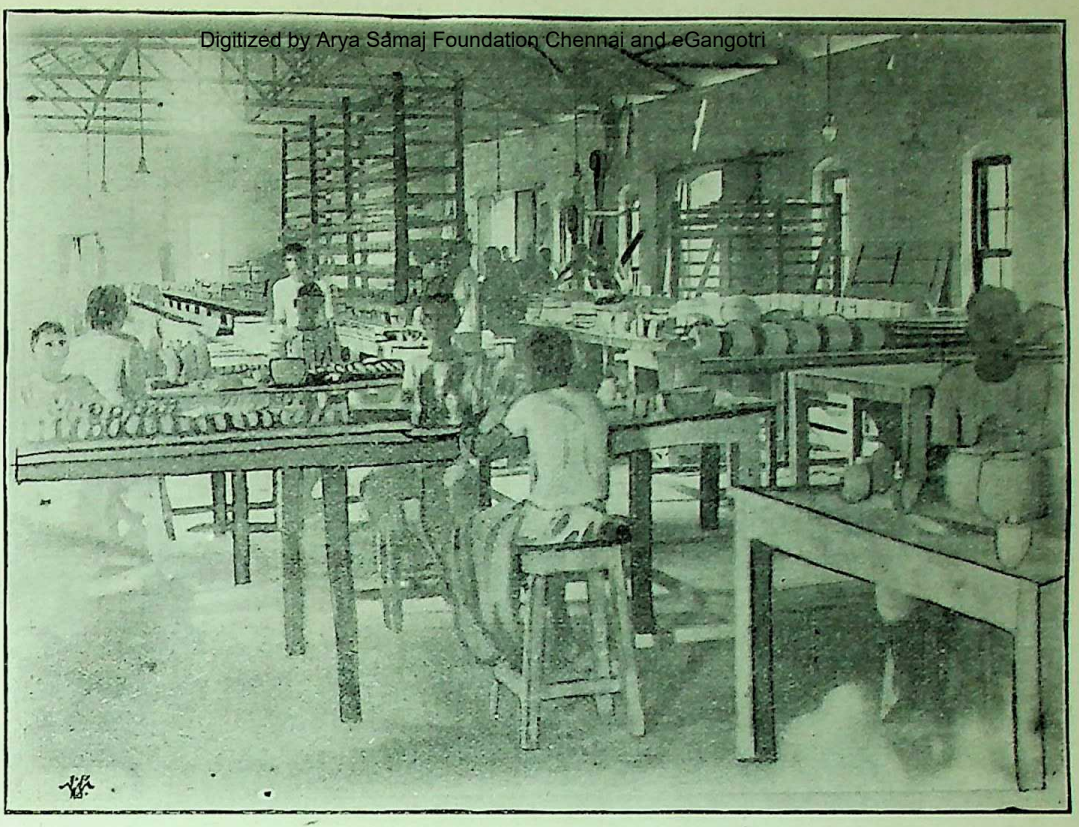
THE BISCUITING ROOM.



THE ROOM FOR MAKING PLATES AND MOULDS.

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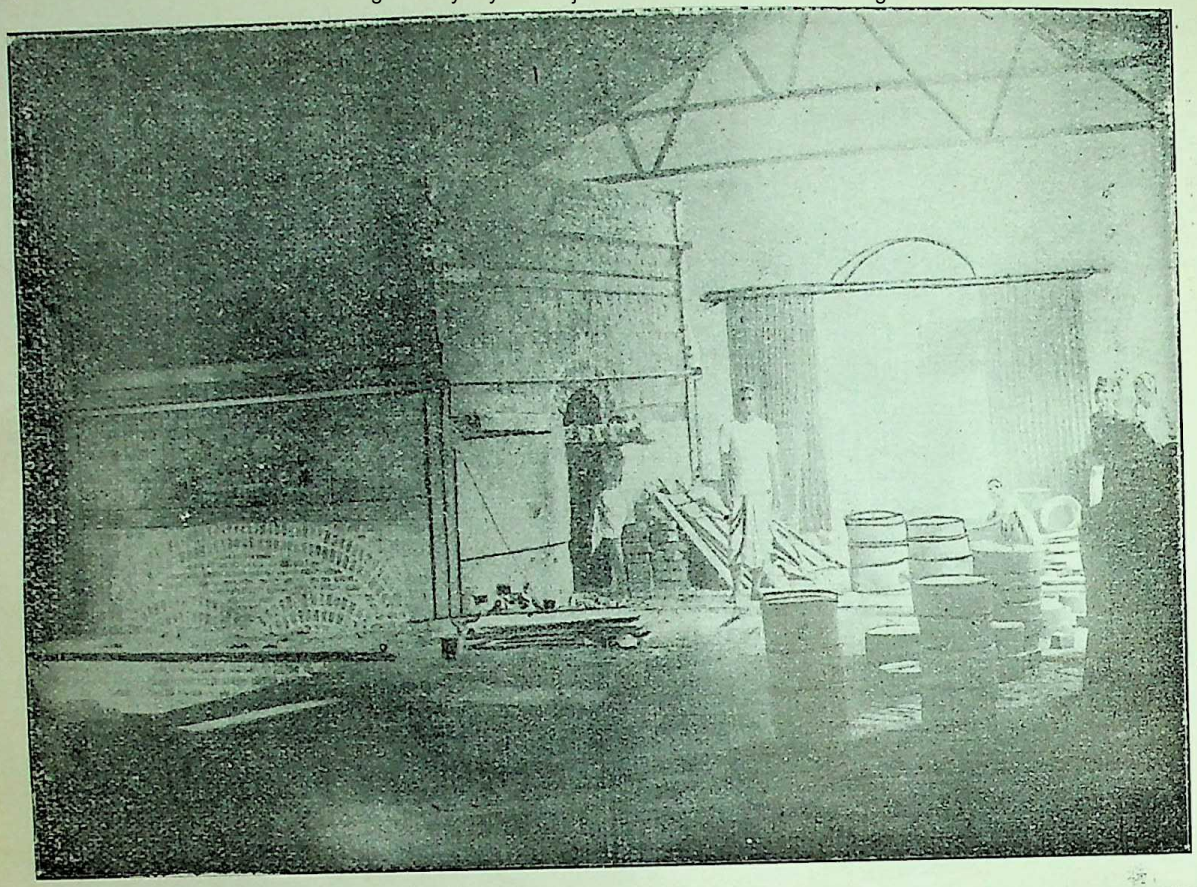
THE HALL FOR MAKING POTTERY, &c.



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THE ARTICLES TURNED OUT BY THE CALCUTTA POTTERY WORKS

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THE KILN ROOM.

Every year pottery worth some thirty lakhs of rupees is imported into India from foreign countries. About half of these imports find a market in Calcutta and Chittagong alone. To make pottery worth Rs. 1,500,000, which is Bengal's share of the consumption, we require to establish ten pottery works in Bengal alone, with a capital of three lakhs of rupees each. The raw materials for pottery can be had in the country in abundance. Messrs. Burn and Co. are earning a profit of many lakhs of rupees per annum by manufacturing tiles, drainage pipes, &c.; and their factory is reckoned one of the largest in the world. Unfortunately there is a great dearth of industrial enterprise and enthusiasm among our countrymen. The manufacture of pottery is a very profitable business; for its raw materials can be had very cheap. Many things can be made entirely by machinery, and coal for burning can be had cheap. In Bengal there have been attempts made to start other industries and carry them to a successful issue; but the Calcutta Pottery Works is the first enterprise of its kind in Bengal. In the year 1860, the late Babu Motilal Seal, the famous millionaire of Calcutta, established a big Pottery Works on the banks of the Ganges at Patharghata hills near Colgong (E. I. Ry., Loop Line). The capital invested was about three lakhs. A Mr. G. Macdonald was the expert in charge of this factory. Beautiful things were made here; but with the departure of Mr. Macdonald from India in 1864, the factory was closed. Those who know the history of pottery in India are aware that Bengal occupies the lowest place in this industry. She cannot boast of any better class of articles than the crude pottery required in the kitchen and for other domestic purposes. No glazed pottery are made here, and even unglazed vessels are of very inferior quality, which there has been no attempt to improve.

The Calcutta Pottery Works has justly won praise by making glazed pottery for

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the first time in Bengal. We paid a visit to this factory some weeks ago. Babu Satyasundar Deb kindly showed us over the Works and explained all the processes in the various departments. We found everything not only very interesting, but felt that a visit to the Works was an education in itself. Neatness, cleanliness and order were conspicuous everywhere, showing that the brain of an organiser has been at work all over the place. It is not an easy thing to run such a concern in our country. Neither capital nor mere book knowledge is enough. Babu Satyasundar has been his own architect, he has had to place the machinery in their proper position, train the workmen, pursuade the wholesale dealers to stock his goods, and everything else that is necessary to make the Works successful. The proprietors, too, are entitled to great praise, as in spite of losses, and of small profits in the later stages, they have continued to finance the business. We think the factory has a bright future before it.

THE FISHING INDUSTRY OF BENGAL

THE fisherman is found in every village of Bengal. Fish is a favourite food of the people. It has been calculated that 40 million mds. of fish would represent the proper annual consumption of Bengal, were the supply equal to the demand, which itis not. Thus fish is reared in almost every village of Bengal in the tanks. These tanks are necessities of life in order to supply water and that they are utilised as sources of edible fish is not only natural and economical but essential to the purity of water. Nearly 8 lakhs of men are engaged in catching and selling fish in Bengal. They are Malas (Jhala), Tiyars (Rajbansi), Kaibarta (Jele) and Karals. Among the Muhammadans they are Nikaris, Chaklais, Mahi-farosh, &c. Besides these fishing castes proper, there are other castes who also take to fishing. Thus among the Bagdis 14·9 per cent. are engaged in fishing. The fishing castes of Bengal are remarkable for strength, nerve and independent bearing. The finest examples of Bengali manhood are found among them and their muscular figures astonish those accustomed to the feeble and effeminate inhabitants of cities and towns. Again a considerable number of men follows fishing as a subsidiary occupation in leisure time. Thus in parts of Eastern Bengal, a boat and a net are found in almost every house and these are brought specially into requisition in the rainy season. During the rains whole districts go under water and their inhabitants have to live an almost amphibious life. The numerous and intersecting khals and rivers form the only means of communication between different houses and fish the most important food of the people. It becomes a usual sight at the time to see almost all the inhabitants of the village engaged in trapping fish throughout the day.

The implements that are used in catching fish are most varied. Indeed the persistency with which the people pursue fish with every kind of centrivance shows clearly how fish is prized as food. The fishermen use the sieve, drift, drawl, bag and cast nets. Nets are made of hemp and of cotton and they are steeped in *gab* pounded and allowed to ferment by which means the net is dyed of a dark brown colour, becoming after immersion in water almost dark. There seems to be a confusion in the minds of the fishermen. They say that the *kapsha jals*, those made of cotton thread, are more durable than *son* or hemp *jals*. Hemp is generally manufactured at home by the *jele*-women with the help of the *taki* or spindle. Sometimes spun thread is bought from other women in the village. Re. 1 would give 6 to 7 chattaks of spun hemp-thread. The nets are woven by the *jeles* themselves, their women also helping them. There is a proverb that they can weave the nets faster the more furiously they quarrel and abuse one another. Rhea fibre is sometimes spun into coarse thread, three strands of which are again spun together to make

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Fishing in the Bhagirathi: Bagdi woman catching small fry with the chabi net.

fishing lines and with the cord of which the *kai jals* are made. The nets are occasionally tanned with *gab*, after a period varying from 5 to 10 days in the working season. The fishermen vie with one another in their ability to preserve the nets. Floats are made of *shola*, or pieces of bamboo, but dried gourds are preferred. Sinkers are made of baked clay or iron.

The following are the common nets in use among the fishers:—

The *phata jal* is a sweep net somewhat elongated in shape with floats made of *phata* or small pieces of bamboo, used generally in tanks to catch small fry. The *phata jal* and the *chabi jal* which is of the same variety are very popular in West Bengal. The former usually costs Rs. 5 while the latter Rs. 3 approximately.

Jhaki is the circular cast net. It is usually six or seven cubits in diameter and is either thrown from the bank of a stream or from a boat. The circumference is drawn up into loops, or rather puckered and weighted with iron. It is folded in the left forearm while the edge and the central string are held by the right hand. By a sudden and forcible swing of the body the net is cast, and if properly thrown alights on the surface of the water forming a complete circle. On its touching the bottom the fisher slowly draws it towards him by the string just mentioned, and as he does so the heavy weighted edge comes together and no fish can escape. The outcast Bagdi in Central Bengal swings the net round his head before casting it, but no respectable fisherman would dishonour his calling by so doing. The *uthar* and *gulti* are magnified cast nets, differing only in size and in the dimensions of the meshes. They are shot from a board placed broadside to a stream, with the net folded on the edge. One man holds the centre rope, while two others gradually unfold and drop it overboard. As the boat drifts the net falls in a circle and is then slowly drawn up. Some of these nets are often forty feet in diameter and a long boat is required to shoot them from. The *Bere* or the seive or sweep net, is one the upper edge or back of which is buoyed up by bamboos, while the lower or foot is weighted with iron. Sometimes the net is very long and is shot from two boats fastened together and when drawn the two wings or ends are slowly brought ashore. The *Bera Jal* is used to catch all the fish in tanks. The bamboos, one at each end of the net, are

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Fishing in the Bhagirathi : The *jhaki* or the circular cast net thrown from the boat.

held by two persons who are on opposite sides of the tank. They move slowly along the banks in the same direction, turning the net upside down when it is bagged. The *Karki jal* is also a sweep net used in rivers but much smaller than the *ber*. The *Gagan-ber jal* is often 3 to 4 miles long, frequently used in the Meghna. It is the most magnificent net used in Bengal and its catch often brings to the fishermen Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000.

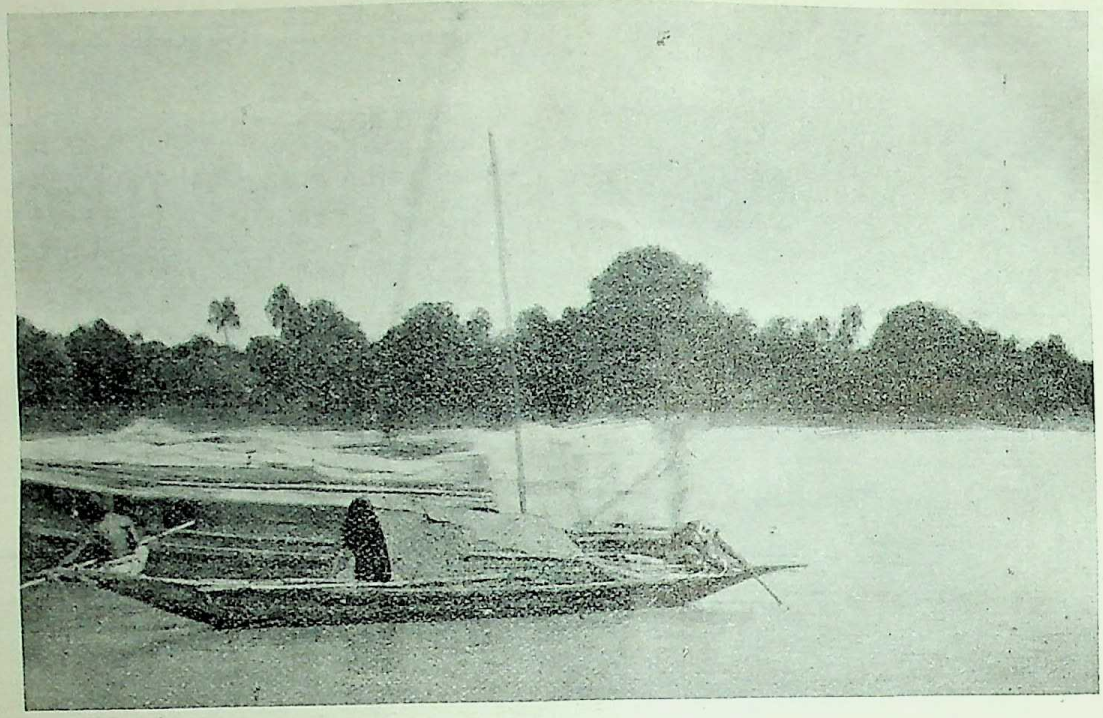
The *Rakkhas jal* is a drawl net, so called because of its large mouth, is lowered down from the boat as it drifts in the stream and catches the fish in its lower lip. The fixed net, used either from the side of a boat balanced by an outrigger, or attached to posts on the banks of rivers. It is attached to the two bamboos which meet at an acute angle in the boat but branching off until separate about 15 to 20 ft. One man stands at the angle and lowers the net into the water, while another sits at the stern working a paddle with his leg until a certain distance has been passed over, when the net which is somewhat bagged is leisurely raised.* The *dharma jal* consists of a square net about 5 or 6 cubits in one of its sides. In the centre there is a pouch and at the four corners there are four elastic bamboo sticks each (about) 8 cubits long. The free ends of the sticks are thrust into two hollow bamboo pieces tied together crosswise. A bamboo pole is attached to the crosspiece, one end of which the jele holds by his hands as he sits fishing. This kind of net is used for shallow water, the net being raised all on a sudden when the fish enters it and is finally caught in the pouch.

The *chandi jal* is a large drift net used in rivers supported by bamboo floats. In the water it hangs as a curtain, the fish being caught in the gills. It is very popular in the Bhagirathi where it is largely used to catch *hilsa* in the rainy season. The labyrinth *jal*, *kona jal*, is an elaborate and ingenious drift net with a pouch and side walls, having all the advantages of *ber* or *chandi jals* for catching *hilsa*. The pouch which is a capacious one is guarded by two side walls to one of which is attached a guiding net. The pouch and the side walls are kept in position by bamboo poles. During the

* The *Khada jal* is of this type and is extensively used in *bils* and shallow waters. There is a proverb which is very common and runs thus, 'ha-bhate jeler chowra Khada.' It means that the fisherman has a wide *khada* net who cries for food; it indicates that the use of this particular net is very common.

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Hilsa fishing in the Bhagirathi in the rainy season.

rainy season when *ber jal* is not used, the *kona jal* is employed to catch *hilsa*. It is priced at Rs. 200 or more.

Another method of catching fish is the bamboo trap. A cane or bamboo-work is fixed in tanks or on the margin of a river especially where there is a back-water or an eddy. The small fry run into it easily by forcing open the grates but cannot escape as the ends of the sticks as the entrance projects outwards. *Bhanr* is the name of the bigger trap, while the *chore-bitti* or *ghuni* (Malda, Hooghly, Jessore) to the smaller one. Another fish trap made of bamboo slips is the *dohar*. It resembles a hollow sieve, placed on the bank of a river and covered over with twigs. The fish seek shelter in it from the current, and when the *dohar* is raised from the water they are caught. The *polo* is a trap made of split bamboos, extensively used throughout Bengal. It is like a bell jar with a wide bottom and narrow open neck. It is suddenly plunged in shallow water and the fish found inside is taken out by hand through the narrow opening.

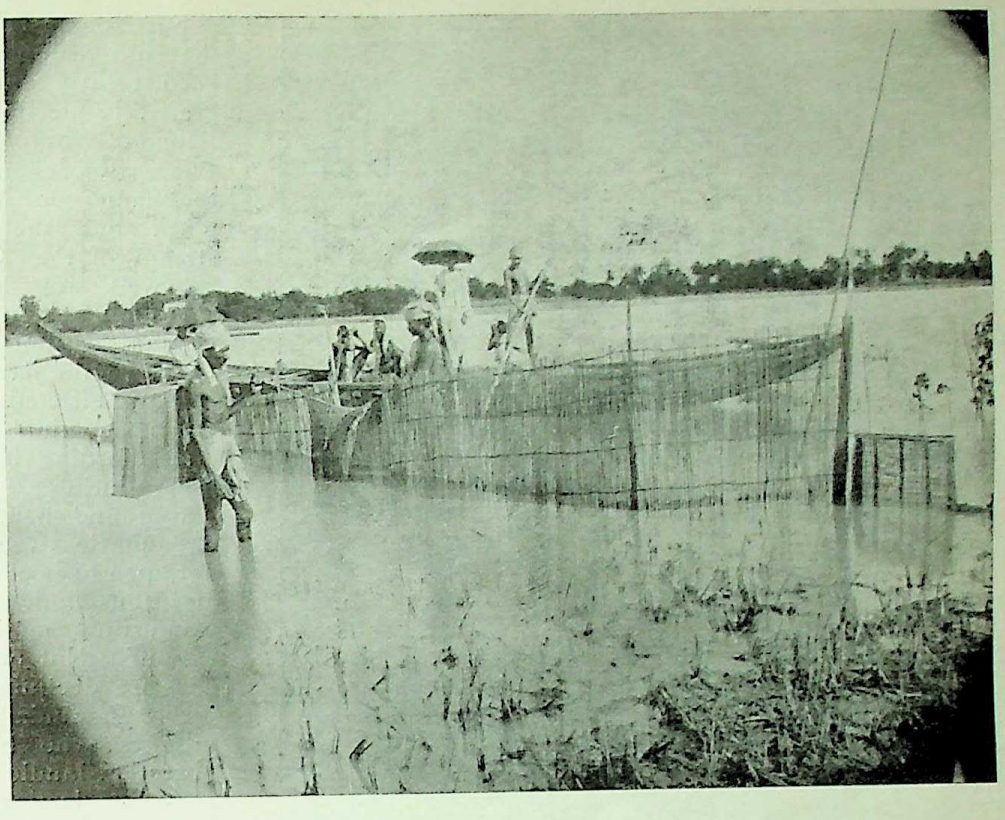
Another trap is the *danp* used generally to catch *koi*, *magur*, *ghuntel*, *barsha khulsa*, *puti* in the hot months of *Chait*, *Baisakh*. In the elastic ends of a bamboo pole a grasshopper is attached. As the fish devours it the ends expand and catch the fish in its jaws. This method of catching fish is not very popular. It is believed by the jeles that the Devil would suck their heart's blood if they adopt this foul practice of killing life at the dead of night.

The fishermen use also the rod and the line. But more usually they use the *togi* or *sheresta*. In a long thread attached to a *latim* several *barsis* or hooks are affixed. The fish are caught in the hooks as they devour the oilcakes, rotten *chakli* and *dal*as well as insects which cover the hooks. The *togi* is especially useful in the rainy season when the water is deep. The *chakna* is a small net used for bagging fish when it is caught.

The fishermen also use missile implements. The *Kench* is a bundle of spears of split bamboo, tipped with iron points. Sometimes fish are speared by torch light. A torch is placed on the prow of a canoe. The fish are attracted by the light in the darkness of the night and are speared with the *tenta*. Again a drum is sometimes beaten slowly. The *poa* fish are attracted by the sound and

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The *baudh* and the *bitti* or the bamboo trap fixed on the margin of the river.

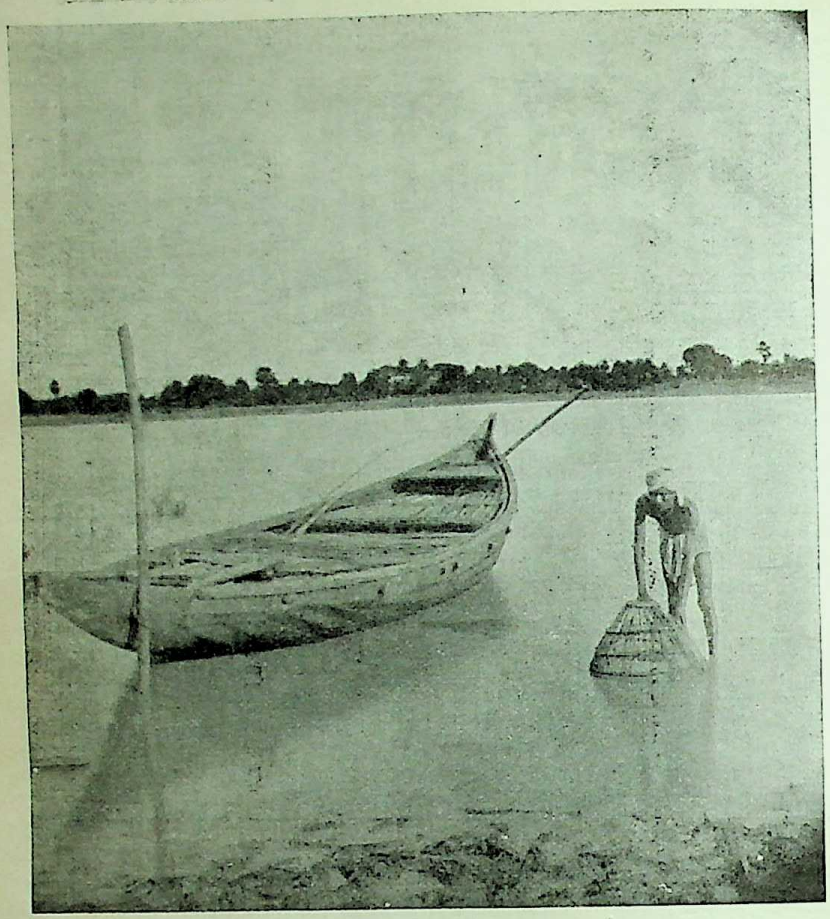
are speared when they come near the boat. The fishermen often work at all hours of the day but they do not miss the sunrise or sunset and the full as well as the new moon. The fishermen lease a tank and pay an annual rent. Sometimes more than ten of them rent a big *bil* paying the rent to the landlord in equal amounts. They have to sell all the fish usually to the lessees of fisheries otherwise they would cancel their lease. These lessees get the fish at a cheap rate and gain all the profits which the high prices usually fetch. Sometimes wholesale vendors of fish intervene between the lessees and the fish-catchers. They become the exacting middlemen. A fisherman once repeated to me a grim proverb full of pathos, which well illustrates the exploitation of the poor *jeles* by these *laoyans* or middlemen: *Jeler parane tena, laoyane keney sona*—"The *jeles* wear rags, while the laoyans or middlemen wear golden earrings."

The middlemen in the fishing industry always constitute a community of higher social status than ordinary fish-catchers. Thus the Nikari in Dacca and Faridpore, the Chaklai in Jessore, the Dhawa in Malda and Purneah claim a higher social position than the fishermen. Many of these middlemen secure a good fortune and live in brick buildings. The income of the average Calcutta middleman has been estimated to be not less than Rs. 40 a month. The income of an ordinary fish-catcher varies from Rs. 4 to Rs. 12. The occupation of the fisherman is very uncertain, and on account of the perishable nature of their ware they are naturally at the mercy of the wholesale vendors of fish who can dispose of the fish much more quickly.* Fishermen

* The fish supply, as we will see later on, has greatly decreased. Again on account of the extension of railways and steamers, a large number of the fishing caste who used to ply cargo and passenger boats in rivers has been thrown out of occupation. The occupation of fishermen and that of boatmen being interchangeable, in the lack season the fish-catchers readily take up the work as boatmen. Now on account of the decline in the country of boat traffic not only is this last resort being destroyed, but a large number of

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The *polo* is plunged in shallow water ; the fish is taken out through the narrow open neck.

indeed seldom sell the fish themselves. What the middlemen or vendors do not take is left to be sold by them. These fish are then hawked about by their women folk in villages, or sold by them in the daily bazars or weekly or biweekly markets. These women have such a loud way of articulation and such a complete mastery of the vocabulary of abuse that the fish-market becomes the noisiest place in the neighbourhood for several hours in the morning. In the cold weather fish is sent by train from the principal stations on the Ganges to distant markets. Boats loaded with fish also come from Khulna and Jessore to Dhappa for the Calcutta market. Thus for several months in winter the wellknown *bhetki* floods the fish-market and is found in the hands of many of the clerks returning from the offices.

curgomen is reverting to the fishing trade only to make the condition of the fishermen worse.

For the last decade the fish supply has been greatly and progressively declining in Bengal. Not only the Bhagirathi, Jelangi, Mathabhanga or Madhumati, but the main stream of the Ganges as well are rapidly declining. With the gradual silting up of the rivers the *jheels* and *beels* are affected. These are most valuable fisheries affording shelter to fishes during the dry season and being full of aquatic weeds are not open to free netting and thus immune from exhausting modes of capture. Not only the *beels* are declining, but the Zamindars of villages who becomes absentee landlords are also neglecting the village tanks. While the gradual diminution of the fresh water surface is reducing the fish supply, the indiscriminate destruction of fry and immature fish causes a further fall in natural production. The price of fish has doubled or trebled in the last few years and this has led to the slaughter of breeding fish and fry throughout the province.* It has been suggested that the law should prohibit the capture and sale of fry except for rearing and stocking purposes and should prescribe a minimum size for the principal carps for sale in a dead state. Protective measures like these have been adopted in the United States and Canada and if these

* In many of the rivers large quantities of *hilsa* mostly immature, are caught in spring and th re is regular winter fishing in the Madhumati and in the Hooghly near Kalna as well as in many parts of the coast. In fact the capture of fish goes on throughout the year, not even the "spent" fish being spared. The supply of *hilsa* is thus greatly on the decline and it is certain that if no remedial measures are adopted the *hilsa* will sooner or later be altogether exterminated. (Quarterly Journal of the Dept. of Agriculture, Bengal, Vol. III, No. 4.

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are in operation in our country their effects will be most beneficial.

Another fruitful source of the diminution of fish supply is the building of *bandhs* or weirs in most of our sluggish rivers. These are usually unpassable barriers thrown right across a river with a small passage guarded by a floating bamboo pole. A series of them is often constructed at short intervals along the entire course, and they not only interfere with the free passage of boats, but accelerate the process of silting up. To fish-life the result has been disastrous, as they effectually bar the upward journey of breeding fish, especially of the carp family, to the spawning grounds, as well as the downward passage of young ones later on. The damming of channels and streams in this way should be penalised.

In Bengal, the methods of propagation of fish are clumsy. The fry are collected on the surface of shallow water near sand-banks in the rivers with a piece of cloth and are carried inland remote from the rivers in damp earthen pots to be sold to the owners of tanks. The following are the better known river fish that are generally reared: the *coi* or the climbing fish, the *magur*, the *catla*, the *calbaus*, the *rui* and the *mirgel*. The fry being sold from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8.

Improvements and new methods that might be adopted in this direction are numerous. A scientific system of Pisciculture would utilize our tanks in the villages better than has hitherto been the case, as well as conserve and develop our river fisheries now almost neglected* and yield a fish harvest, abundant and continually increasing without any fear of exhaustion. Measures connected with the protections as well as the propagation of fish demand immediate attention in our country, especially in Bengal where inland waters are so extensive and the fish diet not only highly priced but is a necessity of life.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

* The Fishery Department in Bengal has been trying to prove whether the artificial culture of carp in ponds, tanks or other confined waters is as practicable in Bengal as it has been found to be in Europe and Japan. In Europe and Japan the remarkable increase in the stock of the carp and other edible fish is chiefly traceable to their culture in ponds and other confined waters, and also to the artificial propagation on a large scale made by means of hatcheries. In America the hatcheries are used not only for stocking ponds but what is of special interest to us in Bengal, in systematically replenishing the large rivers and lakes, many of which, by this means, have been restored from a state of exhaustion to one of great abundance exceeding that which unassisted nature even achieved before.

HOW THE COLOUR MATTERS

A FEW CHIPS FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE.

BY MANILAL M. DOCTOR, M.A., LL.B., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

IN 1905 when I visited Rangoon the Health Officer of the Port detained me and other Indian passengers of the second class and asked us to take off our socks to be disinfected with our other clothes—though European and Eurasian passengers were allowed to go immediately without having to fumigate their clothes. Our protests were of no avail.

The same year on my way to England on the S. S. *Arabia*—our Anglo-Indian fellow-passengers kept themselves scrupulously aloof from us—Indian students.

Even in England one Anglo-Indian, a retired Colonel, accosted me and roughly spoke to me in Hindustani that we Indians should not go to England to study for the Civil Service, Bar or the Medical Profession—but remain content as farmers.

When I went to New York in 1907, I found that the lower class Americans knew not how to distinguish between us (Indians) and

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the descendants of their emancipated negro slaves. Consequently there is a great difficulty in finding bed-rooms in such houses - unless some influential Americans help us by recommending us to desirable persons.

During my stay in Mauritius my colour earned me the appelation "*Malabar* 'avocat' (advocate)"—the word *Malabar* signifying "coolie."

When I was travelling from Agra Fort to Allahabad to attend the last Congress there, a "lady" in the first class objected to us—"Natives" travelling with her—there was with me a Khatri Judge from Ajmere with his sons.

In September last year on a visit to Mr. Gandhi in South Africa - a mere Police Sergeant in Durban took no notice of me (in spite of my protests) until he had finished with passengers who had white skins—even third class passengers—and then detained me and examined me in English by dictating an application although my professional status was known to him (having been mentioned against my name in the passengers' list); besides I was detained 4 hours on the boat.

In Durban the tramcars (municipal electric) do not admit us inside—we have to ride on top and there must take back-seats only with the local negroes; and on the South African Railways at first only third class seats could be booked for Indians. Even now in the first and second class, Indians and non-whites must travel in compartments labelled "Reserved."

In the Transvaal no Indians are allowed on the tramcars; and on the railways Mr. Gandhi and myself (we had got into the compartment in a hurry) were shifted to a reserved compartment. We are called "coolies" or "Sammys"—sometimes without meaning any offence as these words have become our natural name—in South Africa—and no hotels or restaurants or theatres would admit us—no white barbers would shave us and no lifts would take us up—and indeed no white friends can let us put up in their homes.

On my way from Mauritius to Calcutta—to attened the Congress - in December last—Indian third class passengers were told "get away you d-d niggers" and once the poor Hindoos proceeding on a pilgrimage to our holy places were kicked off the kitchen and their meals, to enable the chief officer of the boat (it belonged to the British India Co.) to check their number, before arrival in Colombo.

In March this year the captain of the "Umlazi" obliged me and my wife to go for medical examination to the shed where third class passengers are examined - though the doctor (a Bengali gentleman) was astonished to see us there—and assigned to us a cabin, which he did not consider suitable for white passengers. Afterwards when I applied for a better cabin (which had fallen vacant) I was warned that we could be removed from it to our old leaky cabin if at any subsequent ports European passengers came on board. In Durban harbour baggage of Indians alone was fumigated.

Arriving in Durban-town going in a carriage (private) to the Zoo, etc, my wife was surprised by some European children on the way talking aloud about us designating us as "coolies".

I am now sailing for Fiji via Australia. In Capetown the steamship companies refused to book me a passage for Australia without obtaining a permit to land in Australia. I had to pay the Australian agent in Capetown for a cablegram to Melbourne asking for permission to land for transhipment to Suva (Fiji). Even on this boat—S. S. Argyllshire—some low class white passengers from South Africa objected to my sitting for meals with them in the saloon, though I must say the Captain, the Doctor and other passengers were ready to accommodate me with a seat near them.

I just see that my baggage was labelled "Coolie—Capetown" when I left Johannesburg for Capetown to sail for Australia. Now this is a deliberate way of insulting our people because any one can read our names on our bags, trunks, etc. This is the way in which white porters at Railway Stations in South Africa deal with our countrymen.

The above facts are of common occurence in the life of most of us who calling ourselves "British subjects" wander a little further from our Indian homes; and they certainly open our eyes. I hope they will open those of your readers of a certain class.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N. B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

A so-called Response to Prof. Cox's Appeal to Musalmans.

In the September number of the *Modern Review* Mr. Ghulam Ambia K. Luhani sends a Response to Prof. Cox's Appeal to Musalmans. Anyone who reads it will be convinced that the 'Response' is a 'Repudiation' and that Prof. Cox's Appeal to Mahomedans has, like similar appeals in the past, fallen on deaf ears—I was going to say on perverse ears.

Prof. Cox rightly takes up the cow-killing question as the corner-stone of the Hindu-Moslem controversy. There are no doubt other grounds of difference, many of which are broadly hinted at by the learned professor and some are recognised even by Mr. Luhani. With this short preface I shall proceed to examine some of the opinions put forward by Mr. Luhani. It is curious how the educated Mahomedan gentleman will speak soft words but when the time for action comes he slides back to his orthodox ways of thought and action. Thus Mr. Luhani begins in the characteristically optimistic tone and devotes a full page to examining the credentials of Prof. Cox to broach the Hindu-Mohamedan question. He speaks generously of the Professor and is even enthusiastic and one is tempted to think that the response is not merely verbal but proceeds from the heart. But as one proceeds further he begins to doubt that what is coming may not be altogether so pleasant. When the end is reached the disappointment is as bitter as the hope was intense in the beginning.

Mr. Luhani admonishes those who have the good of the country at heart "to face the problem not in the spirit of petulant controversy but with reverent anxiety and the sincere patriot's will to subordinate tribal good," etc. to the good of the whole country. But how does he himself proceed to handle the tender plant of Hindu-Mahomedan entente? He dismisses Prof. Cox's main plea with *Ifs* and conditional clauses. The cow-killing question is no doubt the cause of much dissension, he hesitatingly admits and asks his co-religionists to abjure from it so far as *economic conditions* allow—whatever the economic conditions may be. For in Cashmere no cows are slaughtered and yet there are Mahomedans and poor Mahomedans too. Having thus perfunctorily dismissed the cow-killing problem on which, to my mind, hinges the whole Hindu-Mahomedan problem, he trots out the familiar arguments of the Muslim League, against the Hindus.

Prof. Cox no doubt says that older Hindus commit the mistake of indentifying patriotism with Hinduism but he nowhere says that the Mahomedans are absolutely free from blame in the matter. On the contrary I think that if he were asked to speak out his mind on the point the verdict would not be favourable to Muslims. Mr. Luhani contends that 'Love of country is part of the Moslem's creed'. But love of what country? Not certainly of his native land but of that distant desert land where the camel rests under the shade of the date-palm. What does Pan-Islamism mean in India? Does it not involve the love of other lands and people in supercession of the claims of the motherland and of one's fellow-countrymen?

Now patriotism is not an abstraction. It implies a love of the people inhabiting the country and their history and achievements (if any), of its natural grandeur, of its rivers, lakes, hills and mountains. Can it be asserted in any conscience that a Mahomedan loves a Hindu more than say an Egyptian co-religoinist? When the Hindus suffer from any great calamity, *e.g.*, from the floods of Eastern Bengal,* do the Mahomedans of the United Provinces exhibit the same solicitude for them as when there is an earthquake at Constantinople? Does the Mahomedan feel any inspiration when he sees the snowy peaks of the Himalayas? Is not the name of Mt Sinai more grateful to his ears? Are the Ganges or the Brahmaputra or the Indus more sacred to him than the Nile, the Euphrates or the Tigris? The answers to these questions will certainly not do any credit to Mahomedan patriotism.

Mr. Luhani then asserts that the nationalism of the Congress is mere Hindu Nationalism. I do not know whence he gets this precious doctrine. It may be a piece of revelation but it certainly is not based on facts.

I believe in the Congress, have attended some of its sessions and read its literature, but never have I heard or read anything which may in the slightest degree lend colour to the opinion advanced by Mr. Luhani. The resolutions of the Congress are framed in accordance with the needs of the entire Indian community and not for the followers of any particular religion as are those of the Muslim League. Mr. Luhani betrays his own community in ascribing to the Congress the thoughts which his co-religionists think.

Nor do I merely guess when I say that the nationalism of the Muslim League, if there is such a thing, gives the Hindu a very subordinate place when he is not absolutely excluded from the Muslim utopia.

What do they mean when they pester Government with their political importance? Do they not

* It is well-known that in Eastern Bengal, the Moslems outnumber the Hindus. When in 1905-06 the people there suffered from famine and flood, the majority of the sufferers were Musalmans. Yet the organisers of relief were all Hindus, and the donations came mostly from Hindus.

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"mentally skip over many intervening centuries and realise their paradise of earthly bliss" in the India of Akbar and Aurangzib or when in later periods the Emperors used to be carried on the shoulders of women? Mr. Amir Ali in a recent speech at Cambridge reminded his English audience that the English got their sovereignty *De Jure* from the Mahomedans with a view to establishing their superior claim of political importance. But who were the *De Facto* rulers of India when the English entered the arena for supremacy? Our Muslim countrymen would do well to study the history of the Mahratta period up to the battle of Paniput (1761), even if it be Hindu history. This will disillusionise them about their claims of superior political importance.

I shall close with one more remark. Mr. Luhani quotes a certain self-styled prophet of nationalism and tries to establish thereby his contention that the nationalism of the Congress is Hindu nationalism. In this again his prejudice colours his judgment. He quarrels with the Hindu because his religion inspires him to become a better patriot. It is a patent fact that religion supplies the motive force to all benevolent activities of man. It is also the cementing principle which alone can bind men to unite in the common service of the motherland. What harm if the Hindu worships *Durga* with greater zeal in order to be better able to serve his motherland? We do not quarrel with the Muslim for saying his prayers with peculiar postures. Nay, on the contrary, we praise him for his religious zeal when it is not carried to excess and becomes fanaticism. If his religion "fills him with an over-mastering love for the land of his birth, for his countrymen and forefathers," well and good; nothing can be more admirable. Every sect must draw its inspiration from its own religion, whatever it is, and we have nothing to say so long as his religion makes him a better patriot. Patriotism has only one meaning to the Hindu and he will never confound it with Pan-Islamism. If the Muslim is willing to join the Hindu in the brotherly embrace of love and sympathy as he is not at present anxious to do—he must relinquish his antedeluvian ideas of patriotism, his boast of superior culture and last but not the least, his talk of superior political importance.

Bisvesvar Chatterjee.

The Aryans of India.

In the August number of this Review Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, in trying to establish his theory that the Indo-Aryans were wholly indigenous to India from the remotest days, has asserted that "the words to signify cardinal points are not the common stock words of all the groups of people who speak Aryan tongues." He then observes: "The words 'uttara,' 'dakshina' 'purva' and 'paschima' are wholly peculiar to the language of the Indian Aryans." On the strength of this fact and of certain speculations based thereon, Mr. Mazumdar tries to describe the supposed prehistoric movements of the Indo-Aryans from the East and South towards the North-western plains of India. I am no ethnologist and cannot gainsay whatever assertions Mr. Mazumdar may make from the ethnologist's vantage-ground. But it seems to me that Mr. Mazumdar would have been on safer ground if he had confined himself to his ethnological theories and not trenched upon philology. May I point out that his assertion about the names of the cardinal points does not seem to be so well established as he would make out? Traces of common names of at least two out of the four directions can be found in the languages of races other than the Indian,—I mean of 'purva' and 'dakshina.' Mr. Mazumdar has himself mentioned that the latter word in its primitive sense of "South" can be traced in the Zend "Dashina." I shall discuss this word after I have done with 'purva.' This word also, in its primary sense of 'first' or 'foremost' can be traced in the word 'paurvanim' occurring in one of the most sacred texts of the Avesta. When the Parsee youths are invested with the sacred thread or 'kushti' the following verse (26th of the Hasma Yasht) has to be repeated to them: "Frâ te Mazdâo barat paurvanîm aivyâonghanem steherpaesanghem manyu-tâstem vanghuhîmdaenâm Mâzda-Yasnîm," which is rendered by Prof. Mills in his translation of the Zend Avesta as follows: 'Fourth has Mazda borne to thee, the star-bespangled girdle, the spirit-made, the ancient one, the Mazda-Yasnian Faith." Thus the word 'paurvanîm' is rendered by Prof. Mills in the sense of 'to the fore' or 'first,' a sense exactly similar to that attached to the word 'purastat' which is a variant of 'purva' in Sanskrit and which signifies equally well the 'eastern' direction. I must, however, point out that Dr. Haug in his translation of the Avestan verse renders the word 'paurvanim' somewhat differently. He takes it to mean 'leading the Paurvas,' understanding by the word 'Paurvas' the Pleiades (Krittikas) constellation, as these stars are named in Persian variously as 'paru,' 'parvah,' 'parvin,' and 'parviz.' In Yasht VIII, 12, the "Tishtrya" star is called "Poirya," which latter word is translated by Dr. Geiger as 'first' (of all constellations), Dr. Geiger taking "Tishtrya" itself to be the Avastan name for Canis Major or Sirius. But among Parsees, the words "Poirya" and "Pauryeni" occurring in their scriptures are generally understood to refer to the Pleiades, as the 'first' or 'foremost' in the order of the constellations. Remembering that in the Brahmanas and elsewhere in Vedic literature the Krittikas are sometimes mentioned as the first of or as leading the constellation series, it seems more probable that the reference in 'Pauryeni' is to the Pleiades. However that be, the primary meaning of the Zend word seems beyond any doubt to be akin to that of the Sanskrit 'purva' meaning 'foremost'. Before concluding the consideration of this word, I may as well quote the ancient Vedic *mantra* which has to be repeated by every 'twiceborn' Hindu on the *Shravani* or *Upakarma* day at the time of investiture of the sacred thread, and which as Mr. Tilak in his "Orion" has pointed out bears very close resemblance to the Avestan verse quoted above, showing that both of them must have been versions of one and the same sacred formula in use before the branching off of the one undivided primitive race. The *Mantra* runs: "यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्र प्रजापते र्यत्सहजं पुरस्तात्," *i.e.*, "Yajnopavita is high and sacred; it was born with Prajapati of old." As Mr. Tilak has pointed out the 'Yajnopavitam' here correspond with the 'Aivyaonghanem' (girdle or 'kushti' of the Parsees) in the Avestic verse; 'sahajam' meaning 'born with the limbs of Prajapati' conveys the same meaning as 'manyutastem'; while 'purastat' corresponds with 'paurvanim.' Apart from this coincidental correspondence, even if the word 'paurvanim' be taken to

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refer to the Pleiades, it is not difficult to see that they must have been named so because they were the *first* of the series of constellations according to ancient Iranian astronomers. I hope Mr. Mazumdar will not consider it too far-fetched a conclusion, if I deduce from the above that the word 'purva' in its original sense of 'to the fore' 'first' or 'foremost' was not unknown to the ancient Iranians.

Now as to the word 'Dakshina' in its original sense of 'south': Mr. Mazumdar himself has admitted that it occurs in Zend as 'Dashina'. I wish to point out that it occurs also in the languages of the European branches of the Aryan race. As Mr. Mazumdar says the word occurs in Greek and Latin (cf. L. dexter; Gk. Dexios) in its secondary meaning only. But is it unreasonable to suppose that the word in its primary sense also was once known to them, and that in course of time they lost sight of the original significance and retained only the secondary sense? Between the root 'daks' meaning 'to grow' and the word 'dexter' meaning 'right hand' it is difficult to make a sudden jump, unless we attach to the root a solar significance. The right hand derived its name from the fact that when facing the rising or 'growing' (daksha) sun-god, that hand pointed to the South. 'Daksha' is a word of solar origin, just like 'Brahma', both referring to the phenomena of sunrise (cf. तपसाचीयते ब्रह्म). In this connection let me quote a wellknown hymn of creation from the Rigveda (x 73, 3—7):

"Existence, in the earliest age of gods, from Non-existence sprang. Thereafter the regions were born. This sprang from Uttanapada.

"Earth sprang from Uttanapada; the regions from the Earth were born. Daksha was born of Aditi, and Aditi was Daksha's child.

".....After her were the blessed gods born, sharers of immortal life.

"When ye, O gods, in yonder deep close-clasping one another stood, thence, as of dancers, from your feet a thickening cloud of dust arose.

"When, O ye gods, like Yatis, ye caused all existing things to grow, then ye brought Surya forward who was lying hidden in the sea."

From the above it must be plain that the description is plainly one of dawn and sunrise, the rising of the Sun from the deep of the nether worlds being actually referred to in the last stanza. The cloud of dust is the *rajas* of the Dawn. Aditi and Daksha are evidently the Dawn and the Sun, and hence described once in the relation of mother and son and then as daughter and father,—relations possible only of solar phenomena, as the Dawn which owes its origin to the Sun at one time gives birth to him afterwards. The origin of the directions referred to, seems to be relevant to the present discussion, as the names of the cardinal points can be properly understood only in reference to the Sun. That the primary sense of the word 'Daksha' was not wholly lost among European races, is proved by existence of the rite of circumambulation (प्रदक्षिण—pradakshina) among the Romans, Greeks, Teutons, Druids, and other ancient races. Strangely enough this mystic rite was known as 'deasil' in old Gaelic and 'dextratis' among the Romans. Scott refers to this rite in his "Two Drovers" and "Waverly." We read: 'The surgeon.....perambulated his couch three times, moving from east to west, according to the course of the sun.....which was called making the deasil." Lubbock also in his "Origin of civilization" refers to this rite in the following passage: "There was a sacred stone in Jura round which people used to move 'deasil', *i.e.*, sunwise." Etymologically, 'deasil' is said to be derived from the Gaelic *deas*, south or right side; in Old Irish *dess*; Welsh *dehau*; and cognate with Lat. *dextra*, Gk. *dexios* (the meaning of the latter part being unknown), and Gothic *taihswa*. From this it would appear that though in European languages the secondary meaning of the word 'daksha' is to be met with more frequently than its primary meaning, there are still traces left of the earlier significance, as in the word 'deasil.'

So far I have not indulged in any speculative theories. But before I close I might as well venture with my personal view of the whole question, leaving to the more learned philologists and ethnologists to debate the problem of the origins of Indo-Aryan civilisation.

If we agree with the view of Mr. Tilak and place the ancient home of the Aryan races in the circumpolar regions (which were habitable in 8000—10,000 B.C.) the significance of the names of the cardinal points bocomes easy of understanding. There, the sun would rise into view (at the beginning of each new year) after a dawn lasting for several days. The orb would not be seen to rise in east, but a little to the south, *i.e*, to the south-east. The autumnal sun would set in the south-west, after which the long night would follow. In the Satapatha Brahmana and elsewhere in Vedic literature, the pradakshina ceremony is said to begin at the south-east, in imitation of the sun's movements in the polar regions. Originally dakshina must have signified the direction in which the sun (Daksha) rose (and set also), but in course of time when the four cardinal points definitely defined the south, got the name 'Dakshina' in remembrance of the fact that the sun moved from the front to the right in his circular motion along the horizon in the Arctic regions. 'Purva' in the sense of 'purastat' and even 'first' is appropriate enough of the direction of sunrise, as it is 'in front'. Now 'uttara', says Mr. Mazumdar, is redolent of the 'high' associations of the Himalayas. But when we remember that the sun rose high and high above the horizon in the direction of the north, in the polar regions, it is not difficult to understand why 'uttara' should signify both 'high' and 'north'. Commander Peary in his "The North Pole" observes as follows standing at the North Pole: "East, west and north had disappeared for us. Only one direction had remained and that was south....Where we were, one day and one night constituted a year, a hundred such days and nights constituted a century," (p. 259). As the sun-god (Daksha) rose from the south, that direction was called naturally 'Dakshina' and as the god rose 'up' towards the north, the name of the latter direction naturally signified also 'the high'. A personification of this Sun-god of the southern quarter of the heavens, we find in Dakshinamurti (दक्षिणामूर्त्ति) one of the appellations of Siva or Rudra. In the Swetashvataropanishad we read: "O Rudra, let thy auspicious southern face (दक्षिणमुखेन) protect me for ever."

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From the above it is clear that the Himalayas alone need not have suggested the idea of 'highness' along with the idea of 'northern' direction to the ancient Rishis. The Arctic theory sufficiently explains all the questions raised in connection with the naming of the cardinal points. The assignment of Pitris to the south and of gods to the east, is also easily understandable when we remember that the nether regions from which the sun-god rose up, *i.e.* south-east, and towards which he sank, *i.e.*, south-west, were imagined to be full of darkness and appropriately the regions of the dead (souls of ancestors or Pitris). The east as the region of light was naturally the place of the gods. The north, or rather the north-east to be more precise according to the Brahmanas and Upanishads, was the region of Rudra, not because of the high and inaccessible Himalays, but because of the fierce character of the sun at the summer solstice. Rudra's place is said to be not only in the north-east, but at the 'cross-roads', which statement agrees very well with the position of the sun at the summer solstice.

Mr. Mazumdar's statement that the primitive Aryan Rishis came from the south to the north, does not agree with the traditions of Hindu Civilization. The earliest races such as the Kurus, Panchalas are assigned to the north and were known as Uttara-kurus, Uttara-panchalas, etc. The Kurus were well-known as Ashvamedhayajins or horse-sacrificers. The horse sacrifice was modelled after the phenomena of dawn and sun-rise and was a form of sun-worship, such as that obtained prominently in the Arctic days. In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishat when the sage Yajnavalkya is questioned, "Where have gone the Parikshitas"—an old royal race supposed to have vanished from the earth—the sage answers that they went "where those who have performed the horse-sacrifice go." Further on he describes this latter region as follows: "Thirty-two journeys of the car of the sun is this world. The earth surrounds it on every side twice as large, and the ocean surrounds this earth on every side twice as large. Now there is between them a space as large as the edge of a razor or the wing of a mosquito. Indra becoming a bird, handed them to Vayu and Vayu holding them himself, conveyed them to where they dwell who have performed a horse sacrifice". Though this description, particularly the latter part, is hardly intelligible, there is every probability that it refers to a remote primitive ancestral home, perhaps one destroyed by some natural calamity such as that overtook the Arctic people. There is also the tradition recorded in the Upanishads that the Kurus were destroyed by hail and commentators explain that Uttara-kurus are referred to in this connection and that they lived in the regions lying north of the Himalayan range. There is also the tradition that the Sanskrit language in a purer state than was prevalent in Aryavarta was spoken in those northern regions. But according to Mr. Mazumdar's theory of the Indo-Aryan migrations, we should have had to look to the south for glorious paradise of the Rishis, which is never the case, all tradition pointing to the north.

Mr. Mazumdar's theory again fails to account for the following tradition: In Rig. VII, 21, 7 and X, 109, 4, there is a reference to the Purve-Devas (Eastern Devas) and it is stated that 'the Eastern Devas followed the rites of the Western and prospered.' Yaska renders 'purve-devah' by 'asurah.' Amarakosha also gives Purve-Deva as a synonym of Asura. As the late Prof. R. R. Bhagwat in his "Key to Interpret the Veda" has pointed out the Eastern-Devas is a phrase which devoted in Vedic times the Asuras and as a compound word it is preserved even in classical Sanskrit. In the Avesta mention is made of 'Varenian Daevas.' Could these latter have been the 'Western Devas' as distinguished from the 'Eastern Devas' mentioned in the Vedas, asks Prof. Bhagwat. Mention is made in Rig I, 26, 2 of a 'Varenya Hotri' and a 'Purvya' (hotri) a little later on in I, 26, 5. From this it would appear that the word 'Varenya' was distinguished from 'purve' and most probably meant 'Western.' Prof. Bhagwat opines that the Vedic reference might probably be the Iranians (the Asuras), while the Avesta might be referring to the Indo-Aryans (the Western Daevas or Devils), as much love seems not to have been lost between these two branches of the primitive Aryan race. Of course, this is all speculation on Mr. Bhagwat's part and the Vedic reference might not, indeed, have anything to do with the Iranians. Still it is clear that Vedic traditions do not point to the *east* as the natural direction where the ancestral home of the Vedic Rishis lay. According to Mazumdar's theory the Rishis migrated from the east to the west and consequently they would have assigned to the west any barbaric opposition they met with. But, instead we have seen them assign the east to the Asuras. Thus it is clear that any theory of westward migration of the Indo-Aryan people must be wholly opposed to all the traditions of Indian civilization. Similarly also is the theory of any northward movement untenable.

RAMACHANDRA K. PRABHU.

P.S.—That the earliest Vedic traditions connect the sun with the naming of the cardinal points is also evident from the following Vedic text:— पूर्व्वामनु प्रदिशं पार्थिवानामृतून् प्रशासद्विदधावनुष्टु (Rig. I, 95, 3.) which, translated, means "Having established the order of the seasons, He (the Sun) creates one after another the east and other cardinal points of the Earth."

Abolish Harmoniums!

CHANGE NEW LAMPS FOR OLD !!

There are now-a-days enthusiasts about Indian music and their name is legion. I sympathise with Mrs. Maud Mann in her crusade against harmoniums, but I am afraid she has lapsed a good deal into 'poetry' and 'esotery.'

There are those who pride themselves, or at any rate affect to do so, on calling a spade a spade. But I cannot help looking upon them as instances of real or affected atavism, *i.e.*, a return to barbarism. A civilised man must be able to say 'Not at home' when he means 'I won't see you.' If you were to characterise anybody's utterances or writings as 'hazy' and 'intangible,' you give him unnecessary offence which can be easily avoided by using the term 'poetical' instead. Thus when Mrs. Mann translates the word '*murchhanas*' by 'fainting notes' she lapses into 'poetry.' She is also 'poetical' when she says "As I sit at my window, writing this, I am listening to the wind playing in the trees in my garden. What would the gods say if we had the impudence to try to fix the tones of the wind?—or to arrange that it should

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play on one branch of a tree and not on another? Doubtless all that it does in its wild perfection is correct and beautiful. How much more so the Spirit of Man, playing on his Aeolian harp, the Lyre of Apollo, untrammelled by the artificialities of musical crutches and machines?" Again, "With every change in tonal relationships, therefore—with every mood and atmosphere—tone must be readjusted to harmonise with its surroundings. This fine adjustment of tone is called Sruti in Indian theory. *Only* such constant readjustment can be mathematically and artistically correct as Helmholtz has proved. Nature is a perpetual flux and change, obeying one immutable law of adaptability: even so is all true art and all true science." It is unnecessary to multiply instances. The whole article commencing with the agonising overture of 'Abolish Harmoniums,' proceeding from one 'who have gazed upon 'the naked beauty of the Soul of Music,' far transcending any to be found in the Paris salons, to the final cadence of a rather sensational offer from the speechless beholders to the 'Mother of Worlds' of their own lives rather than of false jewels,—I say the whole article breathes ethereal 'poetry.' I am not quite sure, however, that the printer's devil is not responsible for that 'Mother of Worlds': perhaps it ought to have been 'Mother of Words.'

But my object in writing this comment is not so much to point out the 'poetical' beauties in the article as to draw attention of your readers to some 'esoteric' knowledge of Indian music exhibited therein. In one of the extracts given above we read "This fine adjustment of tone is called Sruti in Indian theory." This I call 'esoteric' knowledge, since it does not occur in any Sanskrit treatises on music we know of. These sources of esoteric knowledge speak of the Sruti as a unit of musical interval. I came across that word 'esoteric' for the first time many years ago in certain writings on 'esoteric' subjects, and, form a perusal of these, I came to attach a definite meaning to that word, *viz.* 'without any foundation in fact, without any tangible evidence, imaginary'. Perhaps that is not exactly the meaning given in dictionaries, but that is the fault of the dictionaries, inasmuch as they do not keep in touch with the new meanings which words came to assume in course of time. That word 'esoteric' is extremely useful. You can call anybody's knowledge of a subject 'esoteric,' with the dead certainty of pleasing him, whereas it would be highly imprudent to designate it with one of its equivalents given above, unless you are conscious of a decided superiority in physical strength or of an uncommon toughness of hide.

When Mrs. Mann says that the scale of the harmonium is a tempered one, she is speaking from 'exoteric' knowledge; when she says however, that the vina is free from this heinous defect, I cannot but remark that she is then drawing on her 'esoteric' knowledge. I too at one time had the honour of holding this 'esoteric' doctrine, and put it prominently forward in my indictment against that instrument, when I refused to buy one for my family. The world is wicked, and I am not sure my refusal was not looked upon in some quarters in the same light in which Jimmy Brown regarded Mr. Travers' objection to give diamond bracelets to his sister Sue on the score of their attracting the lightning! Since then I have gradually crept out of the 'esoteric' into the 'exoteric' region to discover that I stole [illegible] tempered one. Even with Ahabala's tuning of *Sa pa Sa pa* and his notes 'according to Mr. N. B. Divatia and Ganot'(*vide* Modern Review for April 1912) there are but twelve notes in the octave. Oh, the 'impudence' of the vina-players, to 'try to fix the echoes of the ocean'! For, it is easy to see that twelve notes to the octave can never be sufficient to realise Mrs. Mann's ideal music. But with the tuning *sa pa sa ma*, advocated by Ramamatya, Somanatha and Pundarika Viththala (Sanskrit writers of the Karnataka school of music of the 16th and 17th centuries), and now generally adopted not only by the modern representatives of that school but by the Hindustani school as well, the scale employed is *exactly* the scale of equal temperament, that is the condemned scale of the piano and the harmonium, except for accidental errors, which are less likely to be found in the instruments of the West. 'But, my good Sir,' it may be urged, 'the twelve notes are nothing; "in practice a native player can always modify the pitch by making his finger overlap the fret more or less, and thereby regulate the fret to get the interval which tradition taught him to be the right one"! I forthwith reply that this is a product of 'esoteric' knowledge, well suited for the consumption of foreigners, and of some enthusiastic Indians who admire Indian music from a distance. One has but to try to overlap the fret with the finger to realize the utter infeasibility of the procedure. Of course the pitch can be varied by pulling the wire aside and thus putting it on the stretch, while stopped on the fret. But this is done only (1) to go continuously from one note to another note, *which can be produced on a lower fret without this extra tension*, or (2) to produce some passing grace notes. In other words the notes produced in a normal manner by lightly stopping the wire on the frets are actually used by the player, and they are, as I have said above, equally tempered in one mode of tuning; and if they are not so tempered in the other, their actual number is restricted to twelve, which can in no way produce the ideal music claimed for the vina. Despair ye who play upon the vina before the deity! 'For,' says Mrs. Mann, 'how can God the Singer reveal himself through impure sounds?'

It is an extremely regrettable occurrence when the enthusiasm of a person carries him or her off the solid ground of facts into the region of the thin air of imagination and fancy. The subject of Indian music stand in great need of elucidation. But it is impossible to do anything in that direction with all the enthusiasm in the world. One of the most essential requisites is soberness. It is no use waxing eloquent on the virtues of Indian music, until you prove them to be real and not imaginary. For example, what right has anybody to say that the so-called 'natural' scale is used by the Indians on the *vina* or the *Sarenghi*, or in vocal music? Do the Hindu treatises on music say so? Or, has anybody performed the necessary experiments for ascertaining the fact? Even as regards European music, Mrs. Mann mentions Helmholtz's experiments on Herr Joachim in favour of just intonation, but she is evidently unaware of the contradictory results obtained by M M. Cornu and Mercadier. She will find them given in an appendix in Ellis' translation of Helmholtz, 2nd edition.

As an example of how far an enthusiast may go in his [illegible] I may quote from the article

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the sentence "The farther we go from civilization and its machines, the more music do we find." The Javese and the Siamese have had the good fortune of being out of the reach of 'a three-hundred-year old Western experiment.' Does Mrs. Mann think that God the Singer will reveal himself through the sounds of their music, while denying to do so through notes of equal temperament? In that case God the Singer will have to be looked upon as swallowing a camel while straining at a goat.

It is not my intention to defend the harmonium. No high class Hindu music can be executed on it. But it is necessary to give even the devil his due. Mrs. Mann thinks that "India is trying to go a step further away from truth in music than the West, because she has adopted the harmonium, which is even worse than the piano." But this requires qualification. For playing harmony the harmonium is certainly very much worse than the piano. Indian music, however, consists of melodies only, in which this difference is not apparent, and on the contrary the harmonium has the advantage owing to its continuous notes. The bad quality of harmonium tone is partly due to the instrument being blown and not exhausted like a Reed Organ, in which the 'wind' is steadier. But Reed Organs are unsuitable for the Indian climate. India is thus forced in a way to use the harmonium for whatever music she can evoke out of a keyed instrument. But Mrs. Mann would prefer no music to such defective music. She is a virtuoso and as such has a right to her indignation which we must treat with respect so far as it is based on actual facts. But we ordinary men have no such right and are bound to consider the question in a more charitable manner. There is no doubt that Indian music can be best executed only on the vina or instruments of the violin kind. By the bye, these are not alternative; for, a certain class of Indian music can only be rendered on the vina and not on the violin, and *vice versa*. But music of not a very mean order can also be executed on the *jalataranga*, the piano and the harmonium. Many a person, who now play on the harmonium would have been deterred from all music, if they had been forced to choose a vina or a violin as their instrument, the former being so much easier to play. Would it be right to grudge these people their innocent enjoyment of music, because this is not of the highest sort?

Unfortunately, it must be admitted that this enjoyment is at times far from being innocent, as anybody can find out for himself by trying to sleep on a Saturday night in a house at Girgaon, Bombay. He will discover that in face of harmoniums playing hard work and a clear conscience are by no means the sure harbingers of 'Tired Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep', and with the milk of human kindness all dried up will find himself unconsciously taking up Mrs. Mann's cry of 'Abolish Harmoniums' with sundry embellishments of language, more out of tune than any notes of the tempered scale! Still more noisome is the harmonium player *in embryo*, with his enternal repetitions and corrections. One cannot but wish to send him to the place which Ariel in his song describes as occupied by Ferdinand's father. The only efficacious way of dealing with this nuisance is to have an act passed making it criminal to play on the harmonium except within seven bolted doors. It would be too much to expect the Government to pass an act for abolishing the harmonium altogether, as many Hindus have already accepted that instrument of the slums of the cities of the West from the hands of Christian missionaries and consecrated it to their own gods, and are likely to play to their eternal tune of religion in danger, if such an act were contemplated.

P. R. Bhandarkar.

CORRESPONDENCE

A petition thrown into the Waste-paper Basket.

Sir,

Seven months ago today the following petition was sent to the Secretary of the Industrial and Scientific Association signed by all the Hindu students in the universities of the Pacific Coast who had testified to the truth contained in the statements given. But strange to say that it was not even acknowledged. Believing that the next alternative is to present the case to the public who generously give donations and subscriptions to the Association, I feel it a duty to approach the Press and sincerely hope that the kind donors will give it due consideration.

By way of a little further explanation of the facts I may add, that there are many worthy students in Bengal and elsewhere who cherish the noble purpose of getting a scientific education in America, but owing to lack of opportunities cannot get even their passage. Three years ago, the Calcutta Association used to be a source of great help to such students, and many of us here are grateful to the said body for the opportunity afforded us. But recently the Executive Committee of the Association has ruled that all students applying for a passage to the Pacific Coast must produce a cash security of Rs. 1,200. Now this restriction is entirely unjust and unnecessary as will be judged from the petition. My plea here is that under this ruling the poor students, who are really more earnest and self-sacrificing than those of the moneyed class, do not get a chance to fit themselves up for the service of the country, which is extremely undesirable and impolitic. As the Association was not originally started only for the rich and, coming from a poor family as I do, I believe that the poorer students can get a truly scientific education only in the universities of the Pacific Coast, I present these facts for the just consideration of the noble donors and subscribers of the Association.

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As a result of this restriction for the last year and the present, there has not come a single student from the Association and only two young men from Bengal have come with their own expenses.

Yours truly,
HINDU.

The Secretary,

ASSOCIATION FOR THE SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION OF INDIANS,

Calcutta, India.

DEAR SIR,

We, the undersigned, most of whom had or still have the privilege of holding scholarships from the Association or came under the auspices of the Association, would like to bring the following urgent matters for your consideration and deliberation thereupon :

(1) The American Universities afford us the best facilities for thorough training in all branches of Engineering, Applied Chemistry, Agriculture, Forestry, Marine Biology (including Fishery), Medicine, Pharmacy, Naval Engineering, Ship-Building, Commerce, Economics, Sociology and the other applied and pure sciences too numerous to mention, at less expense than anywhere else. In a great many of the Western and Mid-Western State Universites, which rank as some of the best in the world, tuition is free, the students having to pay only laboratory fees varying from $5 (Rs. 15) to $25 (Rs. 75) per term of 3 or 4 months, according to the University. The University authorities always give our students a warm welcome, as they have established a reputation for seriousness and application.

(2) As to qualifications to enter the American Universities every prospective student should have passed the Intermediate or its equivalent in India or at least have finished the regular studies of that course. Those that come to America after passing the Matriculation, if they intend taking any Scientific course, would have to study in a local High School from one to two years before they can be eligible to enter the University. No one need come to America who has not the habits and the application of a student, and the ambition to make the best use of his opportunities. An honest, hard-working student of good physique can find opportunities in America which he will find nowhere else.

(3) A student can live plainly in an University town on an allowance of from $15 to $20 ($1·00 : Rs. 3 about), except such occasional expenses as laboratory fees and books which will cost extra.

(4) There are many opportunities of self-support in an University town and any persevering and ambitious student possessing integrity of character can honestly make his living by working for 3 to 4 hours, and conduct his studies in the University, although it might take more time to graduate than the regular four years. Nearly 90% of our students in the West Coast that have graduated or are still pursuing their studies have been self-supporting, either entirely or partially. It is to be noted that opportunities of self-support are more numerous in the Pacific Coast than in the east. All kinds of work performed by the students are perfectly honorable, and no disgrace attaches to such work being done by students. From statistics taken a few years ago in America we learn that 46% of the students in the American Universities are self-supporting.

(5) We think that the requirement of Rs. 1,200 by the Association for students intending to come to America is rather too high and unjust. The U. S. Government require every one at the time of entering this country to possess at least $50·00 in cash. It is advisable for the students to possess as much over $50·00 as possible. We might add here that a number of students, who could not bring more than $50·00 with them have finished their education most creditably by self-support, while some others with a monthly allowance of Rs. 25 to 40, being partially self-supporting, are prosecuting their studies in the University very satisfactorily.

(6) The Educational Institutions of America generally have two terms of 4 months each, in a year. The first term begins about the middle of August or a few weeks later in the Mid-Western Universities. The second term begins in January. So it is advisable that the students coming to America should reach here before August.

We sincerely hope that you will give to the above facts your careful consideration.

BERKELEY,
Jan. 5th, 1912.

Respectfully yours,

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

I. Writings and speeches of the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi, B.A. (Late Additional Member of the Bombay Legislative Council). Cloth bound, pp. 1256. Arya Bhusan Press, Poona : Price Rs. 5. 1912.

Mr. Joshi was only the Head Master of the High School at Satara, but few professional politicians in India can approach him in knowledge of statistical and economic subjects. Mr. Nevinson devoted a chapter of his *New Spirit in India* to Mr. Joshi, and in his own humorous style, described Mr. Joshi's mastery over statistics. The publication of his speeches and writings was undertaken on the advice of Mr. Gokhale, another eminent schoolmaster, and a better advice could not be given, for the volume is a storehouse of valuable information on all subjects,—financial, industrial, administrative and economic, relating to India. It is impossible to give an idea of the varied contents of the large-sized volume before us within the short space at our disposal. Suffice it to say, that it is an indispensable companion for those who take

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an interest in the political or economic development of India. The book is well printed on good paper. An index would have enhanced its value for purposes of reference.

II. The J. N. Tata Memorial: Caxton Works, Bombay.

The pamphlet contains a collection of the speeches delivered at the two meetings which were held in Bombay in 1905 to provide a suitable memorial to the merchant prince of the city and in the present year to unveil his statue erected at a cost of nearly half a lakh of rupees raised by public subscription. The speeches are all of a high order and give us a good idea of the real character of the late Mr. Tata, undoubtedly one of the greatest men of modern India. According to Sir Lawrence Jenkins, who was one of the speakers at the first meeting and who knew Mr. Tata intimately in private life, he loved with a love that knew no bounds the country that gave him birth. The Empress Mills at Nagpur, the Research Institute at Bangalore, the endowment to enable deserving students to compete for the I. C. S. (of which more than sixteen Indians have already successfully availed themselves), the magnificently equipped Iron Works at Sakchi, the grand and beautiful Taj Mehal Hotel ('a most striking adornment of our very noble city' as Lord Lamington said), the great hydro-electric project for Bombay, are some of the great schemes conceived and inaugurated by him. As His Excellency Sir George Clarke said on the occasion of the unveiling ceremony: "In him the scientific use of the imagination was happily combined with an infinite power of taking trouble, which is not too common in India. Such a combination implies genius, and no one who attempts to follow the work which Mr. Tata accomplished would deny him that rare attribute. I suppose that the dominating and inspiring motive of his life was the development of home industries. His imagination showed him an India possessing large natural resources. He believed that his countrymen were capable of turning those resources to full account if they possessed the necessary training, and he conceived the noble idea of a great central institute of research which would give to Indian students the opportunities now accessible to their Western rivals." We agree with Sir George when he adds: "Surely the life of such a man should be written for the help and encouragement of young Indians. How many lessons which are much needed it could teach them....Practical patriotism was its inspiration." We fervently hope that his worthy sons Sir Dorab and Ratan Tata, instead of following the fashionable craze for giving to him who hath, will follow in the footsteps of their father and utilise their great wealth for the permanent benefit of their motherland.

III. Police Reform: by D. E. Wacha. The Leader Office, Allahabad. Price annas four. 1912.

In this little brochure are printed some articles contributed by Mr. Wacha in the *Advocate of India* in 1905, reviewing the recommendations of the Police Commission presided over by Sir Andrew Fraser. The Commission recommended 1½ crores of increased expenditure on the Police, but Mr. Wacha maintains that so long as the rank and file of constables are drawn from the coolie classes and receive a paltry pay of Rs. 10 to 13, it is idle to expect any improvement in the *morale* of the service. He advocates the recruitment of the Police from members of the lower middle classes with an education up to the matriculation standard on a pay of Rs. 20 a month. Starvation wages in the bottom grades recruited from natives of the soil, going hand in hand with enormously fat salaries for Europeans at the top grades, is the keynote of the administrative failure which we meet with on all sides. Higher pay for menial and ministerial staffs as pointed out recently by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his *Awakening of India*, and the filling up of the higher posts by qualified Indians on lower pay, is the obvious remedy. Incidentally, Mr. Wacha points out how the Statutory Civil Service, recruited by nomination leading to abuse of patronage and handicapped by Civilian opposition, was foredoomed to failure and how this was foreseen by many thoughtful Indians. May we hope that these matters will be taken into consideration by the recently appointed Royal Commission?

IV. My trip to England: by N. Ramanujaswami, B.L., High Court Vakil, Berhampore. Madras, Ananda Press. Price one rupee. 1912.

This is a record of the author's three month's sojourn to England on the occasion of the King's Coronation held on the 22nd June, 1911. The author saw everything worth seeing in London, paying repeated visits to the theatres, and the diary gives a minute account of all that he saw and did. The book, we are sorry to say, is a monotonous catalogue of daily rounds of visits and sightseeings, and little more. All the information contained in the book may be gathered from a popular guide book. The author describes things and events in a matter-of-fact way, but the reader would care more for his views and reflections based on intelligent comparisons between his new experiences and old. We are not interested in the precise hour when he arrived at a particular place, or the exact price he paid for a hat. Verbal accuracy of this kind is commendable only in a shop-keeper's advertisement. We want to get at the author's mind, and to improve our own by following in imagination the course of his travels. The following passage may however be quoted: "It has been my firm conviction, which is growing with me as I grow, that the rigid and austere severity of the caste system, allowing no scope for the growth of individuality and stifling all individual exertion, making knowledge the monopoly of a few and barring it to the many, creating watertight compartments of barriers between different sects of people, has been mainly responsible for the decadence of knowledge in India, and has sapped the very fountain of its life."

POL.

1. *The way to be happy and Gay. Crown 8 vo. Pp. 11. Printed at the Rajput-Anglo-Oriental Press, Agra.*
2. *Radha Nath—The National Poet of Orissa. Demy 16 mo. Pp. 12. Printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad. By Pandeya Lochan Prasad of Balpur (C. P.). To be had free of charge.*

The first of these is a letter supposed to be written by a brother in which the duties of a young boy are pointed out. The pieces of advice given are sound and useful.

The second is a short life of the late Rai Radha Nath Rai Bahadur who retired as an Inspector of Schools in Orissa and, though a domiciled Oriya, had a great attraction for Hindi.

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The language of these booklets is, in some places, unidiomatic and verbose. There are some printing mistakes also.

M. S.

I. Poems, by Clifford King (Kegan Paul). Pp. vii, 304. Price Rs. 5 net.

II. "Shades and Shadows", by M. N. Sircar, M.A., B.L. (Elm Press, Calcutta). Pp. ii, 76.

The Coronation Durbar at Delhi offered a rare opportunity to minor poets and versifiers to rush to print. It was one of the tragic moments of literature. The two books of verse that are under review owe their origin to that event, although they both contain many other things besides Imperial Odes. We confess that Mr. King's production would have been more satisfying from the point of view of artistic achievement, had these Imperial Odes been omitted. But the prevailing cult of Empire has been too much for Mr. King to escape its contagion. It has already drawn from literature priests to form its ritual and poets to shape its shibboleths into song. It is well to remember, however, that the Imperial emotion—so different from the national emotion—is essentially artificial, needing to be lashed up and kept alive by the compelling power of vivid phrases and the magic of personality. But we regret to confess that Mr. King, inspite of his talents, possesses neither of these gifts ; and as a result, the heavy artillery of his pompous phrases—and his capital letters—act as a drag on his Muse. These Odes, besides, are marred by some very bad lines : such as these—

"Far Australasia, Canada, help buoy
In filial loyalty the Empire's barque."

make the reviewer cry Help !

But the rest of his poems are of a different stamp. Some of the sonnets, a few of the lyrics, "Salamis" (alone of his longer poems) and parts of "Anselmo" have pleased us most. He has made a deep and reverent study of the classics and has been caught by the fascination of Keats's poetry. But withal, he remains only a Greek scholar, while Keats was a Greek. Here and there a passage occurs which brings back a faint reminiscence of the great Romantic :

".....the lamps
Which light the souls of recreant mortals to
Their homes eterne."

But generally the influence of Keats has been more apparent than real. Even in form, where imitation would have been easiest, there is none of that consummate technique of expression and rhythm of language. Mr. King has yet to show that he has the ear for the haunting sweetness of "unheard melodies."

The most cospicuous defect of these poems is their apparent versatility. It is not always a virtue. The author has tried his hand at so many forms that he has not attained any great success in any. Why not stick mainly to one, let us say the Short Poem, or the personal Lyric ? It is an age of short poems, the conditions militate against a sustained effort of the imagination. Further, these poems are marred by mannerisms, one or two of which we shall endeavour to point out.

First, Mr. King shares with most other modern poets their fondness for 'vertuosity' and weird turns of phrase. Such expressions as "thine all-life-ful crust," "magni-crimson," "magni-lust of power," "Colossi-clay," "violenced," "in fairness multiplex," "Th'elongate chasm," "micro-speck of dust" are hardly excusable. We confess to a great love for the English language, and we protest against this causeless hybridisation of diction. Liberties may be permitted to a Swinburne who turned everything he touched to music : but Mr. King is no Swinburne.

Secondly, Mr. King has a habit of clothing the poverty and thinness of his imagination with the fripperies of language, and the meretricious adornments of rhyme. This happens very frequently throughout his poems, but we have space here only for two examples : (both from "Anselmo")

Tender streak,
Which usherest the glory of the day,
And lightest brilliantly the noon-day sun,"

And—

"His bed
Made of soft air
In the West there
When Evening shall gather
With night, and together
Silence the world
Till they have furled
In peace, the winds,
In rest all kinds
Of Wings
And things
Have silenced
Late violenced
For the king of light
Reposeth on night
His head."

But we can forgive a great deal when we light on such lines as these :

"The Siren-Anthem sweetly swells,—
Her opening door releasing now the sound
In dissipation on the midnight air"

Or again,

"Thy warmth be tempered as my brow
Chilled by the zephyrs evening brings—
Yet nursing life which throbs below,
And waking silent music-strings"

Or yet again,

"The fragile flowers of earth shoot, bloom and die,
And wear mortality like nature all :
But oh, not so the violet of thine eye,
Which from the sky's most azure bed did fall."

We have purposely left little space for Mr. M. N. Sircar. Our reason for doing so—for which we beg to be forgiven—is partly that the author himself in his Preface has invited from his reviewer, not criticism, but "the greatest indulgence." But we have a private reason also. From a perusal of its contents, we are deeply convinced that this book—at any rate a good few of the poems contained in it—should not have seen the light of day, for they are too deep for the tears of mortal men. "A psalm of life" is quite an ingenious parody on its more famous name-sake, while a few other poems notably "The Sun," "Evening," "Despair," display a certain facility in the use of the couplet. But we regret to confess that we have outlived the fascination of the couplet form. "A beggar's dream" is the most ably written. Mr. Sircar's poems if they have no other quality, have certainly the most astonishing range of theme. The Goddess Durga, the King and Queen, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Tree, the Beggar, the Horse, the Tobacco, even "the Mossy, Pussy cat"—have been the subjects of his

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poetic dream. "A farewell to Durga" suggests he obvious suggestion which we forbear from making, in view of the indulgence he asks for.

SATYA V. MUKERJEE.

KANNADA.

Spencer's Education rendered into Kannada by V. B. Alur, B.A., LL.B. and V. N. Magdal, B.A. Published by the Grantha Prasarak Mandali, Dharwar, pp. 329+4+2. Price Rs. 2-4.

In the recent publications of modern Kannada literature you rarely come across books of this kind. It is published by a Mandala which intends to bring out every year two volumes, each extending over at least 200 pages. We heartily congratulate the editors on their enterprise and zeal in the noble cause of the advancement of Kannada literature. However we should like to remind them that the death-rate of infant-associations is unusually high in India; and to this rule their province is not an exception. The people of Karnatic care very little for their own language and literature. The modern citizens of Karnatic have no taste for any of the fine arts. We often meet with self-satisfied scribblers or contemptible phrasemongers in the English language. But here a sound scholar is a rare commodity. Lawyers are the only class who can boast of any culture. The whole pack of them is after the English language. Yet we have not been able to peruse a readable volume published by any of them. The younger generation is very dutiful to the elders in this respect. Further, they have taken to reading worthless scrapy bits of gossip in fifth-rate Marathi magazines. Such is the situation. Still we exhort them to take heart and work with unshaken faith in God.

We fully realize the immense difficulty of rendering a book like Spencer's Education into Kannada. We are glad that it is a free rendering and not a literal translation. In many places the reproduction is admirable. The authors seem to have left no stone unturned to make the book as attractive as the original so much so that we do not often perceive it to be a translation. However, the pronunciation of some proper names is not quite correct, *e.g.*, that of Faraday p. 92. The unrestricted use of Sanskrit words is likely to make the meaning of some sentences obscure to those who are not acquainted with that classical language. The book will be of greater use to the teachers in vernacular schools than to any other class of readers. But we do not believe that the majority of teachers in the vernacular schools know so much of Sanskrit as to understand all these terms. When writing about poetry the authors have freely borrowed the terms from Sanskrit works on rhetoric like Kavyaprakash and Sahityadarpana. None but those who have studied these books can fully appreciate them. When we come to page 80, we hardly feel that we are reading a Kannada book. The rendering of the passage on pages 46, 47 is not happy. There is no figure in it, no biting sarcasm as in the original. The same is the fate of the concluding portion of the first chapter. The reproduction of this paragraph, however, is much better and the spirit of the original is fairly brought out. Considered as a whole it is a tolerably accurate reproduction of the thoughts of this celebrated philosopher. We should have valued a fuller introduction, a short biography of Spencer and a synopsis of his philosophy. The get-up of the book is excellent. Only occasionally do we see such a nice Kannada publication. The price seems to be prohibitive. We are gratified to learn that it is printed by a Hindu printing press. For a long time good printing was the monopoly of the Christian converts of Mangalore. We shall, we hope, soon have the pleasure of reading a few more books of this kind.

W.

MARATHI.

Beeja Ganita—Algebra in Marathi, Part I, by Messrs. J. V. Oka, M.A., and R. D. Desai, B.A. Talegaon 'Dabhade.' Price Re. 1-8-0.

This new text-book of Algebra in Marathi by Messrs. Oka and Desai appears to be the first of its kind. There are several points of interest to be noted. The fact that every process in Algebra leads ultimately to the solution of equations has never been lost sight of. There are no answers given and this is a good point provided the purpils are taught to verify students' own answers. The use of the Marathi alphabet in its serial order for Algebraic symbols is also an important advance. Hitherto, writers followed the slavish custom of using Marathi letters to correspond in sound to the English alphabet in its serial order, which, without a knowledge of English, is very confusing. One suggestion is necessary. The letters used as Algebraic symbols have not been in any way distinguished from those used for the other matter. This should be done either by using thicker type or, better still by using *thicker and slanting* letters.

On the whole, considering the importance of the principle that students of a new subject should not have the additional difficulty of a foreign tongue to grapple with, the book must certainly be considered a good addition to the literature of the language.

R. D. KARVE.

URDU.

Paristan Hikmat or Paristan Science, by Lala Jiya Ram Saheb, M.A., late Professor, Govt. College, Lahore. Published by Rai Saheb Munshi Gulab Singh and Sons, Educational Publishers, Lahore. Crown 8vo. Pp. 376. Price As. 12, pies 3.

This is a translation from an English book. The rendering has been fairly idiomatic and simple. There is a lack of such books on science in Urdu. The modern theory of education requires that the dry-as-dust pages of books on Science, Geography, etc. should be replaced by interesting ones, fitted to develop the minds of children and young boys properly. The book under review fulfils these requirements to a considerable extent. There are ten lectures in it, having Botany, Chemistry and Physical Geography, as their subjects. These so-called lectures are not learned discourses, but, what is better, they have been made to suit the capacities of boys. They are more of the nature of object lessons than systematised chapters on Science. We commend such publications highly and think that they will serve to popularise in India the system of education which has been in vogue in Europe and America for about three decades.

M. S.

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HINDI.

Dharmashiksha, by Rai Bahadur Babu Baijnath, a Retired Judge of U. P. To be had of Daftar Vaishya Hitkari, Meerut, or B. Krishna Lal, 96, Civil Line, Agra. Second Edition, Crown 8 vo. Pp. 253. Price As. 8.

This is an exhaustive treatise on the rituals, morality and religion included in Hinduism. The merit of the book lies in the fact that sectarianism has been scrupulously avoided. Short lives of such religious leaders of different types as Rammohan Ray, Dayanand Sarasvati, Buddha Deva, have been given. The book has been written in the form of questions and answers, but, what is good, the questions are merely suggestive of subjects and are not cumbrous. All the main principles of Hinduism find a way in the book and it is suited to the perusal of all, young and old, males and females. The apparent abuses in the Hindu religion have been sought to be carefully weeded out, but the book will satisfy even the most orthodox. The treatment has been simple, and even when the writer has been obliged to introduce philosophical topics, they have been made as clear as possible. The Hindu religion is a jumble of many elements and the book under review can be said to be a safe and elaborate guide to all these. To crown the above, we find it to be interesting.

Shreeramavatara, by Pandita Shivaratna Shukla. Printed at the Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow, and to be had of Pandita Dindayal Dikshit, Bachhravan, Dist. Raibareli. Crown 8 vo. Pp. 90. Price as. 4

This is a nice little book on the subject of the incarnation of Shree Rama. For the Vaishnavas who might be in need of a philosophical and rationalistic discussion of the subject of the Ramayana, this treatise will prove very serviceable. The explanation given of the banishment of Shree Sitaji, is a novel one, but it has the merit of satisfying the sceptic. The characters of the different personages figuring in the Ramayana have been portrayed in well chosen and thoughtful words. There are chapters on the "Nirakara and Sakara Mats" and on "Vrahmavada." The book closes with a religious poem written on modern lines. The language of the publication is chaste and correct. Even those who are opposed to the Avatara theory will find much in the book to think upon. The book is printed neatly and on art paper.

Kavita Kusum-mala, by Pandeya Lochan Prosad. Printed and published by the Indian Press, Allahabad. Crown 8 vo. Pp., 209. Price As. 12.

There was a want of such a book consisting of selections from the best poems of modern Hindi Poets. The book consists of 91 poems, which have been placed in three parts in accordance with their subjects. The poems on natural scenery, 29 in number, will interest many. In the beginning, there is a very short discourse on the different kinds of poetry. The translations of some English Poems, *e.g.*, Wordsworth's "The Affliction of Margaret", Southey's "Among my Books," Longfellow's "Psalm of Life," are nice. Efforts have been made to make some of these translations literal while as to others only the sense has been given. दुरात्मा on p. 106 is not a correct translation of "with oul so dead" in the original. However, what taleas we have got is really praiseworthy and must have cost great pains. Gray's "Elegy" also finds a place in the book in an abbreviated form. Only the best modern poets have been laid under contribution, while there are some poems from the pen of the Editor himself. The printing and paper are good.

No. I, Vol. I of Hindu Shruti-bodh. Publisher—Pranshankar Amritram Dikshit, Shrutibodh Office, 49, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Royal 8vo. Pp. 8+28+28. Annual Subscription Rs. 4 including postage.

This is a Hindi translation of the Vedas, published in monthly parts. The plan of the editors who are Maratha LL. B.'s, is to publish translations in Hindi, Marathi, English and Gujrati, and to price the books as low as possible. In the No. under review the original Sanskrit has first been given with vowel points and in the footnote the *padas* have been given with *Sandhis* broken. The latter part of the publication contains the Hindi translation. The commencement has fitly been made with the Rigveda, and the first 19 Suktas cover the No. under review. The Editors should have the proof-sheets of the translation part read by some one whose mother-tongue is Hindi. We object to the use of words सामर्थें (p. 6, l. 16) and पोइचाने, 2 lines below, or दिखते (p. 7 l. 14). These should be सामर्थ्य, पहचाने, and दीखते respecively. As to the first word, no change is required in the plural. The publication contains other similar mistakes. The enterprise is no doubt a laudable one. The paper and printing are nice.

Nirankushata-Nidarshan, by Shreejuta Mansaram. Printed at the Devanagri Jantralaya, 17, Pagayapatti, Calcutta, and to be had of Babu Haribaksh Jalan, 7—1, Mission Row, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 195. Price as. 6.

This is a review of an essay entitled "Kalidasa ki niranskushata" written by Pandita Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, editor of the *Sarasvati* and published, in parts, in certain issues of that journal. The review has been reproduced from the columns of the Hindi Bharatmitra. The original essay on which the review was based has also been given in the appendix, while the opinions of some of the noted Hindi writers on the review and the essay have been added. There is no doubt that the learned Pandit went beyond the proper sphere of criticism in the essay in question. Its publication, especially in the columns of the Sarasvati, was unsuitable. In a review on a Sanskrit writer, published in a Hindi journal, efforts should be made to present both sides of the question, otherwise the needless would be responsible for needless mispresentations.

Grihakatha, by Shreeman Prakashdeva. To be had of Punjab Brahmasamaj, Anarkali, Lahore. Crown 8 vo. Pp. 54. Price As. 3.

This is a Hindi translation of a Bengali book of the same name by Shreemati Lavanya Prabha Basu. It consists of discourses on domestic virtues, which have been illustrated by stories from various sources, It is especially suitable for the use of children. Duty to parents, sisters, brothers, masters and servants, has been pointed out mainly through the help of short

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Nitikatha, by the same author and available at the above address. Crown 8vo. Pp. 118. Price As. 5.

This too is a Hindi translation of a Bengali book by the aforesaid talented authoress. There are discourses in it on such subjects as Truth, Justice, Duty, Patience, Friendship, and so forth. The effort to teach virtue through the help of stories is praiseworthy. These stories have been got together from the Puranas while the histories of Greece, France, and other countries have also been laid under contribution. Mere philosophical discussions have been avoided, and the narrative has been made homely and instructive. The language is pure and simple.

Stree Charitra. Author and Publisher—same as above. Crown 8vo. Pp. 244. Price As. 12.

There are discourses in it on the duties of a female from the Indian point of view. Short lives of certain distinguished women of Arabia, India and Europe have been also introduced. At the end of each chapter there are short and succint hints for the guidance of women of all ages. The instructions given are such as are the most suitable for modern India. Changes in the method of culture for girls and women have only been suggested when they have been found to be essentially necessary on account of the changed circumstances. In principle, what we find in the book is in accordance with the concensus of the view of the Indians, even the most conservative. The book is fit to be placed in the hands of every female. It is a translation of a Bengali book of the same name by Mr. Pratap Chandra Majumdar. The use of such words as स्वर्ग (p. 149), हिन्सा (p. 142) and कहानियें is objectionable. But in general the language is correct.

Samrata-swagata, by Pandeya Lochan Prasad Sharma. Published by the Diwan Bahadur of His Highness the Feudatory Chief of Raigarh (C. P.). Demy 8vo. pp. 8. To be had free of charge.

It contains laudatory verses welcoming their Majesties at the Delhi Durbar. Incidentally the poet has spoken of certain chiefs of the Central Provinces. The printing is nice and the publication well-worded. To the short list of errata, the author might add बूे for लूे (p. 4, l. 14.) for हैं for हैं (p. 5, b. 17).

M. S.

GUJARATI.

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, by Maganlal Ratanji Vidyarthi, B.A., B. Sc., Lecturer in Science, Vernacular College, Baroda, published by Sheth Ranchhoddas Bhavan, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 141. Price 0-8-0 (1912).

This is a translation into Gujarati of Prof. Hudson's book, published by the Rational Press Association. It is preceded by a short sketch of the life of Herbert Spencer. In places, the translator has tried to show the resemblance that exists between the Brahma of the Upanishads and the Unknownable of Herbert Spencer. It cannot be said that in Gujarati there is a plethora of such works. We do need genuine introduction to the thoughts and philosophy of the West, and when they come from the pen of cultured men, who themselves take a warm interest in the subject, they are sure to prove useful and instructive. We already have expressed our opinion in favour of the good work undertaken by the writer and the publisher, and we have great pleasure in repeating it. The cheap price and the commendable quality of the work bid fair to make it popular.

(1) *Swami Ramtirtha, Pt. IV, by Kripashankar Becharlal Pandit. Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Cloth bound. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 0-4-0; 0-8-0; 0-12-0, according to style of cover. (1912).*

(2) *Bharat nan Stri Ratno, Vol. II, by Shibprasad Dalpatram Pandit, Published by the same Society. Cloth bound. Pp. 726. Price Re. 1-0-0; 1-4-0, according to cover. (1912).*

The Society continues to do its useful work. The first is a continuation of the speeches of Swami Ramtirtha and we find them reproduced attractively. The second, however, deserves more than a passing mention. To us it appears to be an improvement on the first volume, because it contains the lives of more well-known ladies, in the sense that they lived nearer to our time, and we can therefore well appreciate the good points meant to be accentuated by a narration of their words and deeds. The author has gathered his materials from many sources, Gujarati, Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu, and we are sure that this unique collection of the lives of Indian ladies, Hindu and Mahommedan, will not but be considered a distinct addition to our literature. The language is very simple, and can be understood by ordinary persons, a great merit of the book.

Swarga nan Ratno, by Amratlal Sundarji, Bombay, Printed at the Satyaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, Pp. 354. Price Re. 1. (1912).

Vaidya Amratlal Sundarji wields a very facile pen, and is not unknown to the Gujarati reader, because he it is who has designed a sort of ladder of knowledge, leading to Swarga, which he defines, not as the blissful Heaven, pictured in the Puranas, "but the Bliss acknowledged to be such by the Mahatmas, a state of mind where the inner soul feels satisfied, a life of godliness, in the end God himself." With the view of raising his reader to that high level of thought and bliss he has been writing his books in a gradually rising order, (*a*) *Swarga nun Viman*, the airship which will take the reader to the heavenly regions, (*b*) *Swarga nun Kunchi*, the key which will open them, (*c*) *Swarga no Khajano*, the treasure that would be unlocked by means of it, and (*d*) *Swarga nan Ratno*, the gems found in the treasure. The ladder is to consist of seven steps, out of which four have been completed. The preponderating feature of the work is *Bhakti Marga*. By means of stories, by means of precepts, and lastly by means of a very attractive style, which draws the readers to him, he has been successful in impressing his worth on his readers and we with pleasure congratulate him on his continually developing and expanding outturn. His aim is to teach us to live well, to think well, and to act well.

My Own Images or a Historical Study of the Ancient Literature of Gujarat, by Shambhuprasad Shivprasad Mehta, B.A., Printed at the Bombay Samachar Press, Bombay. 'Thick Card board. Pp. 58 and 82. Price. Re 1. (1912).

This book is divided into two parts: English and

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Gujarati. Fortunately it is not our business to notice the English portion, for it would be difficult to find a more tangled skein of confused thought, incorrect idiom, grammatical mistakes, printer's devils, and crude expression, anywhere, than in those fifty-eight pages. In a future edition, we think it should either be dropped entirely or edited by some scholar. In a slip attached to this book, the author says, it is "specially designed for the use of M.A. degree examination and of other learned persons only." We do not know what to say about it. It no doubt presupposes in the reader an intimate knowledge of the works of some of the poets in respect of whom observations are offered by Mr. Mehta. The idea of a historical study of their works is well conceived, and is inviting enough, and in places well carried out. But what repels one is the forest of words, which hides some good observation or flush of apt criticism. Unfortunately, the writer is wedded to his style, which is harsh and jarring. M. A. students will no doubt do well, all the same, to peruse it. It will do them no harm.

K. M. J.

NOTES

"British Rubber trade horrors."

"BLOOD FOR GOLD."

"TORTURE AND MURDER IN A RUBBER FOREST."
"BRITISH COMPANY."

Outrages more terrible than those committed by the collectors of "red rubber" in the Congo are detailed in a Blue-Book issued in mail week.

The Blue-book contains the official report of an inquiry which Sir Roger Casement, the British Consul-General, made at Sir Edward Grey's request, into the treatment of natives employed in collecting rubber for the Peruvian Amazon Company, Limited—a British company—in the Putumayo district of Peru.

It will be remembered that it was the reports of Sir Roger (then Mr.) Casement from the Congo Free State which first drew public attention to the horrors being perpetrated there. Sir Roger Casement was Consul to the Congo Free State from 1898 to 1905.

Evidence is furnished that

Children's brains were dashed out.

Women and children were flogged to death.

Men and women were deliberately starved to death.

Men were used for targets and shot "for sport."

Men's ears were cut off "for sport."

More than 90 per cent. of the entire population bore wounds of old floggings.

In twelve years at least 30,000 persons were murdered or deliberately starved to death.

Some of the chief offenders escaped into Brazil or the Argentine before the Peruvian authorities took any action in response to Sir Edward Grey's urgent cables.

One of those who escaped was Armando Normand, a Bolivian, educated in England, of whom Sir Roger reports :—

'The crimes alleged against this man, dating from the end of the year 1904 up to the month of October 1910, when I found him in charge of this station of Matanzas or Andokes, seem well-nigh incredible.

They included innumerable murders and tortures of defenceless Indians—pouring kerosene oil on men and women and then setting fire to them : burning men at the stake ; dashing the brains out of children, and again and again cutting off the arms and legs of Indians and leaving them to speedy death in this agony.

These charges were not made to me alone by Barbados men who had served under Normand, but by some of his fellow "racionales." A Peruvian engineer in the company's service vouched to me for the dashing out of the brains of children, and chief representative of the company, Senor Tizon, told me he believed Normand had committed "innumerable murders" of the Indians.'

Burned Alive.

The real character of this man, Normand, is fully revealed in the statement made by a British witness, Westerman Leavine, to the Consul-General during his inquiry.

Leavine declares that Senor Normand killed many hundreds of Indians during his six years at Matanzas, during all which time he, Leavine, served under him, and by many kinds of torture, cutting off their heads and limbs and burning them alive,

He more than once saw Normand have Indians' hands and legs tied together, and the men or women thus bound thrown alive on a fire. The employees on the station would look on or assist. The station boys or "muchachos," would get the firewood ready, acting under Senor Normand's orders.

He saw Normand on one occasion take three native men and tie them together in a line and then with his Mauser rifle shoot all of them with one bullet, the ball going right through. He would fire more than one shot into them like this.

British subjects, of whom some 200 were shipped from Barbados, were also subjected to criminal ill-treatment, and some of these men, under threats of further torture, were forced to kill and flog Indians in their turn.

Mutilated.

Much of the evidence given before Sir Roger cannot be set down, but here is one instance, of a rubber-agent's "amusements" :—

An eye-witness, who made his declaration before me on November 2nd, was one of the Barbados men serving at the time in Abisinia. Aguero had the Indians tied up for "running away" from the rubber work, and they remained in this posture for about

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three hours. While hanging thus, the Barbados man Quales, to amuse himself and his master Aguero, who was looking on throughout, swung these unfortunate beings violently to and fro. Not satisfied with this comparatively gentle form of amusement, he began to bite their bare legs and buttocks. One of the men kicked him in the face as he was being bitten. Angered at this, Quales laid hold of one of the toes of the man and bit it off."

The above is the first portion of a three-column long article printed in the *Indian Daily News*, full of descriptions of similar horrors. *The Inquirer* of London says: "At the present moment there is too much reason to fear that these hideous cruelties are still being perpetrated, and it is English trade which draws the largest share of the profits."

As Sir Roger Casement held his enquiry under the direction of the British Government, that Government is expected to take steps to put an end to these atrocities. Laws ought to be enacted to make the directors of a company responsible for the barbarities of their agents and servants. So long as they enjoy the wealth produced by infernal means, they must be held responsible for the methods of production. The English are a civilized and great people. If they do not wish to forfeit their claim to be called great and civilised, they must punish and restrain those who tarnish their good name.

As for the atrocities, human language is too weak to characterise them properly.

Eugenics.

How to get a better breed of human beings, that is what eugenics stands for. In our country lepers and persons afflicted with other loathsome diseases, lunatics and idiots, the lame, the blind, the deaf and dumb, consumptives, all can and do marry. Besides this, children, even infants, marry, and very old men marry. What hope is there for race improvement here?

In the state of Indiana in the United States of America, in 1905 a law was passed, says the *Twentieth Century Magazine*, making sterilization legal under certain circumstance despite the criminal's opposition. This law is short and reads as follows :—

WHEREAS, Heredity plays a most important part in the transmission of crime, idiocy, and imbecility;

Therefore, Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, that on and after the passage of this act it shall be compulsory for each and every institution in the State entrusted with the care of confirmed criminals, idiots, rapists and imbeciles, to appoint upon its staff, in addition to the regular institutional physician, two (2) skilled surgeons of recognized ability, whose duty it shall be, in conjunction with the chief physician of the institution, to examine the mental and physical condition of such inmates as are recommended by the institutional physician and board of managers. If, in the judgment of this committee of experts and the board of managers, procreation is inadvisable, and there is no probability of improvement of the mental condition of the inmate, it shall be lawful for the surgeons to perform such operation for the prevention of procreation as shall be decided safest and most effective. But this operation shall not be performed except in cases that have been pronounced unimprovable.

Since 1889 over seven hundred such operations have been done. Indiana's other eugenic law was also passed in 1905, and commands that—

No license to marry shall be issued except upon written and verified application. Such application shall contain a statement of the full Christian and surname, color, occupation, birthplace, residence, and ages of the parties, whether the marriage contemplated is the first, second or other marriage, together with the full Christian and surnames, residence, color, occupation and birthplace of their parents, including the maiden name of the mother, together with such other facts as may be necessary to determine whether any legal impediment to the proposed marriage exists. Applications for license to marry shall be uniform throughout the State and it is hereby made the duty of the state board of health to furnish a form therefor to the several clerks at once upon the approval of this act; *provided*, That said state board of health may revise said forms so furnished from time to time as may be advisable.

The law further commands—

No license to marry shall be issued where either of the contracting parties is an imbecile, epileptic, of unsound mind or under guardianship of a person of unsound mind, nor to any male person who is or has been within five years an inmate of any county asylum or home for indigent persons, unless it satisfactorily appears that the cause of such condition has been removed and that such male applicant is able to support a family and likely to so continue, nor shall any license issue when either of the contracting parties is afflicted with a transmissible disease, or at the time of making application is under the influence of an intoxicating liquor or narcotic drug.

Unto those that have more shall be added.

In our July number we commented on the probability of the pay and prospects of the Indian Educational Service being increased in the near future. It is now clear that an all-round attempt is now being made to take advantage of Lord Islington's Com-

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mission to increase the salaries of Anglo-Indian officials.

In his article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* on the constitution and working of the High Courts Sir Henry Prinsep mentions two factors which have tended to lessen the attraction of Indian Judgships. The first is, the decreased value of Judge's salaries consequent on the shrinkage in the value of the rupee. The second is the introduction of the age rule of compulsory retirement. The implication underlying the first factor is that the Judges' salaries should be increased. But could not good judges be still obtained for the salaries offered from amongst English and Indian lawyers, if nepotism and political considerations did not govern their appointment to the extent they do?

"D. R.," evidently an Anglo-Indian official, writes in the *Spectator* of London on the Rise of Prices in India. He says:—

> The cost of living in India has greatly increased during the last few years. Food, wages, rent, all have gone up 30 per cent. at the very least; while the price of ponies has been probably doubled in the last fifteen years; nor has the recent influx of motor-cars caused any diminution in the price of horse flesh.

The writer gives other particulars and concludes his letter as follows:—

> Is the inducement offered enough to insure for much longer the continuance of a supply of men of as high calibre as heretofore, or will it not be increasingly felt that other careers and other countries offer an earlier start, greater chances of success, and at least as pleasant a life to men of enterprise and grit? The men who have just those qualities which are the most desirable for the administration of this country are the very ones who are most likely to be attracted elsewhere under the present state of affairs.
>
> The importance of the Indian Empire has been recently brought home to the British public by the visit of the King-Emperor. Is it too much to hope that it will be roused to a sense of its responsibility in insisting that the proper class of men are obtained for the Government of India, and that sufficiently good prospects of pay and pension are offered to secure them?

This letter, like Sir Henry Prinsep's article, is quite significant. It plainly suggests that Anglo-Indian officials' salaries should be increased by at least thirty per cent. That Indians quite competent to discharge the duties of these officials can be had in sufficient numbers for moderate salaries, does not indicate to Anglo-Indians and their patrons and advocates the only right solution of the problem.

"Anglo-Indian" Regiment.

In this note Anglo-Indian includes Eurasians.

In the course of his speech in support of his resolution in the Imperial Council recommending the formation of an Anglo-Indian regiment, Mr. Madge observed:—

> "Our Indian fellow-countrymen are stretching forth the tendrils of their hopes towards uncertain privileges and powers. We, for our part, are simply claiming the privilege of laying down our lives for our Empire and our King; and I think I may depend upon the good feeling of the Indian Members of this Council not to add any bitterness to any controversy that may take place on this subject outside."

"The privilege of laying down our lives for our Empire and our King" is a fine phrase. But its underlying implication is not very sublime. It is that Eurasians want jobs, and that they want to be paid four times as much as the Sikhs and Gurkhas are paid for laying down *their* lives for King and Empire. Mr. Madge and his Eurasian clients should understand a plain thing. A man is either a native or not a native of India. If he be a native, he must accept both the rights and disabilities of a native with as good grace as he can. This the Eurasian does not do. When it comes to getting good jobs, for which he generally does not possess sufficient educational and intellectual qualifications, he is content to be styled a "statutory" native.* But he will not accept the disabilities of the native pure and simple. This will not do. No class of people can be other than parasites and snobs who cannot honestly and frankly acknowledge and honour their motherland. If they will not till the soil, be artisans, engage in trade and commerce, and generally follow all the other professions which "natives" follow, they are doomed; no Imperial patronage can make them strong and prosperous.

Entertainment by Prostitutes.

Advocates of social purity have learned with satisfaction that H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir has forbidden performances by nautch girls in his *darbar*. It is disquieting that in Bengal, where nautches had long come to be discountenanced by respectable

* Of what country on earth is he a *real* native, if not of India?

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people, they are coming into vogue again. When Lord Carmichael recently visited Rajshahi, among the festive doings in his honour was a nautch. We only hope he did not know what sort of women the performers were.

On the allied subject of performances in Indian theatres, *Epiphany* says :—

We regret to see that a performance at one of the Indian theatres in Calcutta was announced last week as 'given in honour of His Majesty's Judges.' We venture to doubt whether the Judges either accepted or appreciated the honor of being entertained by a party of prostitutes. At any rate there was only one Judge actually present, and the Indian Judges were conspicuous by their absence. We have no doubt that the European gentlemen who are from time to time induced to patronize these performances do so under a complete misapprehension of their true character: none the less their example must have a most baneful effect on the thousands of students and other young men in Calcutta. We do not pretend to have any first hand knowledge of these theatres, but we have good reason for knowing that they are among the strongest of the evil influences which are brought to bear on the youth who come to the capital from their comparatively virtuous and simple country homes. Our Hindu correspondents constantly bear witness to this fact, and it can hardly be otherwise considering the character of the women who take part in the performances.

An Indian Student in America.

Five years ago, Mr. Rajani Kanta Das of Dacca and formerly a student of the University of Calcutta, was sent by the Association for the Advancement of Industrial and Scientific Education of Indian Students, for the study of Agriculture to the United States of America. From 1907 to 1910 he studied at the Ohio State University, and received the degree of Bachelor of Science in Agriculture. By virtue of the record made at the Ohio State University, he was appointed a research fellow at the University of Missouri, where he took charge of an experimental breeding project at the Agricultural Experimental Station. He organised and developed the data and published the results in a thesis which entitled him to the degree of Master of Science at that University in 1911. Along with the study of Agriculture, he devoted a considerable time to the study of Biology and carried some original research works in the Mendelian Law of Heredity, at the University of Wisconsin, where he was appointed an Honorary Fellow during the past year. The last named University has conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts in Zoology this year. But the prime motive which led Mr. Das to register at our University was the study of Agricultural Economics. He took his work with Dr. H. C. Taylor, the best authority on the subject, and planned to appear in the examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1913. Unfortunately family troubles have compelled him to leave America in the midst of his success. However his work in this line also was of high enough order to entitle him to another Master's Degree



Mr. Rajanikanta Das, m.a., m.sc.
Research Fellow, University of Missouri, (1910-11); Honorary Fellow, University of Wisconsin, (1911-12).

and the Graduate Committee was willing to confer upon him this degree last June, had he taken the examination.

The scholarship Mr. Das has attained both in theoretical and practical fields as a student in the American Universities may be measured by the high honors which two distinguished universities have accorded him. Indeed it demanded nothing less than

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pre-eminent superiority to bring him (a Hindoo) the research fellowship of $250 at Missouri in competition with numerous worthy native students and also the Honorary Fellowship at the University of Wisconsin.

The appreciation of Mr. Das's merit as a student by his professors may be understood by a few quotations from a number of letters they wrote about him. In recommending him to Dr. H. L. Russell, Dean and Director of our Agricultural College and Experimental Station, Prof. F. R. Marshall, of the Ohio State University, writes as follows:—"As he (Mr. Das) came into more advanced works and smaller classes he forced himself upon my attention by his hard work, original thinking and complete mastery of things presented. He has regularly outranked the most of our Ohio boys." "He is one of the best," writes Prof. H. C. Eckles, of the Agricultural College, University of Missouri, "if not the best foreign student we have had in Agriculture since I have been at this institution." Prof. A. Vivian, the present Dean of the College of Agriculture at the Ohio State University, also writes in the following way:—"Mr. Das is a remarkable man...He has been a leader in his class work during the whole course. The year I had him in Agricultural Chemistry, he received the highest grade of any one in the class and all his instructors have spoken highly of him...I can say unhesitatingly that he is far ahead of any of the other foreigners I had in my classes. He is not afraid of hard work. In fact I have been surprised at his capacity for getting things done". Mr. Das has also left a remarkable record for his work at our University and received similiar appreciation from his professor.

The writer has been a close friend of Mr. Das's during his sojourn at this University and has been greatly impressed with the breadth of his knowledge. His great fund of general and technical information accompanied by the keen faculty for philosophical interpretation which he possesses, indeed gives Mr. Das an enviable equipment for whatever position he may occupy in human society.

ORREN LLOYD JONES,
Department of Experimental Breeding,
University of Wisconsin, U. S. A.

Interpellations in the Viceregal Council.

The Hon'ble Mr. Armstrong asked:—

"(1) Is it a fact that since the alteration in the V. P. P. system about three years ago a great many complaints have been made by firms using this system with regard to unpaid claims and untraceable articles, and if so, have these complaints been brought to the notice of the Government of India?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Craddock replied:—

"Complaints have been received both by Government and by the Director General with regard to unpaid claims and untraceable articles. From figures at his disposal, the Director-general calculates that during the last three years there has been only one well-grounded complaint for every 6,250 articles carried.

This is a very clever answer. Considering that the Post Office carries millions of articles every year, the proportion mentioned above would give a large number of well-grounded complaints. Though the Government may be of opinion that "no further change seems called for now" we know that the present V. P. P. system is a source of immense trouble to all concerned.

In reply to a question of his the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu received the answer that "Government is not at present in a position to make a statement" as to whether "it is intended to award any compensation to Mr. L. O. Clarke, I. C. S., the defendant in the case of Brojendra Kisore Roy Chaudhury *versus* Clarke." That means that there is a probability of such compensation being awarded; which would be an act of gross injustice to the tax-payer, seeing that Mr. Clarke's defence was conducted by the law-officers of the Crown and the entire expense borne by Government and that at no time during the progress of the case did Mr. Clarke suffer any stoppage of pay or promotion.

In reply to another question of his Mr. Basu learnt that "the Government of India are not at present in a position to make a statement on the subject" "of the separation of the executive and judicial functions of a Magistrate." During the latter part of Lord Minto's viceroyalty, Government seemed to be on the eve of trying the experiment of separating the judiciary from the executive in certain selected districts. But now again this long overdue *sine qua non* of good rule has been postponed indefinitely. But who ever parted with power unless obliged to? Not certainly the Indian Civil Service.

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To yet another question of Mr. Basu's the answer was vouchsafed that the inquest proceedings in the case of the deceased political prisoner Indu Bhushan Ray, who committed suicide, were held by Mr. D'Oyly, Deputy Superintendent of Port Blair. This makes the enquiry valueless, as the investigating officer was the very man whose dutifulness was questioned by the public. The report that another political prisoner, Ullaskar Datta, has become insane, and the publication in the *Bengalee* of certain allegations as to the way in which political prisoners are generally treated in the Andamans, have made it imperative to hold an independent enquiry into their treatment.

On the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad asking whether Government have decided not to build a separate Council House for the Imperial Legislative Council at the new Capital, a reply was given that that was the decision. We think that as Government do not wish to encourage the faintest hope of India ever getting a parliament, it is wise on their part not to build a separate Council House, which may in future be loosely and by courtesy styled the Indian House of Paliament by some foolish "idealists."

Mr. Ratan Tata and the General Booth Memorial.

By his latest gift of nearly a lakh of rupees to the General Booth memorial fund Mr. Ratan Tata has shown that his charity knows no limitations of creed or race. As, however, he is not a Christian, we hope the Salvation Army leaders will have the good sense not to apply the proceeds of this princely donation to propaganda work but to some philanthropic scheme for the alleviation of human misery without distinction of creed or race.

"Jhatka" and "Halal".

The Panjab papers tell of a curious cause of tension of feeling between Hindus and Sikhs on the one hand and Musalmans on the other. We gather that the Hindu and Sikh mode of slaughtering goats by decapitation is called "Jhatka", and the flesh of animals killed by blood-letting according to the Musalman method is considered "halal". It is said Musalman butchers and their patrons insist that only "halal" meat should be allowed to be sold, and they pretend that the "Jhatka" process wounds their religious susceptibilities. Precious religious susceptibilities they must be! For nobody ever asked them to take "Jhatka" meat. It is strange to find that Musalmans have rioted, and looted Hindu shops in some towns on the pretext of wounded religious feelings. These insane doings ought to be put down with a firm hand. But we find instead that some district officials are siding with the Musalmans. They ought to have the good sense to see that as the law allows animals to be killed for food and that as the Jhatka method is not more cruel than any other method, Hindus and Sikhs should be perfectly free to obtain their meat in this way. A matter of sordid trade rivalry and foolish fanaticism ought not to be allowed to assume gigantic proportions. The district officials concerned ought also to know that any stick is *not* good enough to beat Hindus with.

"Megh" elevation in the Panjab.

Some leading men of the Panjab are trying hard to give a recognised status in Hindu society to the Meghs, an "untouchable" tribe, and other "untouchable" classes. They are not content with giving these people ceremonial cleanness, but are also making efforts to improve their condition by educating them. It will be a matter for rejoicing if these efforts lead to the intellectual, moral and material uplift of even a small number of these people.

The Swadeshi Mela.

Except on rainy days, the Swadeshi Mela has been visited by very large crowds. The number of exhibits and stalls has been much larger this year than in the last. So the Mela has been a success in every respect. A visit to it must convince every unprejudiced observer that the Swadeshi movement has not ended in mere talk; for we find that almost all articles of daily use are now made in the country. The skill and intelligence required to make them are to be found among our countrymen. If Swadeshi goods are not readily available everywhere, it must be because they are not made on a sufficiently large scale for want of capital, or the methods of distribution are at fault, or the ordinary shopkeepers

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prefer to stock foreign goods because of the larger and longer credit they obtain from wholesale dealers in them, or there may be other reasons with which men of business alone are conversant. We can only ask them to throw light on the subject.

District Swadeshi Melas ought to be held in the chief towns of districts. As Lord Carmichael has expressed his sympathy with the Swadeshi Mela, it is probable that the police and the executive authorities will not discourage the holding of district Melas in any way.

Water for Rural Areas in Bengal.

One of the most crying needs of Bengal is good water for bathing, cooking and drinking purposes. Good water has become scarcer than before, owing to the silting up of streams, the drying up of tanks, and the steeping of jute in the existing streams and tanks in some parts of the country. The conference which Lord Carmichael is going to hold at Darjeeling to devise means for the supply of good water is, therefore, one of the most important that could be thought of. As Government collects cesses from rural areas, it must recognise its duty in the matter; though we have no desire to absolve the landholders from their duty also.

In days of yore, rich men, some from religious motives, some from a desire for fame and ostentation, used to excavate tanks. At present, unfortunately the religious motive has weakened, and the other motive or motives find expression in doing things which will purchase the approval of the District Magistrate and a title with it, and in driving in motor cars and leading a life of luxury and vice in Calcutta. Lord Carmichael will do great good to Bengal if he can set in operation a sort of unwritten rule that men who would excavate tanks and deposit money for their perpetual upkeep would be rewarded with the titles of Rai Bahadur, Khan Bahadur, &c.

The real remedy lies in awakening the conscience of both the Government and the well-to-do people.

Our villages are now the hotbeds of factious quarreling known as "dalā-dali." If men's hearts could be so changed as to cherish a feeling of neighbourly co-operation instead of the small-minded and suicidal small jealousies, things would soon change for the better. Inhabitants of the smallest and poorest village could then by co-operation dig a well for drinking-water.

We think experienced engineers should also be invited to attend the conference. They should be able to say what sort of wells would suit what kind of soils and what would be their cost. A gentleman is exhibiting in the Swadeshi Mela a kind of tube-well and pump combined, which ought to suit alluvial districts. He ought himself to address Lord Carmichael on the subject.

Representation of Graduates.

Memorials are being submitted to Lord Hardinge by graduates residing in different parts of Bengal, praying that they may be allowed to elect one or more representatives in the Bengal Council. The memorialists are perfectly justified in asking for what they do. For the Council Regulations have been so framed as almost to lead one to suppose that one of the main objects of the framer was to exclude the educated middle class from the benefits, such as they are, of Lord Morley's "Reform Scheme." We have ourselves always held a poor opinion of this scheme, and if the educated classes, who form the brain of the country, are not to have even the small advantage that this scheme provides for the people, we do not see how they can be successfully "conciliated" for ever by Curzonian methods of oriental display dissociated from oriental generosity.

The Marwari College.

While welcoming the foundation of the Marwari College and warmly congratulating the Marwari community on the open-handed generosity which has enabled the committee to collect nine lakhs of rupee in two years, we would warn them against aping western fashions, which denationalise and in most cases make people shallow fools, and lead to wasteful expenditure. Even if the Marwaris remain largely a commercial people, education would broaden their mental horizon, improve their commercial, methods and enlarge the sphere of their operations. If their students learn pure science and afterwards applied science, they can also become captains of industry, as

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they can more easily obtain capital for their manufacturing projects than any other class of people. But they need not confine themselves to making and selling things. They may go in for all the occupations for which a liberal or professional education fits other classes; they have the capacity to do so. But we do hope they will not fall a prey to the foolish and degrading illusion that a stool and a desk in an office is better than owning even a small stall in the bazars.

We do not know the details of the scheme. We do not, for instance, know whether the College would admit only Marwari students, or would take in other students as well. We think the most desirable plan would be for the governing body to provide ample accommodation for classes and sections of classes and fix the number of students to be admitted on a liberal scale. The next step would be to lay down that Marwari students are to have preference over others in obtaining admission; and if after admitting all Marwari candidates, the full strength of a class or section of a class be not reached, students belonging to other communities shall be admitted up to the limit fixed. This will provide full advantage to the Marwari community and benefit other communities as well. At the same time Marwari young men will benefit by friendly emulation with intelligent fellow-students coming from other classes and by the liberalising effect of contact with different sets of men.

Ulster.

Ulster is still threatening civil war and saying that preparations are being made therefor, and that with impunity. It has been said on Ulster's behalf that if the Home Rule bill be passed and the King signs it, His Majesty would be guilty of an unconstitutional act!

In the Bombay Presidency a man has been sentenced to a long term of rigorous imprisonment for talking sedition in private conversation; though there was not much proof even of this fact.

In England itself suffregettes are sent to jail for window-smashing, and a labor leader was sent to jail for exhorting soldiers *not* to shoot at strikers.

The Chinese Loan.

"The Six Powers" demanded that China should borrow only from them under certain conditions. China refused. A group of financiers in London has lent 10 millions sterling to China. Whereupon Sir John Jordan, British Ambassador, has presented to Yuan-Shi-Kai a statement to the effect that China's floating liabilities, which amount to nearly ten millions sterling, must be paid in a few months out of the proceeds of any forthcoming loan. Reuter learns that it is expected that the Six-Powers will exercise their rights under the Boxer Indemnity Agreement to prevent alienation for any purpose of the revenues of the salt "gabelle", hypothecated for the indemnity of the outstanding loans. "The Daily News" and "The Daily Chronicle" have published editorials denouncing the action of the Powers with regard to the ten million sterling loan to China. The former paper compares the Powers to "a blood-sucking money-lender," the latter journal is sorry that Great Britain is taking a lead in an "unedifying business."

Laws for safeguarding social purity.

Mr. Madge's bill against the White Slave Traffic and Mr. Dadabhoy's bill for the better protection of minor girls would be effective and welcome additions to the statute book. Respectable Europeans residing in India may be depended upon to see that Mr. Madge's bill becomes law. As for Mr. Dadabhoy's bill, it may be pretended in some quarters that the attachment of *Devadasis* to temples is an obligatory religious institution. It is nothing of the kind. No Hindu temple north of Orissa has a single *devadasi*; nevertheless, the majority of the inhabitants of northern India are Hindus. We accord our whole-hearted support to the bill. We do hope our orthodox countrymen will be vocal in its support. Otherwise it is they in whose name, though falsely, the bill may be opposed.

It is no doubt the duty of Government to provide safe homes and education for rescued girls. But every sect should have such homes of its own. Abuse of Christian missionaries is not a substitute for such active philanthropy.

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY PROFESSOR HOMERSHAM COX, M.A.

IN comparing the results of higher education in India and England allowance must be made for the different ages in which men join their colleges in the two countries. In India the age is about sixteen years; in England it is generally about nineteen and sometimes even twenty. At that time of life three or four years make a great difference and it would not be reasonable to expect when a degree is taken at twenty the same standard as when it is taken at twenty-three. To make a fair comparison we must consider men at the same ages. An Indian college student would still be at school in England, so that we should compare his attainments with those of the sixth-form boy in England. If this is taken into account it will be found, I think, that the results of Indian Colleges are fairly satisfactory, at least on the scientific side. There are, of course, differences in different parts of India. As far as my experience goes Allahabad and Calcutta are about equal, while the Panjab has a somewhat lower standard; of Bombay and Madras I have no personal knowledge. In Allahabad, and I believe in other Indian universities too, the standard in science is much higher than it was twenty years ago. I cannot easily compare it with the English standard, since in England too great changes have taken place, with which owing to my long absence I am unacquainted. If I compare the men of my own time with the present Allahabad B. Sc. candidate, I should say that the English student of mathematics knew more mathematics and was, in especial, more skilful in solving problems, but that he had much less knowledge of physics and chemistry. Obviously if the Indian student has to attend lectures on physics and chemistry for an hour every day besides spending several hours on practical work in the laboratories, he cannot learn as much pure mathematics as the Englishman who has nothing else to do. But it seems to me the Indian student is none the worse for a general scientific education even if he intends to specialize in mathematics afterwards. Opinions differ as to when specialization should begin and how far it should be pushed. For my own part I have always opposed specialization in a single branch of science before the age of twenty. The B. Sc. course at Allahabad fairly avoids, I think, the opposite evils of superficiality and narrowness, and I wish I had gone through such a course myself at that age. Our Cambridge studies were in my time too narrow and too purely theoretical. So that, as I have said, up to the B. Sc. degree there is no reason to be dissatisfied with the scientific studies of Indian students. But I say this with all diffidence, and should be glad to hear the opinion of those who have studied in Europe more recently than myself.

If I be right, we cannot expect much better results from any changes in the Indian Universities or from any new

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Universities. After all, learning is a matter of time, and there are no magical devices by which a young man of twenty may be made a profound scholar. Even up to the M. Sc. degree, a student can, I think, learn as much in India as in Europe. I am speaking of technical knowledge and in especial of mathematics; of course, from the point of view of general culture it is always an advantage to visit foreign countries. For more advanced studies, however, the best Indians will derive great benefit from going to Europe, where they will be able to hear the most eminent teachers. But it is *only* the best who will be able to profit from the lectures of these teachers, the average or even the fairly good student can learn just as much in India. It is necessary to insist on this point, because a superstitious value is sometimes attached in India to a European degree. In reality, however, the Indian who goes to England and takes third-class honours in Oxford or Cambridge is no better than, perhaps not nearly so good, as the Indian who has taken his degree in his own country. It is not worth while for an Indian to go to an English university merely to take a pass or low honours' degree, except, as I have said, for the sake of general culture. The conferring of pass degrees is only a minor part of the work of Oxford and Cambridge and these degrees have never been very difficult to obtain. The chief work of a European University is the preservation and extension of knowledge and the estimation in which it is held depends, not on the percentage of failures, among candidates for admission, but on its laboratories and libraries and above all on the eminence of its teachers. These are things, however, which will only be of use to the advanced student. An eminent man is not always the best teacher for comparative beginners. Lord Kelvin, for instance, was to a great extent thrown away at Glasgow, for there, as in other Scotch Universities, lads are admitted at an age when they would still be at school in England, France or Germany. Probably the most brilliant mathematical lecturer in Europe at the present time is Klein in Gottingen. But an Indian student who had not read up to, or indeed beyond, our M. Sc. degree would gain no advantage from his lectures.

While then our scientific teaching falls short of the highest teaching in Europe, it is sound and good as far as it goes. The statement that education in India is a failure can only arise from crass ignorance or deliberate malevolence. Even the student who does not go beyond the Intermediate classes in science has learnt much that is valuable. He has gone through a course of practical work in physics and chemistry which is not only interesting in itself, but what is more important, teaches him the habit of investigating things for himself instead of accepting assertions without evidence. It is the custom in Europe to speak of "Oriental credulity", but two or three hundred years ago the European was just as credulous. If the European has become critical, the result is chiefly due to the progress of physical science. Again, from the very beginning the teaching of science in the colleges though elementary is technical, the books sudied are not books the general reader can take up for an hour's amusement after dinner. This is as it should be, for the diffusion of general information, though useful work, is not the work of a university. The teachers too are not amateurs but men who are specially qualified in the subjects they have to teach.

Unfortunately the teaching of Indian colleges has not been so satisfactory on the literary side. It is generally assumed in India that any one is competent to teach English Literature, or History, or Philosophy. These subjects have sometimes been taught by highly cultivated scholars, but they have also been taught by men who were not scholars at all, for no questions are ever asked as to the qualifications of the teacher. A man who is appointed to teach one subject may be required at a moment's notice to teach another. When the teachers are only amateurs, the teaching cannot be technical, and the feature that strikes one most in the 'A course', as it used to be called, is its superficial, dilettante character. The study of history can be made as technical as that of mathematics, and Indians have shown that they are capable of doing good scholarly work in history. But in our colleges no attempt is made to teach students how to consult the original authorities and investigate historical questions themselves. The books recommended are no doubt good, but they are modern books;

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excellent for the general reader but not enough for the specialist. This applies also to the courses in English Literature and Philosophy. I am far from saying that the literary courses are useless, but I do say that they have not that scholarly character which even the elementary teaching of a university ought to have. The only study on the literary side free from dilettantism is that of the classical languages, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. If the student of history were required to read some of the original authorities in Arabic or Sanskrit the course would be much more satisfactory. This would be true, too, for the student of philosophy, but for my own part I think the study of philosophy should not begin so early. However I do not hope to see any reform; there are too many vested interests in support of the existing state of things. While the study of science has been steadily improving in Allahabad so that the Intermediate standard is now as high as the B. A. twenty years ago, there has been no improvement in the literary studies.*

The complaint is sometimes made that no religious instruction is given in Indian Colleges. One might as reasonably complain that a laboratory is not a mosque or temple. There are mosques and temples in abundance for those who wish to go to them and they are open to students as much as to other people. The student of Allahabad or Lucknow has the same means for learning about religion as the other inhabitants. As a matter of fact Indians of all classes are well acquainted with religion; in general, better than men of corresponding classes would be in Europe. An illiterate Kashmiri boatman may not know all the points of difference between the seventy-two sects but he understands the fundamental doctrines of Islam very well. A few weeks ago at Ganderbal a Kashmiri barber, instead of discussing the weather and the prospects of the harvest as an English barber would, talked to me about *shariat*, *tariqat*, *haqiqat*, *marifat*. Some years earlier in 1895 I was present at a discussion between two Wahhabis and some Sunnis not of the Wahhabi sect, of the question whether it was lawful to pay reverence to the tombs of the saints. The two Wahhabis had had some amount of education but the Sunnis were almost or quite uneducated. One of them was a Panjabi, the bearer of an English traveller, and the others were Kashmiri boatmen. I was struck by the clearness and knowledge with which both sides maintained their view. The same point of difference arises between Protestants and Roman Catholics, but I doubt if an English workingman could have discussed it so well, although he would probably speak better on any question of politics. These Kashmiri Musulmans had not derived their knowledge of religion from school teaching, for the simple reason that they had not been to any school. But although most Indians do not go to school they receive instruction in religion none the less. This instruction is given for the most part in the home as it ought to be. Indeed a great deal of Hinduism can only be taught in the home, since the family worship is kept secret. Besides the home teaching, Hindus from time to time listen to a *katha* and Musulmans at the celebration of the *maulud* to a sermon. There is too, especially for Hindus, a series of festivals throughout the year, teaching religion in the most effective way possible by the direct appeal to the eye. Ample provision is then made for religious instruction in India and there is no need that it should be provided by colleges, which have quite different duties to perform. To complain of its absence from colleges is about as silly as to complain of its absence from the Allahabad Exhibition.

But some benevolent English people have discovered that the Indians are ignorant of religion. Every year thousands, or rather lakhs, of pilgrims come to the Magh Mela at Allahabad. But though these pilgrims call themselves Hindus they do not really know anything about Hinduism. As the British soldier said when he was not understood by the people, "they do'nt *malum* their own *bat*." So these benevolent English people determined to give the Hindus lessons in Hinduism, and to found a college for that purpose. It is difficult to know which is the more surprising, the self-confidence of the English teachers or the meekness of the Hindu learners. European *scholars* have told me that they would often have failed to understand passages of Sanskrit

* I cannot say how far this is true of Calcutta and other Indian Universities.

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without the help of an Indian pandit; yet these theosophists, whose scholarship is beneath contempt, in Benares, the home of pandits, undertake to explain to Hindus the meaning of their sacred books. What is perhaps even more remarkable is that they find Hindus willing to listen to them. The reason seems to be that with the possible exception of the Americans, no people are so eager for the praise of foreigners as the Hindus, or, at least, some of the Hindus. In China as in India the belief prevails that all wisdom is contained in certain old books. But the Chinese have more national self-respect than the Indians and they are aware how imperfect is the knowledge any foreigner can possess of their national literature. One of these restless, wandering English women once attempted to patronize Chinese religion and philosophy in the presence of Li Hung Chang and received from the great statesman a snub too sharp to be reproduced here. Nor would Musulmans consent to be taught the doctrines of Islam by a European. What seems peculiar to Hindus is the disposition to exaggerate the achievements of Indians in the past and to underrate the Indians of the present day. Many of them seem to be unaware that they have in Dr. Bhandarkar, to mention only a single name, a scholar worth all the European theosophists put together. However owing to the growth of scholarship and national self-respect in India a juster estimate is formed of these matters now than twenty years ago, and I believe the promoters of a Hindu University intend to have nothing to do with theosophy.

It is sometimes urged that religious instruction is given in European Colleges. This statement is not correct. At Cambridge the religion is merely nominal and there is none at all in the continental universities. But it is true that religious instruction is given in schools. In Austria there are three recognised religions, Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism, and in Bosnia and Herzogovina, a fourth, Mahommedanism, is also recognised. The Austrian boy on leaving school, if he wishes to serve for only one year in the army, must pass an examination which includes knowledge of the religion to which his father nominally belongs. For as a rule among the educated classes the adhesion to any religion is purely nominal. I remember saying once to a young Jewish friend that it was a hardship that a boy should be compelled to learn what his father did not believe. He replied, "It does not matter; the father can tell his son at home that the religious teaching is all rubbish." "In any case it is a waste of time." "Oh, they are quite pretty fairy stories." I mention this little incident because some of the older Hindus and Mahommedans seem to think that making religious teaching compulsory will tend to the preservation of their respective beliefs. The example of Europe shews the contrary. These Jewish 'fairy stories' are accepted by Christianity and Islam. They were in my time, and probably still are, taught in school. Yet they are now rejected by almost every educated man. Even the parsons do not believe them though they seldom have the candour openly to avow their disbelief. This shews how ineffectual school teaching is in determining the beliefs of the grown up man.

It may be said that in any case religious teaching will do no harm. In itself it does no harm. The harm comes in when Mahommedans and Hindus are separated into two different camps. If religious instruction is given at all it should be on the lines followed by Mr. Gandhi in the Transvaal. I quote from his letter to Mr. Ratan Tata:

"One hour in the evening is devoted to giving the scholars some idea of their respective religions and, to that end, lessons are read from the Mahomedan, Hindu and Zoroastrian scriptures. All the boys attend throughout the hour when the respective readings are given. An attempt is made to inculcate in them the spirit that they are first Indians and everything else after that, and that, while they must remain absolutely true to their own faiths, they should regard with equal respect those of their fellow-pupils."

We do not want to increase the differences between Hindus and Mahommedans by educating them in separate schools and colleges. What is needed is that lads and young men should be taught as in Mr. Gandhi's school to consider themselves "first Indians and everything else after that." The development of a common patriotism is the most urgent want of India at the present time. If Indians are taught to love their country above all things religious teaching can do no harm.

However for the reasons already given I do not think it is needed. Indians are

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quite religious enough already. Nor do I think moral teaching is needed. The morality of Indian students, as I can say from personal knowledge, will not suffer by comparison with that of English, German, French or Italian students. The real defect of Indian Universities is that so few of the students read to a high standard. Only a few take the M. A. degree. Now since the students who are reading for the B.A. degree would still be at school in England or the continent, we may say that very few Indian students really have a university education. It is not their fault. A young man has, as a rule, to look forward to earning his own living, and cannot afford to spend two years in studies which lead to nothing. If a student after taking the B. A. degree begins to read law or engineering he is preparing himself for his future work in life, but if he goes on to take the M. A. degree he has prepared himself for nothing except a post in some college. But there are no posts requiring equal ability and education which are so badly paid. The men holding them are glad to resign them as soon as they see an opening in some other line. It is not merely in pay that the Indian suffers who chooses to devote himself to study and teaching. In popular estimation he holds a lower place than those who have adopted other professions. Scholarship apart from religion is very little valued in India. One of my own pupils on returning from England, after a brilliant career at Cambridge, received an appointment carrying very small pay. I remarked to him that even at Cambridge a young man who had just taken his degree would earn very little at first. His reply was, as far as I remember, "Yes, but there it is different; there a scholar is respected; here a man is esteemed according to his pay." It is not surprising that so few Indians continue their studies after taking the B. A. degree. The surprising thing is that with so little inducement any of them do.

As soon as teachers are properly paid, men will be attracted to higher studies. The complaint is often made that the Indian Educational Service is closed to Indians. Certainly that service ought to be thrown open to Indians, but I do not think this by itself will be sufficient to make the teaching profession attractive. In the United Provinces, a country as large as Germany, there is only one professor of mathematics [employed by Government]. Now the study of mathematics would not flourish much in France, or Germany, or England if in each of these countries there was only one fairly well paid professor. What is wanted in India is a general rise of pay in all the colleges, so that a college professor should no longer be considered inferior to a deputy collector or assistant engineer. However as the question of the Indian Educational Service absorbs most attention in the Indian journals I will deal with it at once. It seems to me that the mathematical posts might already be filled by Indians. Among my own personal friends, there are four Indian mathematicians who estimated by the degrees they took at Cambridge are equal to any Englishman in the educational service. If I can rely on my own judgment, there are other Indians thoroughly competent although they have never studied in Europe. In mathematics then, there seems to me no reason for appointing Englishmen rather than Indians. In physics and chemistry probably Englishmen are still wanted, and in biology they will certainly be wanted for some time to come. For mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, even in India, definite qualifications are required, but for literary professorships I do not know what the qualifications are. A professor of philosophy once told me that he had never read any book on philosophy till he began to teach. He obtained the usual percentage of passes, so it was all right. I have known among my own acquaintance, at one time a professor of mathematics, and at another time a professor of history, asked to teach philosophy. I have myself been asked to teach English literature and might have been asked to teach history or philosophy, if it had not been known that I should refuse. No previous study of the subject is required from the teacher of English literature, or history, or philosophy. For my own part I should like to see this dilettantism abolished altogether, but so long as it is retained I see no reason why all Indians should be supposed unable and all Englishmen competent to teach these subjects. For English literature, an Englishman is no doubt better if he is a scholar. Now

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most of the professors of English in Government colleges have, it is right to say, been highly cultivated men. But there have been exceptions, and I have known professors of English who could not translate the most hackneyed Latin quotations. The conclusion then is that already many, eventually all, of the posts of the Indian Educational Service, with the doubtful exception of the professorships of English might be conferred on Indians.

The case for the admission of Indians to the Indian Educational Service is stronger now than it was twenty years ago. For notwithstanding the absence of encouragement, the number of Indians who have taken high degrees in India or England has increased. On the other hand the Englishmen who come to India are less highly qualified than formerly. Oxford and Cambridge men are now seldom willing to accept posts in the Indian Educational Service, and the Secretary of State is compelled to appoint men who have not studied at either of the great English Universities. College tutors dissuade their best pupils from joining the Education Department in India. I have myself seen a letter from a Cambridge College tutor to one of his pupils telling him that a professorship in India meant "intellectual atrophy." All the members of the Indian Educational Service, whom I have known personally, have retired dissatisfied with the treatment they had received, and all would I believe advise any young Englishman of ability not to enter that service. Certainly I should give this advice myself if my opinion were asked. There is every reason then to anticipate that the Imperial Service will steadily deteriorate while the Provincial Service will steadily improve. The inferiorty of the pay and prospects of the Provincial Service will become even more unjust than it is at present.

It is said that Indians who have taken high degrees at Oxford or Cambridge should be given appointments in the Indian Educational Service. This should be done, no doubt, but such Indians will, as a rule, prefer to enter the Civil Service. It seems to me more important that Indians who are already members of the Provincial Service should be promoted when competent. They are not necessarily inferior to those of their countrymen who have studied at Oxford and Cambridge, for many Indians of ability cannot go to Europe for want of means. The plan, I suggest, is that an Indian professor after eight years' service should be allowed to take furlough for two years on full pay provided he studies during that time at a recognized European University. If his work satisfies the professors of the University he should be promoted into the Imperial Service. An Indian of thirty will profit much more from studies in Europe than an Indian of twenty.

However it does not seem to me likely that any plan of the kind here suggested will be adopted, and even if it were, more is wanted. It will depend on Indians themselves, to encourage scientific studies among their countrymen. The right method has been shewn by Mr. Palit, who recently created two professorships, one of physics and one of chemistry, at the Calcutta University. The liberality of the gift of seven lakhs of rupees and the enlightened judgment by which the money is applied in the best manner possible for the promotion of education, deserve the highest praise. It is of very little use to give scholarships at an Indian College or even in Europe if men on finishing their studies find no career open to them. Only the want of satisfactory prospects prevents more Indians from taking up higher studies. This I can say with confidence, since many of my best pupils would have chosen the profession of a teacher rather than their actual work even at some sacrifice of income. But the sacrifice required is too great. Rich men cannot, it seems to me, spend their money more usefully than in creating professorships for Indians. Then all the mony goes to education, whereas when a new college is founded a great deal is spent, often unnecessarily spent, on mere building.

For this reason I doubt if the large sums of money subscribed for the Hindu and Mahommedan Universities will be expended to so much advantage as if Mr. Palit's example had been followed. A still more important reason is that these proposed universities will employ a large European staff. Now I do not mean for a moment to deny that these Europeans will do useful work and thoroughly earn the pay

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they receive. But money spent in this way does nothing for the encouragement of Indian scholarship. Nor is it likely that the men who join the staff of the new universities will be any more distinguished than those who have hitherto come to India. As was urged in this Review,* calling a man a university professor instead of a college professor does not make him a better teacher. Men of eminence will not come to India under the present circumstances. It is absurd to suppose that such men as Sir J. J. Thomson or Sir Joseph Larmor would be content to be subordinate to the successful candidates in the Indian Civil Service competitive examination. Members of the Civil Service are with few exceptions only second and third class men, so that first class men cannot be expected to accept pay and prospects which will be inferior to those of the Civil Service. A third objection to the proposed universities is the separation of Hindus from Mahommedans. But on this I need not dwell as it has been urged repeatedly in this Review and elsewhere.

If any new universities are founded there should, I think, be not two, but one open to all Indians alike. In conversation it was pointed out to me that religious teaching was the attraction which induced many Hindus and Musulmans to subscribe. If this be so, it is a great pity that religious bigotry should be a stronger motive with many Indians than love of their fellow-countrymen or desire for the promotion of science. However, their wishes might be met by providing religion for those who want it in class rooms set apart for the purpose. There is no reason why Hindus and Mahommedans should attend different lectures on mathematics and chemistry. Next, the university should be Indian, that is to say, the principal, and as many of the staff as possible, should be Indian. It is absurd for Indians to assert their competence for self-government and at the same time tacitly to admit that they cannot manage a college for themselves. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College and the Fergusson College prove the contrary. If the Government insists on an English principal for the proposed university it would be better to give up the plan altogether and spend the money, as already urged, on founding professorships for Indians. Again, the places proposed for the new universities seem to me badly chosen. They are both in the United Provinces, which are completely under the control of the Indian Civil Service. It would be better to found a single university in Delhi or in some place under the Bombay, Madras or Bengal governments. An Anglo-Indian Lieutenant-Governor who has been for thirty years a member of the Indian Civil Service cannot be expected to have so much sympathy with education as a statesman who has recently come from England. Lastly if a new Indian university is ever to develop into anything better than the existing ones, it must have the internal freedom of European universities. The control must be in the hands of the teachers. There must be no meddling of outsiders, whether Indian lawyers or Anglo-Indian officials.

The mistake, into which the Aligarh College has fallen, of servilely copying everything English, should be avoided. It is well to learn everything that is of value in the West, but it is not well to imitate all Western customs without discrimination. Indians should not be ashamed of their nationality. Besides England is not the whole of the West. Relics of mediæval superstition, which have long since been abolished on the Continent, are still retained in Oxford and Cambridge. The Frenchman or German who visits an English University finds such things as college chapels and proctors rather comical. If a European pattern is wanted, it would be better to follow the German universities. Even the Americans, although their language is English, have organized their universities on the German rather than the English plan.

To sum up. The assertion that religion needs to be taught in Indian colleges is a mere foolish parrot-cry repeated by those who do not know the facts or do not take the trouble to think. Indian students are not deficient in religion and morality, as compared with the students of other countries. The real defect is that so few of them pursue their studies far enough to become scholars. This will only be remedied when scholarship in India is adequately rewarded.

* Modern Review, May 1912.

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THE STATUS OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND

I.

IT is not always an unmixed blessing to have a great past. Sometimes it is a source of evil, and a direct deterrent of further progress. Continued greatness tends to produce conceit, a feeling of self-satisfaction, a belief that greatness is in the very blood, so to speak, and must inevitably manifest itself somehow. Such a feeling and belief, I fear, is overtaking England to-day, and is, if I mistake not, doing incalculable harm.

Now, if I were to give an opinion in regard to the moral and spiritual condition of England, or in regard to the future of England, I should probably say that there was much cause for hope, that in my view the evidences of spiritual awakening were such as almost to guarantee the emergence of a new social order, of a vitalised and spiritualised people,—a people who would go forward to make new discoveries and conquests in the great and ever-widening realm of spiritual being.

But such a view does not prevent me from recognising that many pitfalls stand in the way of future advancement, and that many tendencies and movements are growing, which, if they be not checked, will bring disaster upon our nation.

Without doubt, the great danger facing England at the present moment is that of falling into a condition of hopeless materialism, of spititual decay as the result of great material prosperity, unprecedented commercial success, and a growing love of wealth. With each succeeding year, not only wealth, but the love of wealth, is increasing. But what is more ominous still, is that the power of wealth is also increasing. Whatever we may think about it, England is coming more and more under the power and rule of the rich. It may be true to say that, politically considered, the liberty of the English people is as inviolate, as safe, as ever, but socially considered there is no denying that the liberty of the common people is appreciably diminishing. The power of the purse is becoming stronger and stronger; greater than the power of the law, and even greater than the power of the vote. Parliament may legislate; but wealth can buy and control; can even frustrate, undermine and override, the law. Perhaps one or two illustrations will enable us to verify these statements.

It is the boast of Englishmen that they are religiously free; that speech is free; that every man may, at the proper time and place, and within reasonable and legitimate limitations, say what he believes to be the truth. And, politically speaking, this is largely true, although the plain fact is that a rich man who rebelled against the Government, for instance, would fare a great deal better at the hands of the law, than a poor man who committed a similar offence. But let us consider this question in other connections with reference to the Church, or to the Press, for instance. It is customary for us to say that our Press is free, and that our pulpits are free. But are they? Who is it that owns and controls them? The people? The Government? No, indeed, but the rich! If a conscientious minister stands up in his pulpit and declares what he believes to be the truth, even the truth with respect to morals and conduct, or states what he believes to be the real meaning of the Gospel of Christ, what results if that opinion happens to be antagonistic to the practice and opinion of the richer members of his congregation? At once the Church is threatened with the loss of the financial support of these men, the result of which is that the offending minister has either to moderate his views, or, at any rate, his expression of those views, or to give up his post. Much the same thing happens in regard to the Press. A journal or magazine in these days cannot be run without tremendous funds; and the rich are only too glad to supply those funds that they may control public opinion, determine what shall and what

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shall not be placed before the eyes of the people. A Government censor is not by any means the only censor a nation has need to fear.

Then, again, in regard to foreign policy. I believe it to be the case that in regard to the great majority of the English people, it is the desire that English foreign policy should be determined in accordance with Christian and humane ideas; that chief regard should be paid to the r ghts and liberty of small and weak peoples; that nationality should in all cases be protected and preserved. But in how many cases is this grand and glorious will of the English people observed by those who determine our foreign policy? Very few, indeed. And why? The answer is patent. It is because of the power of finance, of the tremendous wealth which a comparatively few men possess! Veritably, and in spite of all our boast of freedom, the voice of the rich few is stronger than the voice of the great body of the English people. Commercial reasons, and commercial reasons alone are at present determining policy, just as in Europe at large they are determining which nation shall be preserved and which sacrificed; which country shall possess this part of the earth, and which the other.

Thus I contend it is materialism, the desire to make and possess great wealth, to live luxuriously, etc., that is the great danger of England to-day, and that is threatening us with moral and spiritual decay. The great question is, therefore, will the love of wealth continue to spread in the future as it has spread during the past fifty or hundred years, or will the love of something more spiritual and idealistic, together with the hatred of the materialistic spirit and of the stunted moral and spiritual condition which the love of wealth is producing, prove the stronger?

This question naturally brings us to the subject of the Church. The Church is a spiritual institution, and stands, nominally, at any rate, for spiritual culture and advancement. Moreover, the Church has played a great part and been a powerful factor in the making of England, and in the developing of the English character. Consequently we are led to ask: Is not the Church strong enough to counteract the materialistic tendencies of the times? For answer we are reluctantly compelled to admit that the Church also is growing materialistic, and is, by its silence, not by its open consent, an abettor of this evil tendency, even of the disastrous and inhuman commercial practices so characteristic of our time.

Speaking broadly, I think it can with justice be said that England has ever been a religious nation; and there is no reason to doubt that it is other than religious at heart even to-day; but I doubt if there ever was a time when Church religion was so unpopular, or the habit of Church-going so lax as these are to-day. But, and this is the point I wish to emphasise, the cause of this condition is not, as many suppose, that people at large have grown spiritually lethargic, worldly-minded, etc., but that the Church itself has become materialistic and has ceased to develop spiritually. As a matter of fact, the ideals of the Church are out of date, and are not acceptable to the great mass of the people, being, indeed, decidedly inferior to the ideals which increasing numbers of the people are coming to accept.

The nominal ideal of the Church is that life is essentially a question of realising God, of meditation and contemplation. It is essentially a religious ideal, therefore. But the ideal that is at present developing in the nation at large is that life is something more than religion, or the worshipping of God, and involves, in addition to the realising of God, the realising of oneself. Spiritual life, it used to be thought, consisted in having communion with God, and thus of withdrawing oneself as much as possible from the world in order to dwell in thought and in spirit with God. But the modern idea is that spiritual life may also be obtained in human association, in art, in fellowship with men, and thus in a thousand relationships and activities which the Church - especially that powerful section of the Church which has more completely maintained the Puritan spirit and conception of life—has all along denounced as carnal, and wholly unworthy of the notice and regard of man.

But not only has the Church in England made the mistake of clinging to a narrow and inadequate view of life, it has aggravated the situation and further weakened

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its position by itself falling a prey to that very materialism and "worldliness" to which its own theory of life is fundamentally opposed. But such is the fate of every institution which refuses to expand and develop. To refuse to broaden out at certain critical periods in its history is bound to bring decay upon any institution. Refusing to listen to the cry of the people for a broader and more adequate conception of life, for a fuller, brighter and happier existence, and preaching all the while a Gospel of renunciation in regard to all earthly things, even encouraging the poor to be contented in and with their poverty and to rest satisfied in the assurance that the pleasures of Heaven await them, and that their's will be a glorious inheritance after death, the Church has at last been thrown over by large and increasing numbers of the people, with the result that its influence upon English life and thought to-day is exceedingly small, and infinitely less than it was a generation ago. For the transition, of which I am speaking, has, in the main, taken place during the last thirty years. Yet no transition could be more complete. The hope, outlook and aspirations of the English people are entirely different from what they were twenty or thirty years ago, the working-classes having grown in intelligence at a phenomenally rapid rate. We are hearing much to-day about the awakening of the East; but no awakening could be more real or complete than that which has transformed the lives, ideals and outlook of the English working classes during the last two or three decades.

What the future history of the Church in England will be it is not yet possible to say. It chiefly depends upon the attitude of the Church itself towards the new mind and outlook that is being developed, the new movements and tendencies that have been started. Being bereft of the more thoughtful members of our society, of the growing class of intelligent workingmen, the Church is tending to become a class institution, and to be the most vulnerable support of the old social order, with its narrow and defunct conception of social and spiritual life. And because of the great wealth of its chief supporters, the salaries of ministers have increased, the consequence of which is that the latter class has fallen into a life of luxury and ease, and thus into a position of the most revolting hypocrisy. Indeed, it may with truth be said that the Church in England is fast becoming a rich man's institution.

At the same time it is quite true, and it would be wholly unfair not to mention the fact, that in the Church there is a considerable number of men and women who have awakened to the needs and demands of the times; who have realised the real condition of affairs; and who are making valiant attempts to reform, rehabilitate, and re-establish in its old authority, that ancient institution the Church. Whether they will succeed it is as yet impossible to say. But one thing we can say with certainty: it is that the Church can never be effective again until it accepts and preaches the social idealism which has of late years been developed, and which the people at large are beginning to appreciate and accept.

Thanks to a few great and independent thinkers and writers, a number of noble-minded and fearless journalists and publicists, a new social idealism, a broader conception of spiritual life has been developed; and at last that idealism has penetrated to the very heart of our society. But the lamentable fact is that this idealism is so rarely to be met with in the Church, and when it is preached it arouses fierce opposition.

Still, the idealism of which I speak is as yet far from being firmly established in the minds and hearts of the people. Like the ideal of democracy, of which it is the source, it is vaguely felt rather than clearly conceived; but that it will develop and grip the people is the intense hope of all who have at heart the real spiritual advancement of the human race. In England, as in the world at large, the present is a most critical period, a time when the forces of materialism are waged in bitter warfare against spiritual forces, and when it has to be definitely decided whether the world has to be given up to the physically strong, to be used by them for their own personal gratification and enjoyment, or is to be regarded as a sojourn where all may dwell in peace and contentment; where true spiritual intercourse between all nations and races may take place, and where the highest

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spiritual self-realisation may be possible to every member of the vast human race.

So far, however, I have confined myself to a general statement in regard to the status of the Church in English society at the present time, but in order to enable the reader to get a more thorough grasp of the social, moral and religious conditions which prevail in England, it will be necessary for me to go a little further into details, to analyse the situation more searchingly and completely.

I will begin this more detailed inquiry by asking one or two very pertinent and important questions. The first is: Who and what are the men who constitute the pillars of the Church at the present time? The second is: What is the ideal which the leaders of the Church represent and believe in, the truth which their own lives body forth? By answers to these questions will, if I mistake not, reveal the real power and influence of the Church, its ability to guide and support a great civilisation, and, in addition, its probable destiny. After very careful observation and investigation I have come to the following conclusions, for which I will give reasons later: first, that rich men, and particularly successful business men, are the backbone of the Church to-day; and second, that the real and paramount ideal of the Church, putting aside traditions, professions, and stock-phrased statements, is the rich man.

As everybody in England quite well knows, the Church at present is unpopular; but what many fail to recognise is that it is in a state of decadence. Its numbers are decreasing, its moral and spiritual influence is appreciably declining. And who are the men that are leaving the Church? It is true that among them are to be numbered many who are morally fibreless and who desire a life of pleasure free from moral restraint. But the men whose loss is revealing the real weakness of the Church and bringing it into ill-repute, are the great body of the nation's workers. And the Church is unpopular among workingmen to-day for the very reason that it is materialistic; that it clings to a social ideal and regime wherein the poor man is pinned down to a condition of poverty, and wherein a tolerable earthly existence is only possible to the rich, who, by the way, are the only people whose interests and well-being are considered by those who would perpetrate the existing social order and conditions. This attitude of the Church is repugnant to the intelligence of the working classes, and naturally meets with resentment. And it is mainly, I believe, owing to its attitude towards social questions that the Church so persistently and unreasonably adheres to its log-bound morals, sanctions the social customs and commercial practices which are playing such havoc in our midst today,—against which by the way the great force of an enlightened conscience is being brought,—and that the Church little by little is losing its hold upon the age. As a matter of fact intelligent workingmen are leaving the Church to-day for the simple reason that they cannot continue to support an institution which stands for a social order and a code of morals which they no longer believe to be either just or Christian. For the most part the Church is in the control of wealthy capitalists, successful business men, and the result is that ministers have succumbed to materialistic influences, having, in order to keep up the subscription list, allowed themselves to support the prevailing condition of things, and even to feed their congregations on vague platitudes, promises of blessing and happiness in another world, etc. Hence the battle that is everywhere being waged between young men and old men; between workingmen and the wealthy; between the new school of social idealists and the old school of religious idealists. The belief in the possibility of happiness, of real and ultimate well-being, in social relationships, etc., has taken possession of our age; and it is not likely that intelligent workingmen will ever again be induced to believe that it is their duty as Christians to be content with the conditions which they happen to have been born into. It is useless for men who are spending the greater part of their life in accumulating riches to say that spiritual life appertains to Divine relationships only, for not only are ordinary men and women coming to see that that is not true, but that it is the height of hypocrisy for the rich man to profess belief in such a doctrine.

But how do I know, what is my authority for saying that the ideal of the Church to-day is that of the rich man, social

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superiority, a life of luxury and material splendour? I know it because I can feel it in the atmosphere of our churches, in the very services which ought to be characterised by the spirit of humility and of brotherhood. I know it because of the opposition which the Church gives to every one who attacks the social evils, the un-Christian "morality" of many of our social and commercial practices. I also know it because of the superior respect that is paid to the wealthy simply because they are wealthy. Further more, I know it because of the fact that in the Church as much as elsewhere class feeling and the belief in Class not only exists but is encouraged and developed. For many years now the Church has wandered farther and farther away from the ideal of the humble, free, broad-minded, democratic Christ, and farther and farther into the materialism which is the negation of all pure religion, and of the highest Christian morality.

As a further proof that the Church is decaying and becoming increasingly unpopular because of materialism, I will state the following facts. First, that with respect to Christian businessmen generally, the chief object of their business life is not to serve the cause of humanity, to seek the good of those whom they employ, to promote fellowship among their employees, and thus to establish justice and brotherhood in the earth, but confessedly, first and foremost, to make untold wealth, quite regardless of the social evil and degradation they thereby produce. The history of English industrialism during the past hundred, or even fifty, years is an abundant proof of this. Second, that in the great majority of cases the men engaged in industry, whether they be members of the Church or not, unquestioningly accept and adopt the business codes and customs which they find in operation in the world of commerce. Third, it is the case that, for the most part, successful businessmen assume, and model their conduct in accordance with that assumption, that they, by reason of their great wealth, are spiritually superior to the rest of mankind, to the common people. And indeed, no better illustration could be given of the extent to which the materialistic spirit has today seized hold upon the Church, than the fact that churchmen will argue the Providence of God in justification of the fortunes that have undoubtedly and confessedly been made by speculation, jobbing in Stocks and Shares, etc.,—practices which, I am happy to say, thousands of men outside the Church would absolutely refuse to perpetrate. And so long as the Church sanctions, or does not emphatically denounce such practices as un-Christian and immoral, nothing can prevent it from continuing in its downward track.

Speaking my deepest conviction I have no hesitation in saying that the motives behind modern industry are essentially materialistic, and quite antagonistic to the essence and spirit of Christianity. And it is because the more enlightened men of our age are beginning to feel the humanity and to appreciate the social idealism embodied in Christianity, that they are rebelling against the prevailing commercial practices, and, in addition, leaving the Church. The fact is, and the Church almost utterly ignores it, that millions of people in England live on the border-line of poverty, not having the wherewithal to live fully and spiritually as men ought to live; and yet our nation all the while possesses the wealth that would enable them so to live—in fact they have themselves created it. And what do they say, these Christian businessmen, when they are appealed to for the adoption of Christian standards, of a more humane industrial policy? They tell us that they are impotent to produce any reform of themselves; that before they can make improvements all the members of their class must co-operate with them. And yet these very men profess to be individualists! But their attitude simply proves that they are not individualists when it comes to the deeper issues of life, to the things which really count, to moral and spiritual matters. Men of sterling Christian manhood would be ashamed to confess to such moral weakness and cowardice as our Christian businessmen undoubtedly exhibit when they talk in the way I have indicated.

Without doubt, therefore, I believe that men and women are outside the Church to-day because they have lost their veneration for the ideals, and for the pillars, of the Church; because the narrow ideal of the Church, the dominance and idealisation of the rich man have become odious to

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them; because, in fact, it is impossible for them to be enthusiastic about any ideal which neglects to take account of the spiritual value and efficacy of fellowship with men. In a word, the people are outside the Church not because they have forgotten God, but because the Church has forgotten Man. It is usually the case that the Church is the dominant influence in an age, that its ideals are accepted by the people at large; but such is not the case in England to-day. In our day the Church is one thing, the age another. Different ideals operate in each; deep-seated opposition divides them. I am well aware that the Church in its lethargy thinks the world has gone to the devil; but in this the Church is wrong, for there is an idealism developing in the world to-day which is superior to that possessed by the Church, and which the Church will have to accept before it can regain its wonted power and influence.

The Church lacks men in whom the great social truths and ideals of Christianity find worthy and adequate expression; and until it begins to try and produce such, I am of the opinion that it will not do very much good in the world. To say, as the Church is saying, that we are in need of a religious revival, is to miss the point entirely, as what is most assuredly wanted is a moral revival, a vigorous attempt to enforce Christian morality upon our age, and so revolutionise our social and commercial practices. To be religious-minded, and to be good and benevolent in regard to the side issues of life because one is rich, but to accept the inhuman and spiritually destructive "morals" and customs that have been bequeathed to us from the barbaric past, may entitle a man to be considered a pillar in a decadent Church; but men of such stamp cannot possibly constitute the pillars of society in the twentieth century. Every noble and abiding institution is such by reason of some grand idea, some great truth whose acceptance is the condition of human well-being. For truth has no value or significance except in relation to human need. The truth which is the foundation of enduring institutions, is living truth, vital to experience, the condition of personal development, and of human well-being. Thus we can only judge of the value of the truth for which an institution stands by reference to the lives of the men and women who accept that truth. Accordingly, the strength of a Church must be estimated by reference not to its professions but its realisations, the character and manhood it produces.

It is not philanthropy that this age is wanting and looking for, but the Christianity, the morality, which makes philanthropy unnecessary. Some people speak of philanthropy as if God had made millions of people poor in order that the rich might display their glory. In our own country the bulk of our so-called national wealth is possessed by a mere handful of men, while one third of the wealth which the nation annually produces goes into the pockets of something like 1/36th of the population. Now how can the Church believe that this condition of affairs is the will of God? If I were compelled to believe that the existing social conditions in England were the will of God, an example of Divine justice and economy, my faith in God would be shattered for ever. What a monster we would make God! But it only shows how deep-sunk our materialism is when we will make God a destroyer of men, a narrow-minded patron who takes a special delight in favouring ignorant and crafty self-seekers! The Church has somehow got into the habit of preaching only to the drunkard and gambler, the sinner in rags, and seems to have forgotten that Christ had far more to say to the extortioner, the tyrant, the sweater, the speculator, the sinner in broadcloth.

Every age has its own particular evils to fight; and the great evil of the present age is materialism, the love of wealth. In the same way every age has its own peculiar ideal. The ideal of the Middle Ages was sainthood, religious-mindedness, "other-worldliness." But such cannot be our ideal to-day, or be sufficient to direct and inspire the civilisation that is arising in our midst. Only men who have conquered the love of wealth and power, and all false pride, and have cultivated a strong love for man, the true democratic spirit, can be the pillars of society in the twentieth century. The nineteenth century, with its moral and spiritual stagnancy, its materialism, has landed England into a horrible pit of social iniquity that it will take her a long time

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to get out of. But before we can get out of a pit we must first of all realise that we are in one; and that is what a great many people in England have yet to do. The nineteenth century will be known to posterity as the age of wealth-making. The twentieth century promises to be known as the age of spirit or man-creating. In the nineteenth century they made wealth and sacrificed men. The twentieth century is demanding that we make men even at the sacrifice of wealth. But until our Christian capitalists realise that the men they employ, who create their wealth, are really spiritual beings, worthy of love and service, men in fellowship with whom they can have true well-being, real spiritual life, our country will never be rid of the poverty, which, like a great cloud, overshadows our land from end to end. Instead of doing what they obviously ought in the interests of their own highest well-being to do, *viz.*, make wealth the means and fellowship the end of their labour, the captains of our industry have reversed the process, having made man the means and wealth the end. And it is because of the evils thus perpetrated, that we are witnessing such a mighty revolt on the part of the working classes against existing social conditions, and against all those institutions which would oppose them.

The great needs of the Church to-day, therefore, are, first, a new and broader conception of spiritual life, and second, strong men who believe in and are prepared to practise the social teachings of Christianity; who possess a spiritual view of man, a conviction that love is the greatest thing in the world and that spiritual relationship with man is the greatest wealth. For what the Church must fully grasp before it can be the power it desires to be, is that the social conscience of our age has been awakened. A purer and finer social morality is being called for, demanded from all sides by thoughtful men. And who ought to be first in the attack of all that is immoral and unjust but the Church? But alas! the Church is reluctant and afraid to take upon itself the duty which lies clearly before it: as yet the forces of materialism within its gates are too strong for it.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

MILK AND ITS TEST FOR ADULTERATION

TO our great misfortune the small trades and industries of our country are for the most part in the hands of uncultured and unscrupulous low class traders. Nowhere is so much deception practised as in the industries connected with milk and its products. These are the chief and indispensable elements of human food, and there is a growing need for an accurate method of determining both the amount and the nature of adulteration practised by unscrupulous dealers. It is with this object in view that a few of the American methods found practicable so far, are briefly described below, as they are sure to be of great use, both from an economic and a sanitary standpoint, to every householder in this country also.

Milk and its constituents.—Normal milk is a liquid secreted in special glands of all females belonging to the mammalian group. But milk from different animals are not alike in their physical and chemical properties. The various kinds of milk from their behaviour towards rennet have been broadly divided into two classes.

Class I includes milk from the ewe, buffalo, goat, and cow. When rennet is added to the milk from these animals, the casein coagulates into a firm curd.

Class II includes human milk, milk of the ass and mare which forms a soft curd or none at all under similar treatment.

We are mainly concerned with cows' milk, and this is what we mean generally whenever we use the term "milk" alone and undefined.

The several constituents of milk may be roughly divided into two classes, namely fat and serum. Serum includes water and

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solids-not-fat. Solids-not-fat again may be further sub-divided into casein, albumen, sugar and ash.

The following is the average composition of normal milk :—

Serum.	Fat	...	3·90
	Water	...	87·10
Solids-not-fat.	Milk sugar	...	4·80
	Proteids — casein	...	3·00
	Proteids — albumen	...	·45
	Ash	...	·75
	Total	...	100·00

It is thus clearly seen that water constitutes the largest portion of milk, but fat is economically the most important of all the constituents. It exists in milk, in suspension and in the form of very fine microscopic globules, 8 to 12 micromillimeters in diameter (one micromillimeter = $\frac{1}{25000}$ of an inch). Each fat globule is enveloped in a gelatinous membrane and the specific gravity of pure butter at 60°F is ·93. There are two classes of fat in butter, namely :—

(1) Volatile and soluble, about 8%

(2) Non-volatile and insoluble about 92%

Of the volatile group butyrin is the most important. It is the least stable and separates into glycerol and butyric acid, due to the actions of micro-organisms or to the action of light and air, and then the acid becomes volatile and escapes in the form of gas. These volatile fats are the chief causes of rancidity in butter.

The non-volatile fats are comparatively more stable compounds. Hardness or softness of butter depends upon the relative amount of each of these present in butter-fat. Fats with higher melting points, like stearin (melting point 150°F) impart hardness, and those with lower melting points like olein (melting point 41°F) impart softness to butter.

The percentage composition of butter is shown in the following table, from Richmond's Dairy Chemistry :—

Butter	8% Volatile	Butyrin	3·85%
		Caproin	3·60%
		Coprylin	·55%
	92% Non-volatile.	Caprin	1·9%
		Laurin	7·4%
		Myristin	20·2%
		Palmitin	25·7%
		Stearin	1·8%
		Olein	35·00%

The proteids of milk are present partly in solution and partly in suspension and may be classed into two types, namely casein and albumen. Casein and albumen differ in composition, in that the casein contains phosphorous and less sulpher than does albumen. Casein is precipitated by the use of rennet and dilute acids, and coagulates spontaneously due to the acid formed in the milk. If the casein be filtered off, the filtrate precipitates, on boiling, a substance called albumen, which is similar to the albumen from the white of an egg. Milk-sugar exists in milk to the extent of about 5%. It varies very little in quantity, and is nowhere found in nature except milk. It is very unstable and gets decomposed into lactic acid through the action of micro-organisms. The following equation represents the change :—

Milk-sugar. Lactic acid.

$$C_{12}H_{22}O_{11} + H_2O = 4C_3H_6O_3$$

Adulteration of milk.

In cities like Calcutta watered or skimmed milk is frequently met with, inspite of the vigilance of milk inspectors and health officers. The problem of determining whether a sample of milk has been adulterated, is therefore a very important one. Two things are essential in this determination, the lactometer reading and the determination of the percentage of fat. When these two are known, one can find out with the aid of a simple formula, to be explained afterwards, the amount of water or skimmed milk that has been added to the suspicious sample, with sufficient accuracy.

(*i*) *The lactometer reading* :—There are several kinds of lactometers in the market at present, but the best for our purpose is the Quevene lactometer. This instrument consists of a hollow glass cylinder, with a bulb at the lower end filled with mercury or fine shot, to make it float vertically. There is also a thermometer melted into the cylinder and placed in such a way that both the temperature and lactometer reading of the sample of milk under examination, can be taken simultaneously. There is also a graduated paper scale, inside the narrow stem of the lactometer. This scale is marked at 15 and 40, and divided into 25 equal parts with figures at each five divisions of the scale. One particular advantage of this

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lactometer is that the specific gravity of any sample of milk can easily be deduced from its reading. This is done by dividing the lactometer reading by 1000 and adding 1 to the quotient.

Example, the lactometer reading of a sample of milk is 34·5. Therefore the corresponding specific gravity is, (34·5 ÷ 1000 + 1 = 1·0345 sp. gr.

Conversely, when the specific gravity is known the corresponding lactometer reading may be found by multiplying by 1000 and subtracting 1000 from the product:

Example, the specific gravity of a sample of milk is 1·0345, the corresponding lactometer reading = (1·0345 × 1000) − 1000 = 34·5.

The lactometer reading is to be taken at 60°F. If the temperature of milk is above or below 60°F, corrections must be made, by adding ·1 of a degree to the lactometer reading for every Farenheit degree of temperature above 60°F and by subtracting ·1 of a degree from the lactometer reading for every degree below 60°F.

The average specific gravity of pure milk is 1·032, the corresponding lactometer reading being 32. The lactometer reading falls in proportion as the milk is watered. But the lactometer reading, by itself, can never be even a sufficient qualitative test for milk. Because a sample of milk very rich in fat will give a very low lactometer reading, as the specific gravity of butter fat is only ·93 and therefore lower than that of water. There is every possibility of such high class samples of milk being called watery, if the lactometer alone were to be relied upon.

Again, taking away the cream and adding water until the reading of the lactometer becomes 32, a watery sample of milk may be mistaken for normal milk

(ii) *Determination of the fat content of milk*:—The Babcock test is the easiest and the most reliable of all methods, hitherto discovered, for the estimation of fat in milk. This method is based on the fact that strong sulphuric acid dissolves all the non-fatty solids of milk and sets free the fat. There are special bottles called the Babcock milk test bottles, into which 17·6 c. c. (or 18 grams) of milk is poured by means of a pipette, and 17·5 c. c. of sulphuric acid of a specific gravity of 1·83 is carefully added, and the mixture gently shaken until the entire mass becomes thoroughly black. The bottles are then placed in the centrifugal machine, called the Babcock tester and whirled for five minutes at a speed of 1200 revolutions per minute, according to directions. This operation, after the addition of a little hot water, brings the liquid fat within the graduated neck and the percentage of fat can be read off directly on the scale.

The Babcock milk-test bottles are of a peculiar shape. They have a lower bulging portion and an upper narrow neck with a scale graduated from 0 to 10, the entire space thus marked out, occupying just 2 c. c. The scale is divided into 10 equal parts, and each part again further sub-divided into 5 equal parts.

The Babcock method of estimating the fat content of milk has a great advantage over all others in that the percentage of fat can be read directly on the graduated scale on the neck of the test bottle. This facility for direct reading depends on the following facts:—17·6 c.c. of milk put into the test bottles weigh 18 grams and 2 c.c. of butter fat at 140°F,—when the reading of the liquid column of fat within the graduated neck of the test bottle, must be taken,—weigh 1·8 grams. Each of the 10 equal parts of the scale therefore represents ·18 gram of fat, that is one per cent. of the weight of milk in the bottle, and accordingly each of the 5 sub-divisions represents ·2 per cent. of butter fat.

Calculation of the amount of water in a sample of adulterated milk:—Now after these two factors, the percentage of fat, and the lactometer degr e corrected to 60°F, have been thoroughly determined, the amount of extra water added to a suspicious sample of milk can be calculated with sufficient accuracy with the aid of a simple formula given below:—

The percentage of solids-not-fat = $\frac{1}{4}$ Lactometer reading + ·2 times the fat. This relation among the milk constituents, as expressed in the formula shown above, has been established by Farrington and Woll, two American dairy experts, after repeated trials with innumerable samples of milk. We can safely rely on it in our milk tests for the determination of both the amount and the nature of adulteration in milk.

Example. The lactometer reading of a sample of milk is 32·8 and the percentage

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of fat is 4, then the percentage of solids-not-fat

$$= \frac{1}{4} \times 32{\cdot}8 + {\cdot}2 \times 4$$
$$= 8{\cdot}2 + {\cdot}8$$
$$= 9$$

Now if there is a sample of milk for examination we have simply to find the percentage of solids-not-fat and to compare that with the percentage of the same in pure unadulterated milk. This latter figure has been assumed to be 9, which has been taken as the standard, for solids-not-fat, in almost all Western countries for the calculation of extraneous water added to milk. There is also a standard for fat, adopted in those countries, for determining the amount of skimming, and this is regarded as 3 per cent. for pure milk.

Example I. (for simple watering).

A sample of milk contains 6·25 per cent solids-not-fat, find the percentage of water added.

100 lbs. of the sample contain 6·25 lbs. of solids-not-fat,
Let x lbs. of " " " 9 " " solids-not-fat,

$$\therefore x = \frac{9 \times 100}{6{\cdot}25} = 144 \text{ lbs. of milk.}$$

But in a standard sample of milk only 100 lbs. contain 9 lbs. of solids-not-fat.

∴ The amount of water added
$= 144 - 100 = 44$ per cent.

That is, the suspicious sample of milk contains,

$$\frac{100 \times 44}{144} = 30{\cdot}5\% \text{ extra water.}$$

Example II. (for watering and skimming).

In a sample of milk there are 7 per cent. of solids-not-fat and 2 per cent. of fat, calculate the amount of skimming and watering.

(a) Skimming :—

For every 7 parts by weight of solids-not-fat there are in the sample 2 of fat.

Therefore for every 9 parts by weight of solids-not-fat there are in the sample $\frac{9 \times 2}{7}$ of fat.

Therefore the amount of fat abstracted

$$= 3 \text{ (the legal standard for fat)} - \frac{9 \times 2}{7}$$
$$= {\cdot}43 \text{ per cent. of fat abstracted.}$$

(b) Watering :—

There are 9 lbs. of solids-not-fat for every 100 lbs of standard milk

Therefore there are 7 lbs. of solids-not-fat for every $\frac{7 \times 100}{9}$ of standard milk

Therefore the amount of extra water in the milk $= 100 - \frac{7 \times 100}{9} = 22{\cdot}3$ per cent. So it comes to this that ·43 per cent. of fat has been taken away, and 22·3 per cent. of water added to the milk under examination.

After working out these two examples the following two inportant formulae may be established, taking S to be the percentage of solids-not-fat in the sample, SL, the legal standard for the percentage of solids-not-fat, F, the percentage of fat and LF, the legal standard for the percentage of fat.

A—Per cent. of extra water in milk $= 100 - \frac{S \times 100}{SL}$

B— " of fat taken away $= LF - \frac{SL \times F}{S}$

Legal standards:—In Europe and America there is a legal standard for fat, solids-not-fat, and total solids, in milk sold to the people, and that standard is used as a basis for calculating the extent of adulteration of milk. These standards determine the limits below which milk offered for sale, must not fall. A list of the legal srandards used in the West is given below :—

	Total solids.	Solids-not-Fat. fat.	
England ...	11·5	8.5	3
France ...	13	9	4
Germany ...	...	...	2·7
U. S. of America ...	·12	9	3

But there is no such standard in this country and until this is adopted, no milk inspector has a right to pronounce any sample of milk sold in the market, to be watery. As a consequence, there is in our country too much of bribery and corruption, in all industries connected with milk and its products, and honest and innocent people suffer most, whereas fraudulent dealers carry on a flourishing business all the time.

Important qualitative tests for milk.—The nitric acid test.—It is a very useful method to detect if the milk has been watered. This depends on the fact that normal milk does not contain nitrates, while ordinary fresh water always contains appreciable

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amounts of nitrates and nitrites. The method is as follows:—

Add one cubic centimetre of sulphuric acid to a small quantity of diphenylamin placed at the bottom of a porcelain dish. Let a few drops of milk serum (obtained by treating the sample with acetic acid and warming) flow down the sides to the surface of the acid. The appearance of a blue colour, changing to reddish brown in 10 minutes indicates the presence of nitrates and that is a corroborative evidence that the milk has been watered.

Test for starch in milk.—Milk which has been watered or skimmed or both, is sometimes further adulterated by unscrupulous milk-dealers by adding starch to increase the opacity of the milk. Such fraudulence may be readily detected by adding a solution of iodine, when an immediate appearance of blue colour indicates the presence of starch.

Test for boiled milk :—Sometimes dishonest milk-dealers boil their milk to take away the cream rising on the surface by sifting and decantation. Such milk can easily be distinguished from unboiled fresh milk. For raw milk treated with a weak solution of peroxide of hydrogen (2 per cent.) and two drops of a 2 per cent. solution of paraphenylenediamin and after being shaken with the mixture gives a dark violet colour, but no such colour appears in the case of boiled milk. In the case of a mixture of boiled and unboiled milk, the percentage of unboiled milk may be deduced by calorimetric methods as used in water analysis.

There are many other milk adulterants in use among milk-dealers in Europe and America, but there is no necessity to dwell on them at present, as our ordinary *goalas* being too illiterate, are absolutely ignorant of them.

M. M. Datta, M.S.A. (Cornell).

SHOULD ENGLISH WOMEN MARRY INDIANS?

THIS brief article is not meant for those English women who have already married Indians. To them my advice is: "Learn to respect and love India; be Indian; throw in your lot with your Indian sisters: therein will you find peace and joy and the full fruition of your lives."

The question which forms the heading of this article should be most emphatically answered "No." Such marriage is not socially desirable; it is ruinous to the country from the financial point of view; it is morally wrong, and it is politically dangerous. The English woman who marries an Indian repents of her folly, when she comes out to India. She finds she has no standing anywhere. Her own countrymen and countrywomen detest her; she is an object of hatred to them. Witness what a Christian Anglo-Indian journalist wrote of the English woman who espouses a native of India :—

> Any Englishwoman who married a native should, in our opinion, be publicly exhibited as a shameless abandoned woman, a reproach to her sex, and a disgrace to her nation. (Quoted from the footnote in Sir Henry Cotton's *New India*, page 89).

She cannot freely mix with Indian ladies and gentlemen, because she is not accustomed to the customs and manners of the Indian people and she cannot and she does not bend herself to learn Indian customs. Except her husband, who is every inch an Englishman, because he lived in England and adopted the etiquette of English society and thus succeeded in marrying an English woman, the rest of the population of India appear to her as semi-civilized and savages and thus not fit to associate with. Her lot is a miserable one. She knows it and she rues it. It is cruel on the part of an Indian to inflict such tortures on an innocent English woman by marrying her.

Financially, such unions are ruinous to the country. The English woman does not adopt Indian manners and Indian customs. She dresses as English women do; she drinks, she eats, like the rest of her countrywomen in India. It is well-known why marriage is such a luxury that a con-

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siderable number of English men in England cannot afford to indulge in it. The English women marrying an Indian indulges in luxurious habits and thus lightens the purse of her husband, and enriches England. India in this way is drained. Imagine what the effect on the country would be if all educated Indians were to marry English women. Indian ladies are fond of ornaments, and do not waste their money on dresses, and on eating and drinking. English women, on the other hand, waste a good deal of their money on dresses and other luxurious articles. Most of the money spent on gold and silver ornaments is invested, as it were, in a savings bank, for these are a store for the rainy day which might come along; but English women's expensive fancy ball dresses would be of little use in a rainy day. No, all the money which an English woman spends on dresses and drinks, does not remain in India, but flows out of it and thus impoverishes the country.

Again, such unions are morally wrong. Regarding mixed marriages Lecky writes :—

"In a union in which each partner believes and realies that the other is doomed to an eternity of misery there can be no real happiness, no sympathy, no trust; and a domestic agreement that some of the children should be educated in one religion and some in that other would be impossible when each parent believed it to be an agreement that some children should be doomed to hell." (History of European Morals, Vol. II., p. 354).

If such is the case concerning inter-sectarian marriage amongst Christians, how very undesirable a marriage must be, between parties professing Hinduism or Mahomedanism on the one hand, and orthodox trinitarian Christianity on the other. Of course, many Indians become Christians and many English women also have been known to abjure their religion and adopt the religion of their husbands. But when this is done for marrying, they do not do so out of sincere convictions but merely for the sake of convenience. It is morally wrong, because the English woman is quite ignorant of India, and she cannot realize the future that awaits her on her landing in India and the true position of affairs is not represented to her by her Indian husband. In England, where the female population is so preponderant over the male one, and where polygamy is not in vogue, single women, whether maids or widows are always planning matrimonial schemes. They are only too glad to marry any one who has got a decent competence. It is not fair and right for Indian sojourners in England to take advantage of the weak situation of English women and persuade them to become their wives.

In days gone by English women used to sail out to India upon one speculation, *viz.*, to get married. Generally they obtained that for which they came out, *i.e.*, a husband. But they were not happy. An English lady thus describes her matrimonial experiences, in a letter addressed to her cousin in 1779 :—

"*My dearest Maria,*—With respect to your request that I should tell you plainly what I think of these matrimonial schemes (for such they are, let people disguise them as they will,) I never can impress upon you too strongly the folly and impropriety of your making such an attempt. Certainly, the very project itself is one of the utmost delicacy; for what is it but running counter to all the dictates of that diffidence and native modesty for which English women have been so long held up as the perfect model? * *

"True it is I am married; I have obtained that for which I came out to India—a husband, but I have lost what I left behind me in my native country—happiness. Yet my husband is rich, as rich, or richer, than I could desire; but his health is ruined, as well as his temper, and he has taken me rather as a convenience than as a companion; and he plays the tyrant over me with as much severity as if I were one of the slaves that carry his palanquin. * * *

"What a state of things is that, where the happiness of a wife depends upon the death of that man who should be the chief not the only source of her felicity. However such is the fact in India: the wives are looking out with gratitude for the next mortality that may carry off their husbands, in order that they may return to England to live upon their jointures. They live a married life, an absolute misery, that they may enjoy a widowhood of affluence and independence. This is no exaggeration, I assure you." (*Macintosh's Travels*).

Many English women marry Indians not out of love, but generally, for convenience's sake. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that when these women realize their miserable position in India, they look out with gratitude for the next mortality that may carry off their husbands. Their Indian husbands also pray for such an event to release them from the bondage. Such a marriage then cannot be morally justified.

Political considerations also do not warrant such unions. The children of such mixed marriages are brought up by their English mothers. They learn English nursery rhymes, English manners and English etiquette. Thus they are made to live in an

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English atmosphere, as it were. They have, therefore, no sympathy with Indians, because they do not consider themselves of the Indian nation. However, it is possible, that they may have some sympathy for India and Indians, because they are half-castes. But, as in nine cases out of ten, they marry English women again, their children, *i.e.*, the grandchildren of the first Indian who married an English woman, will have no sympathy for Indians. They will swell the ranks of Anglo-Indians who generally despise everything Indian.

When a German comes to England, he marries an English woman and settles in that country. His children are all English citizens. But if he returns to his fatherland with his English bride, the children are all German citizens. In the first case, the German is *Anglicised*, in the second instance, the English woman is *Germanised* (if I may be permitted to use such an expression). But English women who come out to India as wives of Indians, are not Indianised; they do not adopt Indian customs, Indian manners, and Indian names. Because India is ruled by England, it is generally impossible for any English woman, therefore, to give up her national pride and "degrade" herself by identifying herself with a subject race. If we are proud of a glorious past, they are proud of their present achievements. How is it possible, then, to conceive that the English woman should not feel proud of the position of her countrymen in the East and should lack in patriotism by adopting Indian manners, Indian customs and Indian names -things so despicable or odious to her fellow-countrymen and countrywomen in the land of Ind?

All these considerations should prevent Indians from marrying English women. The class of women whom Indians generally marry does not belong to the aristocracy. These womens, as a rule, although belonging to the middle class, are generally poor and without any fortune of their own. They are, therefore, only too anxious to marry Indians, who are looked upon in England as princes. But when they find out their mistake, they are miserable till the day of their death or widowhood.

W. D. W.

RECENT UTTERANCES ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

By S. Ganapati Subramanyam, M.A.

LORD Hardinge's Government is anxious to inaugurate an educational reform which will have a far-reaching effect on the destiny of the whole Indian nation. Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, recently declared that there is to be an advance in both primary and secondary education and a thorough departure in higher education which is supposed to advance the many-sided interests of the country. The foundations of the University system in India were laid in the Educational Despatch of 1854 which has rightly been regarded as the Magna Charta of Indian Education. The Despatch laid down the lines on which the great scheme of education should proceed. According to the concluding sentences of a summary of the Educational Despatch of 1854 in a Parliamentary Blue Book of 1870: "A University is to be established on the model of the London University, at each of the three presidency towns. These Universities are not to be themselves places of education, but they are to test the value of education given elsewhere; they are to pass every student of ordinary ability who has fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has passed through, the standard required being such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students. Education is to be aided and supported by the principal officials in every district and is to receive besides the direct encouragement of the State by the opening of Government appointments

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to those who have received a good education." Thus the ideal of the Universities was clerical and perhaps to some extent literary too. The ideal of a university has not always been the same; it has varied with time and place. A brief survey of the history of the European Universities shows what an amount of narrowness once prevailed in them. The present ideal of a university is one which partakes of all that is best in the older and newer universities.

It would be quite appropriate, it is hoped, to give the readers some account of the recent utterances in India and elsewhere on Universities, their functions, aims, ideals and pitfalls.

(N.B.—The utterances referred to were made in the course of the year 1912.)

1.—Lord Morley.

At the celebrations of the 250th Anniversary of the Royal Society, Lord Morley proposed the toast of Universities at home and abroad and in the course of his speech he humorously remarked that he would not ask 'what was a university?' Various interpretations have been put since 700 years ago on the meaning of university and he would be glad if they would allow him to pass that subject. It could not be denied at all events that during the seven centuries that have elapsed since the foundation of the University of Bologna, the chapter of University history has been one of the most remarkable of the most fruitful chapters in the history of their civilization. The Universities after all, though they could not have a panoply of other great institutions by which the world developed itself, were the seed-ground and mainspring of the forces which created and vivified the energies of civilization. The University whatever else it meant, meant a body which dealt with the whole conspectus of the forces making for knowledge and all that belonged to knowledge.

2.—Lord Haldane.

The practical Lord Haldane, in responding to the toast of visitors at the annual dinner of the Court of University of Leeds said that he had cause to be grateful to his university life at Berlin. It was there he met men of the highest standing, permeated with the spirit of university life and he was grateful to his own life because it enabled him to enter into conversation with them of a highly miscellaneous character, and these were greatly assisted by the fact that they were all of them permeated with the spirit of university life. They tried to look at things from something higher, from a point of view wider than that of a mere controversy between nations and sought to realize the standpoint of humanity. "You cannot get at these things, he said, unless you are prepared by the training which university life and university life alone, can give." Never did he realise so much as in that week the truth that there is a point to be reached at which things become cosmopolitan. The summing-up of Browning's 'The Ring and the Brook' was briefly that art, which arose above individual points of view, enabled things to be said obliquely which could not be said directly, so, it was with science and literature, which were also cosmopolitan, and the influence of the universities made a wider point of view possible, and it was for that spirit that he was grateful to those large-minded men.

3.—Lord Roseberry.

At the recent Congress of the Universities of the Empire, Lord Roseberry, divided the work of the universities into three parts;—'the part of research, which can take its own burden so long as it is sufficiently equipped with funds, for every university will do as much research as it has money to undertake; then it has the training of the higher intelligences, who also if they have fibre, can take care of themselves. But the great mass of students have to do neither with one nor the other. They are pass men wanting a degree as a stamp of their education or else as means of earning their bread. That after all is the important part of the university—they and the teachers who control them, because to form the men I am asking for you cannot appeal to any professor or any class. You cannot have a class of character or class of morals, but you can infuse character and morals and energy and patriotism by the tone and atmosphere of your universities and of your professors. So far as you in your different universities can fulfil that task of sending out men—I care less about their brains than

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their character for the purpose I am speaking of.'

Few would agree that research is certain to follow sufficient endowment or that the higher intelligences can be left to take care of themselves. He does not want to turn out learned men and women, but men and women fitted for the duty of citizenship. He would, with Thackeray, say "sow an act, you reap a habit; sow a habit, you reap a character."

4.—Mr. Balfour.

The learned and philosophical Mr. Balfour addressing the students at the annual degree congregation of Sheffield University said that they all recognised the functions of a university were extraordinarily various, dealing with every kind of object in life and not confined to one sex or one kind of learning. He thought that those who regretted that the old curriculum was not maintained in its simplicity were quite wrong from the point of view of general culture, let alone the necessity of giving the opportunity to students to learn those things that might be more useful to them in life. He did not think there was any subject upon which they would find a more common agreement among all classes as on the power of universities to confer great services on the State. The very variety and strenuousness of modern industrial life made it a more and more insistent necessity for all of them. Probably when the great university movement started in Europe many centuries ago, the idea of a great industrial centre was in itself alien to the thoughts of men and the idea of combining industry with university culture, although it did happen in some great continental cities like Bologna, was nevertheless a modern idea which it was their business to pursue. He rejoiced to see that in these modern days there was no class more sensible of the enormous debt which civic and industrial life might and ought to owe to university teaching, properly understood, than the great leaders of industry.

5.—Judge Roseby (New Hebrides).

At a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, Judge Roseby of New Hebrides remarked that 'one of the things we have to see to is that our universities do not take a too utilitarian tone. We have to take care that the Universities while preparing students for earning a living, also look to perhaps—the most important function of a university—the conserving and cherishing of the ideals of humane, enlightened and righteous citizenship.' He suggests two remedies to correct the defects of both the older and newer Universities (the tendency on one side to narrow down to the more utilitarian view of teaching and the tendency on the other side to lag behind the contemporary developments of practical work—). They are the interchange of teachers and devotion to original work. In these days of revolt against examinations, one sees, too, he continued, that the best corrective of the *memoria technica* tradition of education is by the encouragement of original thought and research work. In the work of research he pointed out a very important function—that is 'the enlightened specialisation of University work.' In these times, when the field is so extensive, he thought it was necessary that every university should seek to specialize in some subject or subjects suited particularly for its own environment and circumstances.

6.—Mr. Montagu.

Mr. Montagu, in his recent Budget speech, declared a radical reform in the present University education. At present, he says, it is undermining religion and respect for authority. Mr. Montagu wants to remedy these things by compelling University students to reside in colleges under discipline. The formative influence, he says, of the residential college can be stimulated by the presence of English masters and professors who have been trained in the same system in their own country and who know how much can be done by example and how little by homily. The policy of the Government of India in directing the construction of Indian Universities is such as to prepare students to qualify themselves in their own country for their own life. The future evolution of higher education will be in the direction of making the constituent colleges independent Universities. The next will be to reduce the area over which each University exercises jurisdiction; but where a college is adequately staffed and equipped, and where it has shown a capa-

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city to attract to itself students from a distance, that college will be elevated to the dignity of a University and will be given the power of conferring degrees upon the students who have been trained within its walls.

The need for curtailing the area of a University has after all been recognised. To begin with, those centres of learning where a number of colleges exist may be made independent Universities.

7.—H. R. H. Prince Arthur of Connaught.

At the Government luncheon to the delegates of the Congress of Universities, held at London, His Royal Highness Prince Arthur of Connaught remarked that the Conference of Universities represented not merely "a sort of quintessence of the wisdom of ages, but also the brain power of to-day." This pithy statement, gives indeed the key-note to the present ideal of a University. The Universities at one time represented too exclusively the wisdom of ages rather than of the age; and free intercourse with the world was not considered advisable to the young men under academic training. But that ideal of a University has changed.

8.—Lord Bishop of Bombay.

His Grace the Lord Bishop of Bombay, addressing the students of the Wilson College, Bombay, remarked that because their immediate object was a livelihood, they need not forget that a livelihood is only a means to life. The aim of education must be to impart knowledge and wisdom to students, knowledge, which in the Lord Bishop's words is "the power of apprehending the meaning of persons and things." This remark recalls to our mind the recent definition of education given by his Grace the Archbishop of York—'an educated man was the man who knew the difference between knowing and not knowing'.

9.—Lord Hardinge.

Lord Hardinge, in the course of his convocation address at Calcutta, emphasised the importance of Teaching Universities. "Were I asked, Gentlemen, he said, in what direction the currents of opinion and activities in our Universities are setting at the present time, I should reply unhesitatingly that they are converging on the fuller realisation of the idea of a teaching and residential University." He was anxious that all the Universities in India should follow close upon the modern Universities of Europe, which, as he pointed out, have well been described as the nurseries and work-shops of intellectual life. He earnestly hoped that teaching and residential Universities may be multiplied throughout India replacing the present examining and federal Universities.

In reply to a strong deputation against establishing the new University at Dacca, His Excellency emphasised again the importance of having a number of Teaching Universities and right well remarked in the course of his speech that "The most noteworthy fact in the recent history of the English University Development is the gradual abandonment of the federal University, of the University which examines, but does not teach."

10.—Sir John Hewett.

Sir John Hewett, while delivering an address at the opening of the Senate Hall of Allahabad University, emphasised the importance of Teaching Universities in India. He said, "A subject which concerns us very nearly and which is now engrossing public attention is the question of how to establish Teaching Universities and that it will not be long before a new type of University—a residential and teaching university—will be established and the existing federal Universities, though they cannot now be converted into genuine residential and teaching universities, must set to work to recognise themselves in a direction which is relatively easy, *viz.*, by making arrangements for higher teaching and post-graduate research."

Again, he pointed the direction in which the University can supplement the work of the colleges. He said that there was much that a University could do in the domain of Arts and Sciences which isolated colleges could not hope to undertake with success and where there was not the quickening interest of research and further study, but only a monotonous uniformity of standard and aim, there was almost certain to be intellectual stagnation.

11.—Sir George Clarke.

At the College of Science, Poona, Sir

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George Clarke made an important speech expounding his views on education. "It has been said, he remarked, that I have devoted myself too exclusively to the cause of Science in Bombay and that I underrate or ignore the benefits of classical and general education. Nothing could be further from the facts. This day, I believe, I owe more to classics than to any other branch of study, though they alone could not have satisfied the needs of my career. I am even inclined to agree with Prof. Max Muller that literary culture can far better dispense with physical science than physical science with literary culture, though nothing is more satisfactory than a combination of the two."

As Chancellor of the University of Bombay, His Excellency addressed an important letter to the Vice-Chancellor setting up a high ideal of university education. In his view a university ought not to exist for its students. It ought to be an intellectual force which not only spreads knowledge, but creates an atmosphere in which culture and research grow and flourish. Sir George Clarke has clear and definite ideas. The policy which he wants the universities should follow is to develop the universities as teaching institutions. His great idea is to raise university education above its narrow scope and aim, to produce men of culture and character, to make universities centres of great influence throughout the country.

Again, the Governor of Bombay, in laying the foundation-stone of 'Emperor George the Fifth Hall' and 'Sir George Clarke Library' in connection with the Guzarat College in Ahmedabad, defined the function of a real university. The first duty of a real university, he says, is to help and inspire not only within its sphere of authority, but on broad lines embracing the guidance and advancement of the culture of the community. According to him, true education builds up character, forms sound judgment and quickens the mental faculties, besides supplying the special training upon which the success of modern enterprise depends.

Conclusion.

"Much remains to be done. No university is nowadays complete unless it is equipped with teaching faculties in all the more important branches of the sciences and the arts, and unless it provides ample opportunities for research. You have to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western science. You have also to build up character, without which learning is of little value." Those were the precious words of His Majesty King George V, contained in a portion of his reply to the address from the Calcutta University. His Majesty has brought to the front in such plain and simple language the many sided functions of a university.

"Do not let your universities become mere factories for turning out specialists" said Mr. Asquith sometime ago. That seems to be the greatest educational danger of the day. Universities should counteract and defeat the tendency to premature specialisation. The aims of universities should not only be to put its members in possession of the best results of human culture, but they must also devise means for diffusing them among the masses. "You must drink deeply from both sources of information," (Science and Literature) so has said Mr. Balfour. With him education is simply a question of how one handles literature and science. Technical education should be of University rank based on the foundation of general education.

When the new University movement permeates the whole of the Indian atmosphere imparting to it the true University spirit—which was everything with Lord Haldane,—then shall we hope "to find—in the language of Lord Roseberry—every great city in the kingdom demanding, as the complement and crown of its municipal life, that it shall have a university within its boundaries."

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AN ANCIENT MORALIST

"THE Parallel Lives" of Plutarch is a book to which Emerson thinks the world owes more than to any other book which has come down to the present time from Greek and Roman antiquity. Almost everything that we need to know regarding the conduct of life, regarding a brave and faithful bearing through all vicissitudes, and regarding piety to God and man is to be found in the "Lives" of Plutarch. But in addition to his biographies, Plutarch wrote also Essays both political and moral, in which he put together many ideas that he had collected from action and study and reflection. The Essays are less widely known than the "Lives," but they are held in a very high estimation by students.

"Those discourses," says Plutarch, "like friends are best and surest, that come to our refuge and aid in adversity and are useful." Several of the Essays are letters written to friends of the writer's to assist them in difficult circumstances. The Essay from which I have quoted was a letter sent to a friend who had been banished into exile by a political party he had offended. Plutarch tries to bring "refuge and aid" to the banished man by counselling him how to bear up under misfortune. He asks,

"How do we do when it rains or when the north wind is blowing? We go to the fire or put on another coat: we do not sit down in the rain and cry. So too can you revive and cheer yourself from the chill of adversity by sensibly using your actual advantages. The sensible make their lives pleasanter by mitigating their sorrows with the consideration of their blessings, while most people like sieves let the worst things stick to them while the best pass through."

Plutarch recalls his friend's thoughts to the many things that are left to him although one has been taken away, and he bids him consider what new kind of happiness and even of good fortune his new circumstances will make possible for him. Is an exile necessarily a stranger where he goes, homeless and friendless? No:

"whoever is provided with the fruits of virtue and wisdom is nowhere a stranger. Every city is at once his country to a man who knows how to make it such. How can we be exiles in any country where there is the same fire, water and air, the sun, the moon and the morning star, the summer and winter solstices, the seasons of sowing and planting, the same humanity, the same Justice, whom all men naturally invoke in dealing with one another as fellow-citizens?"

"It was in prison that Anaxagoras wrote his squaring of the circle, and that Socrates, even after drinking the hemlock, talked philosophically, and begged his friends to be philosophers, and was esteemed happy by them." (Bell's translation, here as elsewhere.)

In this manner Plutarch prosecuted his desire of making his writings useful for "the real business of life." There are few of the moral essays which have not an immediate bearing upon conduct, inculcating this or that virtue, and holding up very distinctly Plutarch's idea or ideal of the proper behaviour of a man. In a letter which Plutarch wrote to his wife we gain a glimpse of the writer himself, of his home, and of the way he put into practice some of the precepts he offered to others. Plutarch was travelling at a distance from home when his little daughter died, a girl of two years of age. The wife and mother, Timoxena, sent a messenger to Plutarch to inform him of the sad tidings, and Plutarch wrote back:

"Let us both be patient at this calamity. I know and can see very clearly how great it is, but should I find your grief excessive it would trouble me more than the event itself. And yet I have not a heart hard as oak or granite, as you yourself know very well who have shared with me in the bringing up of so many children."

Plutarch goes on to write of the winning ways of his little daughter, in "her pure and simple gaiety, which was not without a tincture of temper or querulousness." We know by these words that Plutarch loved children, a trait in him which marks him out distinctly from many of the Greek and Roman moralists, the Stoic and Platonist philosophers of antiquity. Epictetus, for instance, regards children as a nuisance, and his attitude to ... is much better. Plutarch is at

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once more human, more wise and more really pious. The two years of his child's short life are a precious and sacred recollection to him, and a comfort even while they pierce him with poignant sorrow. He says—

"We ought not to erase from our memory, the two years of her life, and not to deem the shortness of the blessing as a great evil, nor be unthankful for what was given us. For, ever to be careful what we say about the gods, and to be cheerful, and not to rail against what happens, brings a sweet and goodly profit."

Could there be finer words of piety than these, spoken under such impelling circumstances, in Plutarch's polytheistic language,—

"Ever to be careful what we say about the gods, and to be cheerful, and not rail against what happens?"

As for tears, Plutarch is glad to learn that his wife did not make a parade of them.

"Those who were present at the funeral tell me with evident surprise that you put on no mourning, and that you bedizened up neither yourself nor your maids with the trappings of woe, and that there was no ostentatious expenditure of money at the funeral, but that everything was done orderly and silently in the presence of our relatives".

He asks his wife to beware of the visits of friends who would come to condole with her, and bring their chatter and lamentation to fan and aggravate the fire of sorrow. "I am not ignorant what a time of it you had lately, when you went to the aid of Theon's sister, and fought against the women who came on a visit of condolence and rushed up with lamentation and wailing, adding fuel as it were to the fire of grief in their simplicity".

In an essay on "Restraining Anger" Plutarch appears as the head of a considerable household of slaves and others. He had found out by experience that it was better to deal with his slaves kindly, than to use the harsh and cruel methods of bodily punishment and violence that were not infrequent in Roman households. He found out too that the wise master of a house would not look at every little fault, and pry into every person's doing, "the business of a servant, the action of a friend, the pastime of a son." He made a vow at one time of his life to abstain from anger for a few days, for a trial of the matter, thinking of the great saying of Empedocles "Fast from evil," which he calls a divine saying. After the first trial, Plutarch resolved upon another and a longer experiment, "and so in time, I made some progress in forbearance by earnest resolution, and by keeping myself courteous, and without anger, and using fair language." He says :—

"My experience and the assistance of the deity has shown me that courtesy and gentleness and kindness are not so agreeable and delightful to any of those we live with as to such as have them."

Pultarch's practising himself in this manner in one virtue at a time reminds us of Benjamin Franklin's autobiography, and the experiments which the great American made in acquiring self-mastery. Plutarch has a great deal to say about habit,—how a man cannot get for himself a bill of divorce from his vices upon any sudden inclination. He advises us to build up good habits. He quotes the saying of an ancient poet : "If to a little you keep adding a little and do so frequently, it will soon be a lot," and he says that this applies to moral things as much as to money, of which the poet was speaking. He quotes Pythagoras : "Choose the best kind of life : custom will make it easy," and he tells us that we cannot get rid of our faults by disguising them from ourselves. A man who would improve himself must be honest with himself. We cannot get rid of any disease or undesirable passion of the soul by calling it by a pleasant or flattering name, as for instance by calling avarice prudence, or lack of thrift liberality, or ignoble superstition piety.

I have spoken of Plutarch's reverence for children and women as setting him apart from many other ancient Western philosophers and moralists. Another almost unique distinction of Plutarch's among Greek writers is the honour with which he regards useful and skilful work with the hands. The great Greek philosophers looked down with disdain upon the handicraftsman; not so Plutarch. He chides the son of a rich man whose father's riches had melted or been wasted, for getting into debt. The pride that made a young man used to luxury go to money-lenders rather than betake himself to some way of earning an honest livelihood was not commendable to Plutarch. 'I am not to borrow?" asks the young man, "how then am I to maintain myself?" "Do you ask this", exclaims Plutarch, "having two hands, and two legs, and a tongue, in short, being a man, to love and be loved, to give and receive bene-

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fits? Can you not be a schoolmaster, or tutor, or porter, or sailor, or make coasting voyages? Any of these ways of getting a livelihood is less disgraceful and difficult than to always have to hear 'Pay me that thou owest'." Plutarch speaks of Cleanthes, a poet who ground at a corn-mill a sufficient length of time everyday to find himself the wherewithal to follow his thoughts. He praises the admirable spirit of Cleanthes who

"Coming from the mill and kneading trough wrote with the hand that had baked and ground about the gods and the sun and the moon and the stars. But such labour is in our view servile."

Every saying of Plutrach's about human nature rings nobly. He writes of his own disposition,

"You know of course how mightily it inclines to goodwill and belief in mankind...The more confidently I believe in anybody's affection, the more sorrow and distress do I feel if my estimation is a mistaken one."

What piety towards man there is in that saying, and in those few words I quoted in the preceding paragraph :

"Are you not a man, that is a being to love and be loved, to give and receive benefits?"

We could not wish for a sounder heart or a sounder word.

Plutarch, I have said, was a pious man. He was pious towards his wife and children, pious towards his slaves, pious towards the virtues of mankind, pious towards the memory of great men, pious towards all the family of man great and little,—and he was careful of what he said about the gods, always strove to be cheerful, and would not rail at anything that happened. When such a temper as this comes by gift of nature we call it a golden disposition; when it rests in part at least upon a man's experience of life and earnest conscious feeling we call it piety. There are other kinds of piety, but none more human, or more enduring, or more serviceable.

Plutarch's temper towards life was altogether admirable. He was humble, reverent, industrious, brave and tender. He has left benind him immortal writings. wishing not for immortality but for usefulness. He has become the companion and guardian of almost all ardent young spirits, man or maiden, from generation to generation in our Western hemisphere, and old men love and linger over the books that he has bequeathed. He was always hopeful, and always religious, expecting good from men and from events and from his own life as day by day he led it. "I am very taken with Diogenes' remark to a stranger at Lacedaemon," he says, "who was dressing with much display for a feast." The remark was this: "Does not a wise man consider everyday a feast?" "And a very great feast too," adds Plutarch, "if we live soberly.

For the world is a most holy and divine temple, into which man is introduced at his birth, not to behold motionless images made by hands, but those things (to use the language of Plato) which the divine mind has exhibited as the visible representations of invisible things, having innate in them the principle of life and motion, as the sun, moon and stars, and rivers ever flowing with fresh water, and the earth affording maintenance to plants and animals. Seeing then that life is the most complete initiation into all these things it ought to be full of ease of mind and joy."

All men ought to find that wisdom which will enable them

"to acquiesce in the present without repining, and to remember the past with thankfulness, and to meet the future hopefully and cheerfully without fear and without suspicion."

P. E. Richards.

SOME PHASES OF CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT IN INDIA

"Nothing is more dangerous than ignorance in action."
(Goethe).

I propose to deal with some aspects of present-day social activity in India and appraise its true worth as a factor in progress. All movement is not progress. There is circular motion like that of the bullocks at the Persian wheel; and there is retrogressive motion, like that of a man who loses his way in an unknown place. There is even a variety of motion which is fatal, like that of a somnambulist who falls from the top of his house or that of a moth that rushes towards the flame. In

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social work, too, all activity is not useful, beneficial or commendable. There are such things as misdirected energy, wasted effort, and misapplied enthusiasm. Hence the well-known phrase, which speaks of "zeal, worthy of a better cause." In our fight against sin, ignorance and suffering in this world of sorrow and strife, wisdom is as necessary as virtue. Wise strategy is as essential for success in war as bravery and unity. Even so, we must think twice before undertaking any enterprise for the good of humanity, lest we should make a false move and leave the world more miserable than we found it. The amount of moral energy in the whole world is so small that we cannot afford to lose any portion of it through ignorance and miscalculation. Evil is manifold and all powerful: it takes a thousand forms, and stalks the earth in pride. It exists in some shape or other in all lands. Poverty, premature death, disease, economic and social servitude, wickedness and ignorance form a sum-total of pain and agony under which our poor earth is groaning piteously night and day, and how few are those who try to combat these evils? How rare are those master-souls whose hearts throb with all the hearts that ache, whose ears hear the sad wail of a suffering world coming like a funeral chant from hill and valley, plain and meadow? And when we think of India, India the forlorn, India the favoured child of misfortune, India the predestined victim of all scourges and calamities that ever visited humanity on its weary march through the ages, what do we find? We find that the quantity of moral energy at the disposal of the idealist is extremely small, and its supply is precarious and uncertain. The well-springs of moral power have been dried up, and the country is an ethical waste, and Dead Sea of moral stagnation,

"Where all life dies, Death lives, and nature breeds
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable and worse
Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived."

The oases that greet the eye of the Arab traveller between Biskra and Timbuctoo across the Sahara are few and far between. But fewer still are men of honour and courage in Indian public life, so few indeed that a stranger may take a lantern like Diogenes and search for them in daytime. This being the case, it behoves us to conserve and utilise the little moral strength that is still left to us, instead of misusing it through blindness, or party-spirit. India cannot afford to lose one hour's good work through the ignorance of her sons. As I have pointed out, the whole world is so unfortunately situated that it is a calamity if even one unselfish active man or woman is led astray from the path of Right Action. It is not Action but Right Action that helps the world. But India is so poor that every cowri is precious to her. Other countries have their hosts of patriots, philanthropists, and philosophers working for a better order of things. India can boast of only a few inept, timid, blundering and lukewarm sons and daughters who even think of her future. In such a condition of abject moral and intellectual destitution, who would throw away even a dry crust, who would spend even a broken shell on luxuries or, worse still, on poisonous drugs advertised by quacks? Hence all young men and women in India have a great responsibility on their shoulders. They should use their ability and resources for the greatest good of the country after careful deliberation and with a keen sense of the importance of the issues involved. There are a hundred ways of doing wrong, but there is only one way of doing right at any given time and place. If the blind follow the blind, we know where their journey will end.

Let us see how some movements, about which we hear so much in these days, fulfil the conditions which must be satisfied by all forms of activity before they can be approved by an imaginary Nestor of the Indian people in a critical mood. I shall take two of these movements and discuss their value in the work of Indian regeneration.

I.—*The "Depressed Classes Missions."* The conscience of the Hindus has been roused with regard to this great problem. The wrongs, that have not been righted since India began to be ashamed of Buddha's name and gospel, have now been recognised as intolerable social anomalies. New India is up in arms against the unnatural and degrading class-distinctions that divide man from man, or at least Hindu from Hindu. The spirit underlying the crusade

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is admirable. It is the quintessence of idealism. The movement is still in its infancy, but it has already attracted earnest youths to its service. Now no one can cavil at the work of the Missions. And I, who believe in universal brotherhood, cannot at least object to it in the name of Hinduism. Manu and the Bhagvad Gita may talk of four castes, but I do not acknowledge any caste-system, good, bad or indifferent, even though all the Vedas should assert the diversity of the anatomical origin of the four castes with reference to Brahmā's body or Hiranyagarbha's sacred person. Nor am I much interested in the question from the standpoint of "patriotic" Hindus, who wish to include the pariahs in the Hindu community with an eye to the census figures and the so-called electoral contests with the Musalmans. I am not even touched with the ordinary Hindu's feeling of perturbed anxiety as to the inroads of Christianity by this rear-gate of the Hindu citadel. I look at the question simply as a lover of mankind, and rise above all parochial, patriotic, and communal considerations. A pariah is a man, and therefore must enjoy the rights and discharge the duties of a man. Hence I ought to welcome this movement as a very noble and praiseworthy attempt to bring the lost sheep back to the fold of progressive humanity.

But in this world of mystery and muddle, things are not always what they seem. A thousand cross-threads of good and evil form the warp and woof of our life here below. And we have to examine all the circumstances and surroundings before pronouncing on the merits of any kind of social work. Life is not simple as Rule of Three. Right Action is rendered difficult by the numerous side-issues and modifying factors that have to be considered in every case.

Now this movement for the social elevation of the depressed classes has its comic side too, if we turn our eyes away from its tragic aspects for a moment. And let us first ask who are going to raise the pariahs of India to the level of manhood. Who are trying to restore to the outcasts their long-lost birthright of equality with all men and women? The answer is that it is the youths of India who have undertaken the task. And pray, what kind of social equality is it which they offer to the "untouchables"? We learn that it is the inestimable boon of social equality with the Hindus, with the Brahmin, the Kshatriya and the Vaishya. So far, so good. But here comes the ludicrous part of the whole show. Are these saviours of the pariahs themselves on the level of humanity? Do they themselves occupy the position of average human dignity and respectability to which they want to raise the unfortunate pariah? They say that the Sudra lives all his life in darkness on account of his low social position, which robs him of ordinary human rights, and denies him all chance of developing his manhood. Very true. The pariah is under a shadow: but are these Hindus themselves basking in the sunshine of manhood and natural environments? Who are they, these graduates and brahmins and gentlemen and landowners and princes that seek to make a man of the pariah? Are they themselves *men* in any sense of the word that a civilised person would accept? They are themselves pariahs, in the world, and they wish to "elevate" the Sudras of India to their own lofty and enviable "social position." Social position indeed! All Hindus are pariahs in the society of civilised men and women, whether they are rajas or valets, priests or sweepers, sārasvatas or namasudras, mahāmahopādhyāyas or chandālas. Your internal distinctions do not raise any among you to the pedestal of humanity. You still remain in the sub-human strata of society along with the Hottentots, the Zulus, the Kaffirs, the Egyptians, the Burmese, the Annamites, the Veddahs and the Papuans. You may classify yourselves as ringworms and tapeworms and silkworms and hookworms and necator worms, but that does not raise you above the genus worm in the slightest degree.

It is amusing as well as disheartening to find that these Hindu graduates desire to raise the pariahs to the level of other Hindus who are themselves no better. What a game of self-deception and self-induced blindness! They assume that it would be a great thing for a Sudra to dine with a Brahmin and visit him at his house. They forget that *if that is all* then not much would be gained thereby, as it would be only a case of one Sudra mixing on terms

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of equality with another Sudra. But the gulf that separates Sudras or pariahs from average civilised men and women is so immense in comparison with the distance that may divide one clean and literate Sudra from another dirty and illiterate Sudra that any rapprochement, between the higher and the lower Sudras does not count at all in the work of real social improvement which humanity requires. The silkworm may be proud that it has a glossy appearance and that its name is mentioned and its products are worn at the courts of princes, but it is as much a worm as the hookworm. Even if the hookworm were put on mulberry trees and spoken of with the same respect and consideration as the lucky silkworm, they would both be far from attaining to the stature of humanity. If I may borrow an image from the phraseology of Reincarnation, I may say that both must be born again in order to gain the form of men. As worms, they may be good, clean, intelligent, useful and even happy worms, but they can never rise above their natural status of creeping things. The Hindu graduates form an association for raising the pariahs to human dignity and respectability! As well might the spaniels and terriers of Europe form a society to elevate the street curs of Asia to the true canine status, so that the latter may also be admitted to the drawing-rooms of fashionable ladies and the laps of well-to-do spinsters in London and Paris! I will say to the misguided champions of the Depressed Classes Missions —"Physician, Heal thyself." How I wish that a Mark Twain should open the eyes of these sincere and noble workers to the extremely ridiculous charâcter of their well-meant efforts on behalf of the pariahs! The lame men of the world have formed a battalion to help the cripples! The purblind wish to restore sight to the sand-blind!

Let us remember that there are social distinctions even among Indian pariahs: there are high-class chandālas who despise the low-class chandālas. Now if a society were formed for the establishment of social equality among the chandālas themselves, what would the "Social Reformers" of India say? They would say: "Such a society is not an evil; something is better than nothing. But it is not worth while, as the chandālas would still remain in a position of immeasurable inferiority with regard to the Hindus. They may have social equality among themselves, but they would still be excluded from the temple and the village-well, from the pāthashālā and the dharmashālā. Taking the respectable Hindoo as the standard coin of the social currency of humanity, the chandāla would still be only copper-money, a 'token coin' which no banker would accept for its face-value. Hence such an association involves a grave misuse of moral energy, which should be employed to solve the problem of social inequality on a grand scale by raising all the chandālas to the level of the Hindus instead of only lifting the low-class chandālas to the status of their superior brother chandālas." Such reasoning would be perfectly sound. And I only say to these same "social reformers": —"Your arguments are unanswerable, and I only point out how they can be applied to these Depressed Classes Missions. You are only wrong in taking the modern Hindu as the standard coin of humanity, to which the pariah is to be assimilated. The "respectable" Hindu is himself only a piece of debased coinage, that does not pass current in the wide world. The problem of social inequality and the arrested development of men and women which it involves can be solved only by raising all Hindus, the dvijas as well the pariahs, to the social status of the civilised peoples of the world. Hence it is an absolute waste of precious time, energy and money to conduct *such* Depressed Classes Missions. It is like pouring water into a sieve. While all India is a pariah-warren, it is absurd to pick out some backward pariahs among them for your benevolent attentions.

II.—*Education.* Many experts in education have come to the front in these days with their various schemes. Mrs. Besant, Mr. Malaviya and Mr. Gokhale are very visible just now in the educational firmament, while the older luminaries of the Fergusson College, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College and the Gurukula continue moving in their appointed orbits with occasional perturbations from external sources. Now Mr. Malaviya's grandiose scheme of a Hindu University has received some measure of public support. This is a very good beginning. But let us consider

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what good such educational institutions can do to our people. Mr. Malaviya holds that this University will promote Hindu unity and preserve what is called "Hindu religion." "Religious education" is to be a special feature of this movement. The prospectus, of course, duly provides for all kinds of education, technical, scientific, artistic and other. This is only just and proper when a new scheme is launched forth. Let us examine if our young men can help the cause of progress by furthering these plans.

First, what is "religious education"? I have never been able to discover what Hinduism is. Some deists say that God exists but we cannot know what He is like. Many persons seem to hold the same view of "Hinduism." The founders of the University declare that doctrines common to all Hindu sects will be taught. I believe that such common doctrines will be found to be mere commonplace truisms when the process of churning the ocean of Hindu theology for these gems is finished. But are we to teach truth at a University, or only some ideas held by all Hindus? If we teach Religion at all, we must attach more importance to Truth than to the unanimous approval of the 250 million Hindus, among whom are found polytheists, pantheists, theists, atheists, animists and a few other specimens for a Museum of Creeds. Further, are the future leaders of India to chew the cud of old Hindu thought for all time without daring to think for themselves? Were all great religious truths and ideals pickled and preserved in the Upanishads, the Gitā, the Darshanas and other standard treatises of "Hindu religion" for the use of all Hindus through the ages? It is sickening to hear this cant of Religious Education from the lips of men to whom religion seems to be not a sacred light for personal guidance but an instrument for establishing so-called national unity or composing class-strife in a demoralised and lifeless community. We know many persons who ask us to bow to the four Vedas because all Hindus do so. *That* is a "common doctrine" of Hinduism, beyond a shadow of doubt. Now I protest against this religious mummery in the name of truth and progress. We do not want our children to be fed on the mouldy crumbs picked up in the dusty pantry of Hinduism by these new zealous caterers of the Hindu people. We do not want our young men and women to grow up in hypocrisy and spiritual inertia, because forsooth the Hindu people must remain united, and there is nothing to keep them together but these intellectual fetters which should be worn as emblems of unity. Unity is not worth having at such a price. Is not such "religious" education being imparted every day by thousands of priests and friars? India is in no danger of losing these old texts yet. It is strange that every well-wisher of India begins to ransack the already bankrupt treasury of Sanskrit learning instead of bringing to India the accumulated riches of the whole world. It is so easy to regenerate India by quarrelling anew over Vedic texts and repeating mantras morning and evening. But it is difficult to introduce the great ideas of social equality and personal dignity, of scientific research and rationalism, of economic freedom and organisation, of public spirit and political principle, of popular government and social progress. Now what will these youths receive by way of "religious education." I suppose that they will be compelled to revere the Vedas which they can never read, to remember the eternal distinction between the immutable divine Sruti and the man-made Smriti, to acknowledge the four castes as the four pillars of the social edifice, to think of Brahman in its two forms, to worship gods and goddesses as symbols of Brahman or on their own merits, and so forth. I ask progressive India in all sincerity if this hackneyed programme of "religious education" has not been worn threadbare by this time. We want future builders of India to study the modern masters, to learn wisdom from all the master-minds of the world, to follow the march of the modern spirit towards rationalism and individualism in religion, and thus to develop sound and original views for themselves. What is the use of stuffing their minds with the stale speculations of an unscientific and imaginative generation? Above all, what is the good of giving them a hotch-potch of crude and chaotic theology for gospel truth, according to which they are to direct the destiny of their people? Such pilots would certainly never bring the vessel to port.

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Again, what about the sociological side of religion? Are these youths to accept Manu's ordinances as the *ne plus ultra* of wisdom, and thus rescue Hinduism in this irreverent age? How sad it is that while the world is enjoying the dainty dishes of fresh intellectual nutriment offered by the modern master minds of the world, our poor misguided Hindu young men should be sorrowfully looking for something good and nutritious in the menu presented to them by their leaders, on which figure such indisputably modern things as the Brāhmanas, the Grihyasutras, and Smritis of Manu and Yājnavalkya! These men wish to live in the twentieth century A.D. on the remnants of the twentieth century B.C. No Sanskrit book can tell our young men how society should be organised and regulated in this age. If right social principles could be learned from these ancient documents, our priests of Benares would be the wisest of sages, fit to be the leaders of New India. Yet who would put the future of India in the hands of the pundits of Benares and Nuddea? Let us look forward instead of always looking backward.

> "New occasions teach new duties;
> Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still and onward,
> Who would keep abreast of truth."

Further, Religion is not the whole of education. What about social ideals? A man may believe in Brahman and Re-incarnation, but we now wish to know what he thinks on problems of Government, economics, marriage, the position of woman, nationalism, the rights of the individual against society, etc., etc.

It is not sufficient in these days for a man to be a theist or a pantheist, a vedāntin or a sānkhya; he must also declare whether he is for limited monarchy or absolute monarchy, republicanism, plutocracy, theocracy, representative or direct democracy, or any other conceivable form of government or misgovernment. Further, he must clear his position on the question of woman and her social, economic, political and conjugal rights and duties. Then he must give us his economic creed and tell us whether he upholds private property, communism, state-socialism, or a mixture of all, or some new form of economic organisation. Modern civilisation has become very complex: many of these problems were not even dreamed of by the Hindu law-givers and religious founders of the past. Society is now pressing forward to a very distant goal which was beyond the ken of the wisest of the Greeks and the Hindus. "*We* are the ancients." Now what is the University to teach on these questions? What does the great Hindu religion say on these points? Is Manu's council of eight ministers an eternal political institution? Are our youths to learn that "a woman is never to enjoy independence?" (Na bhajet stri swatantratām. Manu). Are they just to shut their eyes to the modern contrivances of the ballot-box and representative government, because these things did not exist when the Hindu religion was elaborated? The aim of education is to fit a man for the discharge of his duties in life. A young man who has no views on religion and politics is worthless, Education should help him to form sound views on great problems. Is Mr. Malaviya's programme calculated to promote this object?

Coming nearer home, I may ask what politics the students are to learn at this University. The burning question of the day in India is political party-strife. There are many political parties in India. Now a young man must belong to one of these political parties. What political teaching is to be imparted by this University? If it is to remain neutral, it is not worth the paper on which its prospectus is printed. We want real men in these days, not mere dummies stuffed with learning, A university must place some ideal before its alumni. Let Mr. Malaviya tell us which party this university is to represent. *There can be no national Hindu University at present*, for the vital question of politics divides father from son and brother from brother. It is idle to pretend that an institution represents all Hindus. It can represent only a section of the nation, as the nation is not united on political or religious question. Is it hypocrisy, reaction, orthodoxy and the political conservatism of the "Times" of London that this university stands for? Or is it progress and enlightenment that it seeks to further? Unity is often simply a will-o'-the wisp. Truth is the steady beacon-light. Let us first see which side the university is to espouse with regard to truth, and then we can declare our attitude towards it.

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We want first truth, and then unity. There can be unity in falsehood, stagnation and death; such unity is not desirable. Truth may bring strife and discord at first, but true unity can be based only on the foundation of truth. The essential thing to seek is truth, in religion and sociology, and unity will take care of itself. All those who love truth are with us: all those who hate it are against us, even though they be our parents and kinsmen. The world is not divided into Hindus and Musalmans or Indians and Englishmen,—or Orientals and Occidentals,—but into only two rival groups—the champions of truth and her enemies. India too must be rent asunder by this all-cleaving wedge of truth before she can prosper. The party-cries "Hindu," "Musalman," "Whites" "Eurasians," are meaningless. A "Hindu University" conveys no idea at all until we know what kind of an institution it will be. In religion and sociology, it must clearly define its creed, so that we may learn what type of man will be formed there.

I only put forward these questions and considerations for the guidance of our young men and women. On the present occasion, I do not wish to express any views on religion and sociology. The object of this article is not the promulgation of my ideas, but the presentation of an important question before the rising generation in India. We must not be led away by catch words like "Hindu" or "nationality" or "unity" or "progress". We must search for Truth like hidden treasure, and test all institutions by its standard. We must not waste our energy on any scheme started by some one in the name of "Hinduism" or "progress," unless we feel sure that it is what the country needs before everything else. As the watchman cries in the Indian village at night, I wish to say to all young men: "Keep awake! Jāgte Rahnā!" The night is dark: the way is long and slippery: weird phantoms and apparitions flit across our path: clouds of distrust, error and pessimism hide the light of Truth from our tearful eyes. Young Men and Women of India, there is a great danger of your being misled in this dense gloom that surrounds you. Let Truth alone be your guide in the dark night through which you are passing. Truth cannot lead us astray.

या निशा सर्व्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्ति संयमी।

(The wise man is awake when others sleep.)

HAR DAYAL.

HONOLULU: (HAWAII)
U. S. A.
August 29th, 1911.

KASHMIR AND THE KASHMIRIS

VIII.

THE MUSALMANS (a)

THE CONVERSION OF KASHMIR.

THE conversion of the purest stock of Aryan-Hindus of Kashmir to the Islamic faith is a unique and interesting event. The story of this wholesale conversion, which goes back to 1323 A.D., is yet related by people in glowing language with a sense of pride in the martyrdom of their ancestors. I have said at the outset that my account of 'Kashmir and Kashmiris' is based not on books or State records but is the result of my own observation and investigation. I shall tell my readers the story of the conversion as it is known to the people and as it was related to me by an old Pandit of 72 years of age—he was a living book of history with a historical mind, wonderful memory and intelligent grasp of facts. My readers will find elsewhere (hereafter) the legendary history of Kashmir as related to me by this historian. Here I am concerned with the history of the conversion of Kashmiris. His version is that a Buddhist widow came to Ramchandra the Commander-in-chief of King Sahadev and said that her husband had been killed in a Tibetan battle. She craved for shelter. She was *enciente* and shortly after gave birth to a boy, Ratan,

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Kashmiri Minstrels.

who is known by the name of Ratan *Zu* or Ratan *Shah* in Kashmir. To cut short this long story here, he usurped both the command of the army and the crown of Kashmir and married Kut-rani, the daughter of Ramchandra. By 1323 A.D. he had become a powerful tyrant. He approached the Brahmins to recognise him as a Hindu of Brahmanic cult. They despised him as a bastard renegade. He was in the habit o listening to the Gita read to him, every morning. One day he came across that verse in which men are advised to stick to their own national *Dharma* (religion) unto death. He said to himself: 'I have no Dharma of my own. Hindu *Pandits* do not recognise me as a true Hindu. Now I must have a religion. Very well I shall embrace the faith whose follower I meet with next morning.' The next morning first of all he met Bulbul Shah, a Muhammadan mendicant, who was then wandering about in Kashmir. He made him his Guru (*Pir.*) He got himself initiated and also changed his name to Sultan Sadar-ud-din. Then he decided to win followers to the new faith. One day he issued notices that he was going to give a grand feast and that every family of his people must send one representative to take part in his royal feast. People gladly flocked to the capital to enjoy the king's hospitality. They were asked to assemble in a *maidan* with faces towards the west. Bulbal Shah and his royal disciple turned up and commanded the people that they should repeat "*Alla-ho-Akbar*" or they would all be beheaded then and there. This drill over, the people dispersed. The royal enthusiast proclaimed throughout his kingdom by beat of drum that all those *guests* had become Musalmans. When they returned home they found their doors closed against them, without even being asked to

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explain their situation—such is the blind bigotry of us the degenerated Hindus ! Thus we lose our men ! Had they been then taken in, Kashmir would have remained a country of Hindus as are other Himalayan regions—with a purely Hindu population. These people formed a community of their own. So men were joined by their devoted wives and loving children, others had to take advantage of Muhammadan custom and law. Hindu widows who were not allowed to re-marry became wives of the new converts according to Muhammadan law. It will not be out of place to add here, that even to-day every year Hindu-Pandit widows who have no chance of being re-married as long as they remain in the Hindu fold, do often marry Muhammadan husbands according to Musalman rites and thus decrease the number of Hindus and increase that of Muhammadans. This is a fact that was related to me by some earnest and outspoken Pandits. And this is a fact that has of late drawn the attention of some farsighted Pandits. One or two Pandits of the orthodox school told me that this question seems to force them to introduce widow remarriage lest their number should considerably decrease in this way.

To turn to the main point, the number of new Musalmans was also increased by the outlaws and criminals of Hindu society. Those who were excommunicated for social offences by the Hindus became Muhammadans. So far the movement originated by Ratan was peaceful. About the origin of Ratan the recorded evidence is that he was a Tibetan adventurer who had joined Ramchandra having come to Kashmir after he had fallen out with his father in Tibet. In this matter story and history agree, that he was the first to introduce Islam into Kashmir ; and they mark also a period from this conversion episode according to which calculation they find themselves in the 7th century after this conversion of Kashmir. Ratan could not do much for the spread of Islam as he died within two and a half years. His queen married Adhyandev, the brother of the former king Sahadev. During his time a Tartar (the old Pandit had called him *Turk* but evidently he meant Tartar) named Arban attacked Adhyan. After his death, his wife, Kut-rani, ruled herself, for a short time. In 1343 A.D. Shahmir, a Musalman, took the throne and Kut-rani committed suicide. Shahmir became Sultan Shamsuddin. His descendant Sikandar came to the throne in 1394. He was a very bigoted Muhammadan. He made it his business to demolish Hindu temples and convert Hindus by force. Hindus had to flee in order to preserve their religion. It was a time of great trial and oppression. It was during this period that the Kashmiris were converted wholesale, only a few Pandits being able to preserve their faith—and that they were able to do by hiding themselves



A Musalman Matron of Kashmir.

in out-of-the-way places or leaving the valley for Kistvar and the hills of Jammu. After this period of forcible conversion was over, they again returned to their land and formed into the present Pandit community. The religious earnestness and faith of the Hindus counts a large number of religious martyrs and those who suffered unspeakable sufferings for the sake of their faith. The fatal hand of this great iconoclast of Kashmir, Sikandar *Butshikin* (idol-breaker as he is called there) is every-

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Group of the Rafij Musalmans of Kashmir.

where to be traced in this valley. More ruins of ancient Hindu temples are hardly to be met with elsewhere. It had such a huge number of temples. Even in the town of Srinagar their number is so large. The stones of the temples in the vicinity of Srinagar have either been utilised in the making of mosques or turned into tombstones. Being afraid of offending the Muhammadan subjects the State is not even now stopping Musalmans from the barbarous practice of defiling and making misuse of the ruins of the ancient temples in Kashmir. True the State is very anxious and is already doing much to preserve and restore the temples outside the town, which are not likely to excite the suspicion of a feeling of partiality among the Musalman subjects. Thus the conversion of Hindus into Muhammadans and the devastation of Hindu temples was practically brought about only by one man and this man was Sikandar *Butshikin*, whose name is so familiar and is known even to little children in Kashmir. The reconversion of Kashmiris from Muhamadanism to Hinduism could be brought about so easily by the Arya-Samajists that no wonder if within 50 years we could again see the country inhabited by the people of one faith. But I was told that the State did not like the idea of the Arya-Samaj starting this propaganda. Indeed, religious neutrality is the best and safest policy for modern states, but it is a part of religious neutrality that there should be religious freedom. So the reformers may be allowed to reclaim their brothers. I do not advocate the conversion of one people by another people as there comes the question of upsetting the immemorial traditions and ideals which if rightly explained and followed serve the purpose of uplifting and guiding nations; but I strongly desire the reclaiming of our own brothers, who once were sheep of the same fold. I do not suppose that the State does not realise that the conversion of the people into Islam has degenerated the people in more than one way; and if they were brought back to the old ideals and made to live as Hindus do, comparatively cleanly and smartly, it would be a gain to the State. Again the question of religious animosity must have come to the notice of the State now. Last year (1911) during my stay in Kashmir I was so much pleased to find that Hindus and Mahomedans

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Kashmiri Musician with Rabab.

lived there on very friendly terms. They were free from the bias of *class interests* that has been created in British India. It had never struck a Musalman of Kashmir that his interest was different from that of a Hindu Pandit. But now the *evil spirit* has penetrated there and only a few months back the Musalmans were excited by wire-pullers to hold a protest meeting and represent not to the Maharaja but to the Political Agent that their interests should be safeguarded and that partiality should not be shown to Hindus in taking them into the heavenly kingdom of clerkships. Who these wire-pullers could be, is easy to imagine. If they are short-sighted they at least boast of Aligarh ideals and wish to derive benefit from the agitation. I strongly urge that the State ought to let the Arya-Samaj reconvert the people peacefully and all trouble will be at an end.

Various types of Musalmans.

Kashmir is indeed a land of wonders. I could not believe that there were so many different types and classes of people even among the Musalmans. There is the Hānji, whose history has already been told*. The reader must have noticed well-marked and conspicuous subdivisions among the Hānjis themselves. The Musalman peasant is another class. The city of Srinagar and minor towns are inhabited by four types of Muhammadans. One class, which I might call the upper class, consists of the merchants and trading people. They bear a respectable look. And their proud mark of distinction is that they keep their women in seclusion. Some of them have grown very rich and are generally pretty well off. The second class is of those who do petty shopping and engage in crafts, such as smithy and carpentry, etc. This class, which is distinctly an industrial one, is an exceptionally smart and intelligent type of craftsmen. I was told by Mr. B. C. Gupta, Electric Engineer to the State, that these ignorant craftsmen of Kashmir are superior even to the technically trained mechanics of America. He has been able to manufacture certain machines and instruments for the use of his electric heating-works in the State Cocoon Factory, by simply showing them patterns. And these things are done as well and cost ten-times less than those imported from America. This class of Muhammadans also observe partial *parda*. Their women can move about with veils on. They go out for seeing their *Pirs and Ziarats* on Fridays, and can go out to gardens also. The third class corresponds to the poor class people of cities and their occupation is miscellaneous. Their women

* Kashmir and the Kashmiris II—The Hanji. M. R. Oct. 1912.

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cannot afford to observe parda. They sing welcome songs standing in rows on either bank of the Jhelam when the Maharaja approaches his palace by the river in a grand procession of boats when he comes to Srinagar from Jammu. Then there is a class of Muhammadans, the custodians of Kashmiri music and national songs. There are two kinds of them. One class is of regular minstrels and bards. They go about from place to place and house to house with their *rabab*. They are dignified musicians. They sing Kashmiri national, mystic, devotional and heroic songs. One of these musicians, whose photograph is given here, was engaged by Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, at Srinagar. He has transliterated some Kashmiri songs which I hope sometime will be published by him. Out of these songs he has worked at, he has kindly sent me some, two of which I give below in the version of Dr. A. K. Coormaraswamy himself and I leave it to my readers to realise how much poetry there is in the songs of this illiterate minstrel whose music it was indeed a matter of great pleasure to me to enjoy.

[*On the advent of spring, addressed to a comrade.*]

"Lo, spring has come, rejoice dear comrade,
Spread jessamine upon the balconies!
The name of jessamine is glorious for ever.
From afar I saw Him come to me
To my courtyard to this *huri* He came.
Lo spring has come, rejoice dear comrade,
Oh burn my blood to lamps of love,
Fulfil the love of Islam.
Lo spring has come, rejoice dear comrade,
Muhammad will tell the secret of love,
Hansraj by name he shall be called,
Lo spring has come rejoice dear comrade".

[*For your sake I am burning*].

"O heartless one, for your sake
I am burnt to ashes,
This love, O Beloved, thou hast forgotten.
Joseph was carried away to be sold.
Oh heartless one, for your sake I am burnt to ashes
In fate's bazaar God send you buyer,
Arrive, Oh friend Joseph!
O heartless one,
When I looked for you I searched the whole world,
I put on arms and shield.
Every string of love I will play upon.
Hearken to this singing, my Beloved.
O heartless one,
Majnun climbed up mount Najdar,
Weeping he threw himself down;
Majnun alas in the desert of Najd, Laila in the grave!

I reserve the other two songs which are purely mystic and philosophical, for some future occasion. The above two pieces which have been rendered into English by Dr. Coomaraswamy are the outpourings of a truly national minstrel of Kashmir. The other set of singers and musicians as illustrated by "Kashmiri minstrels" is an altogether different kind of musicians. They have with them generally 2 to 4 boys dressed partly like women and partly like men. These boys sing and dance as well



A Musalman Merchant of Kashmir.

while the minstrels play on musical instruments and sing also in harmony with the boys. They are more or less a sort of professional musicians. They sing Persian songs as well as Kashmiri; now they are picking up some Hindustani songs also. In the accompanying illustration only one man is playing on the stringed instrument but the general practice is that there are always more than two *rabab* or *Israj* players.

Then there are two unique and interesting, though by no means desirable, set of Muhammadans. (*a*) The one, as is said now and then indulges in bloody and inhuman practices

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and (*b*) the other is a robbing class by profession. (*a*) *Rafij* as they are called belong to the Sunni sect. They hate all non-Sunnis (both Shiyas and Hindus); and, it is said, they deem it a part of their religion to kill non-Sunnis by the peculiar method which is described below. They owe a religious grudge to all the non-Sunnis. These people live in some special parts of the valley, in groups of villages. Their strongholds are near Baramula and also in the suburb of Srinagar. When any foreigner happens to go to their village alone they inquire of him to what faith he belongs. If he happens to be a *Shiya* there is very little hope of his escape. They take him to a room and



A Musalman woman of Kashmir.

regard him as a sacrifice to their *pir*. They ask him to express or satisfy his last desire. Then they pierce his body with bunches of needles till he bleeds to death. They get some of his blood absorbed in cotton and keep that bloody cotton for their *pir*, to whom they offer his blood as sacrifice. But fortunately this inhuman practice is gradually becoming a thing of the past. I myself one afternoon roamed through a group of villages of the bloody *Rafijes*. Indeed their looks were terrifying and wherever I went I was stared at and each man I met with in the villages asked me to what faith I belonged. I did not understand their motive then. Afterwards I was told that only last year one man was put to death in one of these villages. A *Rafij* of one of those villages owed a certain sum of money to one Hindu-Pandit in the town of Srinagar. The debtor happened to come to the criditor's place; the latter asked the former to pay up his debt. The debtor requested his creditor to go to his house some day. Accordingly the creditor followed by his dog called on the *Rafij* debtor. The poor fellow was killed by a band of these *Rafijes* and his body was buried in a field. The dog had watched the burying of his master's corpse. The dog helped in the discovery of the crime and identification of the culprit who was duly arrested and sentenced to death by the law courts, his accomplices being generally severely punished. All the *Rafijes* subscribed—as they usually do on such occasions—a huge sum of money to defend their criminal co-religionist but in vain. This story sounds like a fable but I was told that it is a case in the records of the legal proceedings of the State-court, for 1910.

Besides their being such bloodthirsty bigots, they have a very queer custom also among them. They clean the bowels of their dead with a stick wrapped with cotton, before the corpse is disposed of. Their widows can marry one husband after another to any number at the death of each. They have much liberty to divorce their husbands and marry another according to their own sweet will.

"A group of *Rafij* Muhammadans of Kashmir" will illustrate how they look. It is indeed hard to believe if such bloodthirsty people can still inhabit our earth. And after all it may be that my information about them is true of the past, not of the present. (*b*) The other set of the Musalmans who rob people rather with their consent. A typical group of such people is to be found in a cluster of four houses in the village of Bravan in the Anant-nag Tahsil. They are called Galvan. They have grown so rich by their trade that they own much land and about a thousand ponies. They

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are *supposed* to look after the ponies of all people of their Tahsil, for which they are paid 8 As. per animal. If any one's horse is stolen or lost within their jurisdiction they go about in search of the lost property. And if they find the pony in the possession of any one they threaten him that he is a thief and they would take him to the court, etc. Then as is usually the practice, they get *bakhshish* from him and let him enjoy his peace of mind at home. They bring the pony to its owner and demand from Re. 1 to Rs. 3 *bakshish* from him also. That is one department of their trade, the other is the stealing of horses from such Tahsils as they are not responsible for.

They are serviceable to people in this way that during the summer months they gather all the ponies of their State—rather order the people to bring their horses to them personally—and then take them to grazing lands in the meadows of the Himalaya and look after them. As the winter approaches they bring them home.

So far a general idea of the Musalmans of Kashmir—their occupations and propensities—have been given. It will be shown in the next part what is the difference between the Muhammadanism of Kashmir and the Hinduism of the valley. The customs and institutions of the Musalmans will also be dealt with in the next article.

MUKANDI LAL.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF INDIAN ART

REMARKS ON THE UNDERSTANDING OF INDIAN ART: *By William Cohn. Translated from the Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, June 1912.*

BY DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

IF all appearances are not deceptive, our understanding of Indian art will undergo a radical change in the immediate future; a change such as has already altered our views of Chinese and Japanese. In the art of the Far East, it was formerly the Japanese woodcut in which general interest centered; in India it was a certain group of works with classic features, which attracted the attention of the European world. Japanese woodcuts, and the Gāndhāra art of India were regarded as the highest points of attainment. Just as we have already recognised that the Japanese woodcut is only the most modern and popular appendage of an art many centuries old and of manifold variety, so we shall be agreed that the Indian Gāndhāra art though certainly most interesting, forms a quite brief, and aesthetically unpleasing, episode in the whole movement of Indian art. At present, however, these views have none too many supporters. For Indian art E. B. Havell, especially, in his two thoughtful works, "Sculpture and Painting", and "The Ideals of Indian Art", has broken new ground.

How little, for all that, these ideas are spreading in Germany, is shown by the most recent utterance of the famous Indologist, Hermann Oldenberg, the keen-minded author of the fundamental work, "Buddha, his Life, Doctrine, and Order," in his review of V. A. Smith's "History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon" in the "Internationalen Monatsschrift fur Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Technik" (April 1912). Oldenberg makes a series of statements which are so contrary to aesthetic, and even irrelevant, that it would be needless to traverse them, had they been propounded by any less distinguished author.

Oldenberg deplores the step-motherly treatment of Indian art, and sees a reason for it, amongst others, in the "inaccessibility of the Indian frescoes, contrasted with the Japanese woodcuts." This association is in itself astonishing, and must awaken the suspicion that the learned writer finds himself on unfamiliar ground. By Indian

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frescoes, the frescoes of Ajanta must be intended,—those almost unique remnants of old Indian painting, which certainly flourished of old no less than the plastic arts,—the dates of which lie between the first century before Christ and the seventh after. The Japanese woodcut, on the other hand, is the most modern development of Japanese art, which flourished in the eighteenth and nineteeth centuries, was patronised by the lower classes, and is especially associated with the theatre and the Yoshiwara. How could anyone have possibly thought of comparing these two things, that belong to worlds so far apart! It is very much as if one should say, that the drawings in *Simplicissimus* (the German "Punch"), are better known than Giotto's frescoes at Assisi, because they are more accessible.

It is clear that Oldenberg looks upon the Japanese woodcut as the greatest achievement of the Japanese genius, and that he is scarcely aware that there was an old-Buddhist Japanese art, which began in the seventh century and flourished till the thirteenth, and even today speaks to us through many monuments. In Europe we do not know much more of it, than we do of the frescoes of Ajanta, though it is possible now for travellers in Japan, without trouble, to admire many of the Japanese religious masterpieces in the museums of Kyoto, Nara and Tokio. And yet the Indologists and the Sinologists take very little notice of it, in spite of its great significance for them. The suspicion, that Oldenberg has no adequate knowledge of these matters, is strengthened inasmuch as he finds the essence of Japanese art in a "wonderfully clever prettiness". But I think it is impossible to describe the Japanese art, in its most characteristic periods, as clever or pretty. It seems much rather monumental when it is old-religious, and dramatic and serious when it is historical, spiritual and profound when it is Zen-Buddhistic. Not till the seventeenth century was it clever and pretty, the time when it exhibited a more exclusively decorative tendency, and the era of the woodcut begins.

And when Oldenberg treats of Indian art itself, he begins with the following statement: "The essence of the Buddhist other-world ideal required no incarnation, and strictly speaking forbade it". "The Buddhist in the truest sense of the word did not need such pictures, and did not attempt to make them." Such is the view of a historian, who knows very well that Buddhism, whether in its undeveloped form of the Hinayana, or in the more elaborated Mahayana soon enlisted a wonderfully powerful artistic faculty in the service of the Buddhist church, and created an art of a very high order, in India proper, in Ceylon, in Turkestan, in China and Tibet, in Siam, Indo-China, Malay and Japan. And that happened much earlier than the existing monuments prove, for it is evident that in India, for example, an art of sculpture in wood preceded the fully developed work in stone. Moreover, the very same words which Oldenberg here applies to Buddhism and Buddhist art, apply equally to Christianity and Christian art,—as he himself admits.

After such an introduction, it is not surprising that Oldenberg often misses the essential character of Indian and Buddhist art. "We cannot," he says, "overlook the fact that the sculpture shows no deep insight into the structure and life of the human body, which it did not seriously study". "Bodies, under whose skin the observer finds nothing of the living play of muscles, or the bony structure of the framework". Thus, once more, Indian art is regarded and criticised from the standpoint of Europe and the Antique. But it is not evident, *a priori*, that Buddhism must have created a quite different divine ideal, from the Antique? Where Greek fancy saw beautiful young athletes and lovely girls, the Indian beheld images free from all earthly heaviness and all the accidentals of temporal existence.

The Indian would represent gods, not exalted men. And for this purpose of his, he discovered a type marvellously profound and sublime. To reproduce the structural peculiarities of the human body would have been for the Indian artist a complete reversal of intention. And in fact, Buddhist art —in India, and in other Buddhist countries —becomes weak and empty at the very same moment when, overcome by certain irresistible tendencies, it becomes naturalistic. Once for all, we cannot estimate the

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value of an art, by its resemblance to nature: not even in Europe, much less in Asia. Moreover, the same misunderstandings result in the criticism of east-Asiatic painting, if it is judged by the same standard of naturalistic perspective. It is hard to understand how a student who has entered so deep into the spirit of Indian life as Oldenberg, can go so far wrong in questions of plastic art, or rather, can remain so fettered by Western prejudices. For so far as natural intuition goes, he does not stand so far away from the comprehension of art, at any rate he is nearer thereto than Smith, whose "History of Indian Art" he is reviewing. The latter imagines that he has disposed of the question under discussion, with the superficial remark that the bodies of Indian men are "much more smooth and rounded" than those of Europeans.

Oldenberg describes very well the difference between the art of the reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi (3rd to 2nd century before Christ), which are still free from all classic influence, and that of Gāndhāra. In this criticism, however, he again introduces his admiration of the only acceptable Antique: "How far," says Oldenberg of the Gāndhāra sculptures, "does the skill here shown range beyond the childish efforts of the artists of Bharhut, and Sanchi". An observation, that for anyone for whom the fact of classic influence was not in itself a reason for preference, seems quite incomprehensible, often as it has been made. That eclectic, half-understood, emasculate, even technically often crude, and always soulless Greeko-Indian art to surpass the powerful, naive, directly springing art of Sanchi and Bharhut, like a fresh outpouring of the soul of the Indian people? Do then the Italian-influenced smooth Dutchmen of the 16th and 17th centuries surpass the masters of the 15th century in originality and power? The situation is much the same in India. Oldenberg himself at last feels—and here again his own good sense appears—that all is not right with the Gāndhāra art. He has to say, that "the Greeko-Indian art is something like a literature, whose creators are endeavouring to master a foreign speech, a richer, more developed speech, but not the mother-tongue."

Fortunately for India, as for all the East, the classic influence constituted only an episode. In the flowering time of east-Asiatic Buddhist art, all classic elements have sunk to the level of mere accessories, and no longer form an essential factor of the whole. It is not the sculptures of Amaravati (2nd century after Christ), impressive as they are, that represent this finest flower of Indian and east-Asiatic Buddhist art, as Oldenberg and many other authors would have it. It must rather have begun throughout the Buddhist world in about the sixth century after Christ. Its best works it seems to me—at least so far as the material available at present indicates—are the sculptures of Anuradhapura in Ceylon (about 8th century A.D.) and above all of Borobodur and Java (about the 8th century A.D.), though their self-sufficing beauty has been recognised by but few in Europe, and finally the frescoes of Horiuji near Nara in Japan, and the Japanese sculpture of the Nara period (8th century). Whether the cave-sculptures of Long-men and Yun-kang (6th—8th century) in China, are to be classed with the same group I cannot say. Unfortunately little is yet known of other examples of Chinese sculpture of the Tang period. By the 14th century the archaic sentiment in the higher Buddhist art is at an end. It is moreover, interesting to note that Buddhist art, from the beginning to its full development, covered the same period as Christian art.

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INUTILE*

ON the slope of the desolate river among tall grasses I asked her, "Maiden, where dost thou go shading thy lamp with thy mantle? My house is all dark and lonesome—lend me thy light!" She raised her dark eyes for a moment and looked at my face through the dusk. "I have come to the river," she said, "to float my lamp on the stream when the daylight wanes in the west." I stood alone among tall grasses and watched the timid flame of her lamp uselessly drifting in the tide.

In the silence of gathering night I asked her, "Maiden, thy lights are all lit—then where dost thou go with thy lamp? My house is all dark and lonesome,—lend me thy light." She raised her dark eyes on my face and stood for a moment doubtful. "I have come," she said at last, "to dedicate my lamp to the sky." I stood and watched her light uselessly burning in the void.

In the moonless gloom of midnight I asked her, "Maiden, thy lights are all lit—then where dost thou go with thy lamp? My house is all dark and lonesome,—lend me thy light." She stopped for a minute and thought and gazed at my face in the dark. "I have brought my light," she said, "to join the carnival of lamps." I stood and watched her little lamp uselessly lost among lights.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

* This prose translation of one of his poems was one of the three read at the dinner given to Mr. Tagore in London in July last,—*Ed. M. R.*

THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA

III.

I joined Mr. Howell and Engineer Grove at the bunglow situated in the yard of the church of which Rev. Roberts, the American missionary, was the minister Thence we proceeded towards Momak. On the way we came across Captain Ormond and the Subahdar Major of the Military Police. The Captain jocosely remarked, "Take care, the rebels may kill you," to which I replied, "I am quite prepared for that, Sir." Thence we proceeded from stage to stage till on the fourth day we crossed the Burmese frontier and reached Mansian in Chinese territory. The Chinese whom we here came across showed a marked change in behavior. The courteous and gentlemanly demeanour which formerly marked their behavior towards foreigners was changed into arrogance.

At Mansian we resolved to spend the night at the house of Mr. M. When we were busy making our beds in a room on the first floor of a wooden house a group of men entered the house and after a short interview with Mr. M—came into our room and began asking us questions in a discourteous fashion. Some of these men happened to know me and one enquired whether it was true that I was an Indian. On my replying in the affirmative he added that we (Indians) also belonged to the yellow race. He followed up this remark with an enquiry—whether the English were the rulers in India. To which also when I answered in the affirmative the further enquiry was made why we did not drive out the English. I was a little embarrassed and told my questioner that such suggestions were improper. I also tried to impress on them by gestures that my companion Mr. Grove was an Englishman and that such conversation in his presence was positively unmannerly. Mr. Grove knew Chinese and perfectly understood everything. When the men were gone I told Mr. Grove how the men had completely changed their manners in a comparatively short space of time. He added that the progress of time made it inevitable. The officers of the revolutionary troops showed an inimical tendency towards the English, in their conversation.

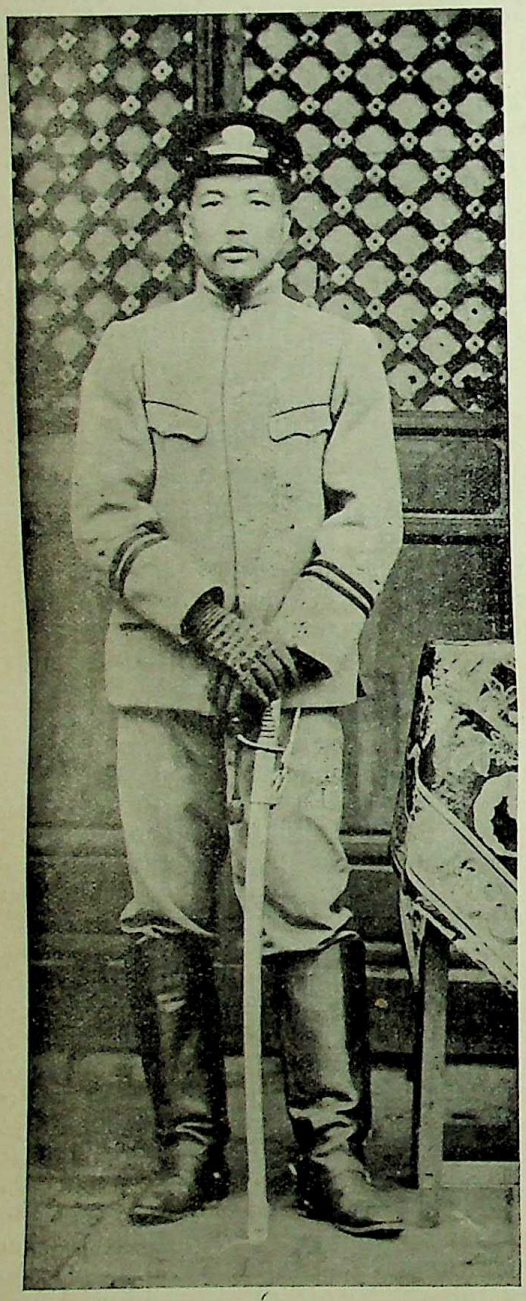
We heard rumours on the way which were confirmed here that people in Tengyueh were in a state of panic—as there was the chance of an impending battle there. As a consequence people from Tengyueh and the neighbouring villages, were fleeing to Burmah, with their children. The cause of the panic is as follows.

Tengyueh is the capital of the province

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of Yunan. General Lee of that place was highly displeased with Mr. Chang Owen Koan, the Revolutionary leader of Tengyueh, because the latter had appointed the



General Lee-ken-ye.

Subha of Kangai, who belonged to the Shan tribe, as the general of the entire revolutionary forces in the province. The Chinese could not brook, that one belonging to the Shan tribe should have mastery over them. Besides, Tengyueh being a small place, its attempt to domineer over the whole of the Yunan province was sure to bring the troops at Yunanfu and Tallifu into collision with the troops at Tengyueh, and the popular alarm on this point was well-founded.

We reached Tengyueh in due time and found that the outer door of my house was sealed by the order of the revolutionary leaders. My two servants however had access into the house through a secret door. I broke open the seal and entered the house and found that nothing was lost or stolen. My neighbours were glad to see me back and they were a little re-assured too; for in times of danger they thought themselves safe under the shelter of my roof.

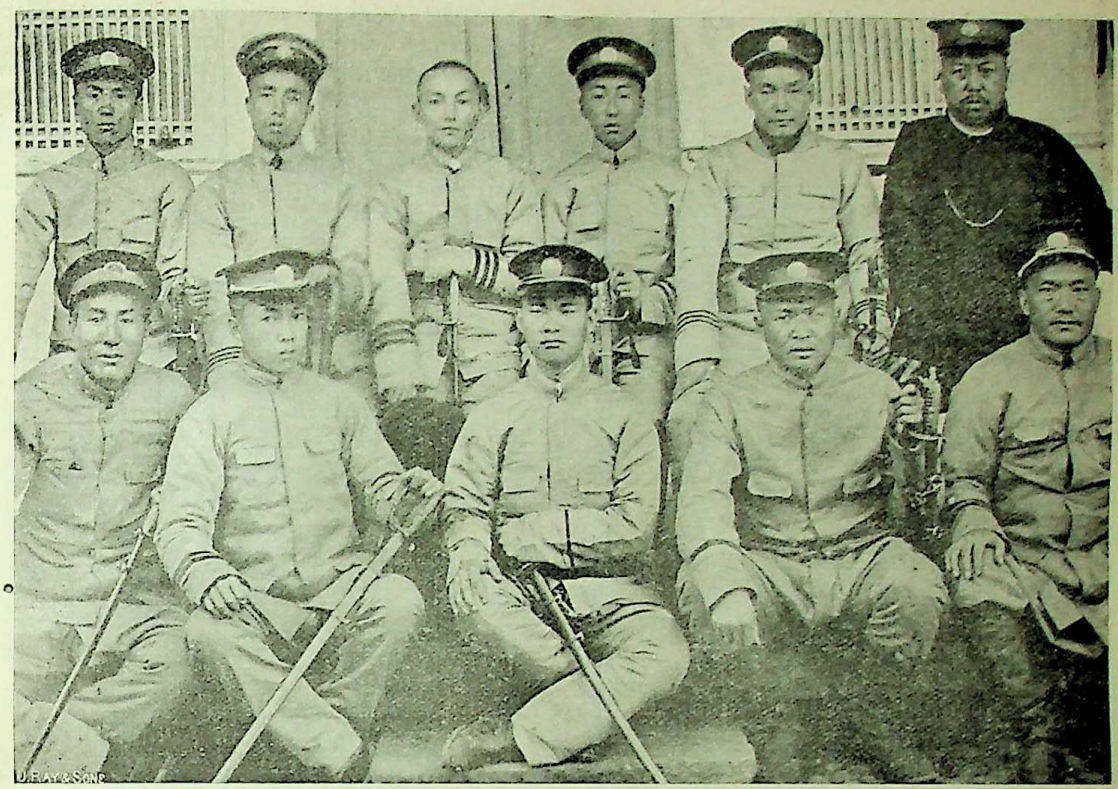
The houses of the customs officials were kept similarly sealed up. But the adjoining buildings, occupied by the Chinese clerks, were all looted. The rebels would have looted the foreigners too but for the risk they would run of compensating them, as on previous occasions the Chinese Government had done to the extent of many lacs. For every thousand rupees lost or stolen the compensation varied from five to ten thousand rupees. The Chinese had therefore taken extreme precaution this time and respected the rights of foreigners. The Sahibs however were under the impression, that if they left everything behind, the rebels would certainly rob everything and thus enable them to get large sums as compensation. But they were disappointed and so was I. Thus a big opportunity of advancing large claims, was missed.

The Subha of Kangai again.

On reaching Tengyueh we found the streets and bazars deserted. One scarcely came across a woman or a child. Only the soldiers were in evidence everywhere. Those who had not fled or had no place of refuge were spending their days in disquietude. Everyday saw the birth of new rumours—some of them absolutely baseless. Just a few days before our arrival at Tengyueh, the relations between the Subha of Kangai and Sardar Chang-Owen-Koan, had became so strained that troops on both sides were about to engage in a clash of arms.

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The sons and the personal staff of the Taotai.

People had passed the most anxious couple of nights about this time, expecting every moment that the untoward would happen. On an enquiry into its cause I came to gather the following: The Subha of Kangai had received a telegram from Tallifu which asked him to *clear his way*. The receiving signaller secretly showed it to the revolutionary leader. Sardar Chang was greatly exasperated at it and took it to be a conspiracy against his life on the part of the Subha, who, he thought, would usurp all powers after putting him to death. He, therefore, hastened to devise means to attack him with a view to putting an end to him. The Subha, on receipt of this news, was quite perplexed and in the course of his enquiry into the cause of this unforeseen incident, some one showed him the telegram above referred to.

He denied any knowledge about it and ascribed it to some one who desired to ruin both by stirring up a strife between them. His surmise was right and it came out that an enemy of Mr. Chang from Tallifu had done it. The quarrel was at last made up, but it could not restore the former amity.

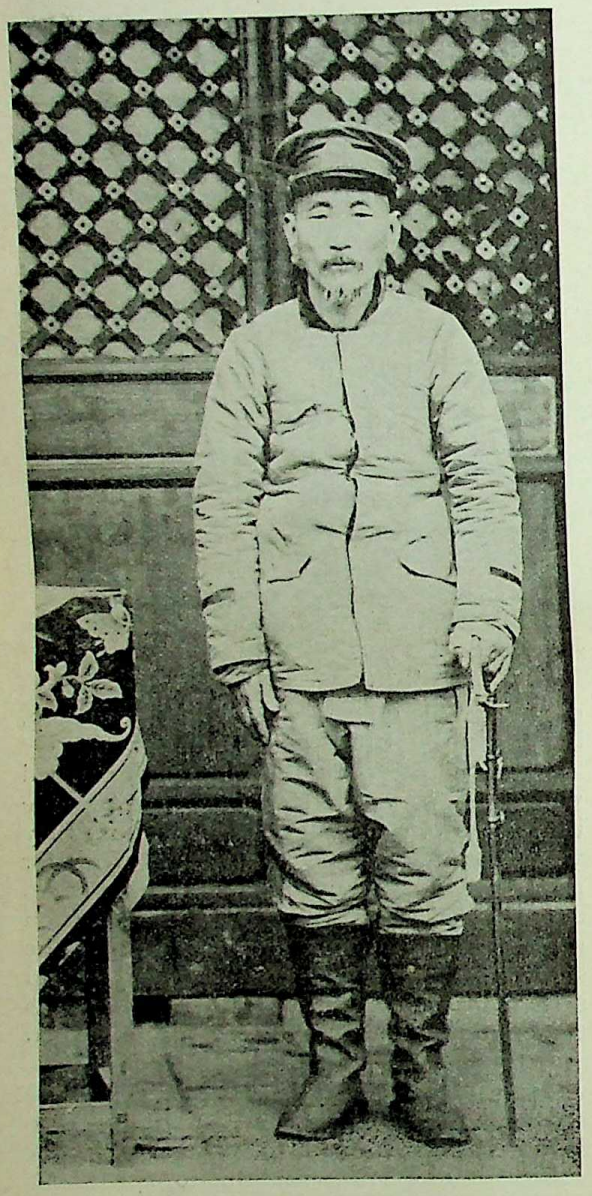
The Subha Tao-Tai-Sin now realised where he was. He had joined the Chinese in the service of their country but they were not the people to give him credit for it. They look down upon the Shan tribes as an inferior race, and their position much resembles ours in this respect. The sharp distinction between a free people and a subject race also exists here. It was therefore that the Chinese troops expressed their resentment at being obliged to serve under a Shan Subha. Tao-Tai-Shin was consequently made second in command to Sardar Chang. Even in this capacity he was shorn of all powers. But to speak the truth the Subha was at the bottom of the revolution. It was at his house that the plans were discussed and matured and Sardar Chang used to hold his councils in Kangai itself.

And two days before the revolution Chang had been there to arrange everything. The Subha was induced to come to Tengyueh

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after the revolution had broken out only on condition of his being made the commander of the entire revolutionary troops. It was on the strength of this assurance that he issued the proclamation under his signature



The officer next in rank to General Lee-ken-ye.

stating that he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Yunan province. Sardar Chang was anxious to secure the co-operation of a cultured and influential land-lord with modern ideas. And his troubles were amply repaid. Before the revolution Chang was considered an ordinary person and in our dealings with him we did not treat him with any special consideration. Chang had no hand in granting conpensation for anything and the name of the Subha of Kangai carried much weight in such matters.

The other Subhas, however, did not join the rebellion. They had secured means for



The Chinese Generalissimo, General Li-yuen-Hung.

the safety of their respective provinces and had kept indifferent about the revolution. The Subha of Kangai had undoubtedly acted with patriotism and courage in joining the rebels under such circumstances, but the Chinese hurt his feelings with their conduct and the Subha came to see his mistake at

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last. The day we reached Tengyueh, we met on the way Mr. Tao-Kei-Ardh, the fifth brother of the Subha of Kangai, who was proceeding towards Tengyueh with his son and nephew, accompanied by a number of armed men of the Shan tribe. They all wore foreign military uniforms. Two days after this, when the Subha left Kangai, leaving his brother in nominal charge of affairs, we were informed, that the Subha had



The Procession of the Chinese Mandarin, before the Revolution.

gone to meet Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen in the Hoo-Pe province. We were informed that he would proceed through Burmah by the sea route. I suspected that he was going to Burmah to intrigue with the Government, to avenge the insult to which he was subjected by the Chinese. I took him for a traitor like "Krisnachandra." But when I was informed that he had reached Yunanfu through Anam, the illusion was dispelled. It must be said to the credit of their education that the Chinese have no traitors in their camp.

I guessed that the Subha must have gone to Yunanfu to represent his grievances to Mr. Chhaoan, the republican Governor of that place. But he was virtually treated as a prisoner there.

He has since been released and is at present staying at Nankin, where he is using his influence with Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen to secure a command in the army. The brother to the Subha also left the place shortly ofter.

For nearly a month after our arrival at Tengyueh the post and telegraph offices remained closed and communication was thus completely cut off. We had to suffer a great deal consequently.

Revolution in the fortunes of men.

Since the revolution many have experienced a strange revolution in their fortune. All the vagabonds and bumpkins, gamesters opium-eaters got enlisted in the army on 6 Taels or 13 rupees a month. Labourers became scarce and palanquin bearers could not be secured. Before the revolution you could get bearers to carry you to Bhamo for seven or eight rupees; the same man now demands 30 to 40 rupees. Formerly you could engage a mule up to Bhamo for five or six rupees. The same cannot be secured now for less than 25 rupees. Among the employees of the old Government, some were killed, some had fled through fear and others had retired from service. Consequently the country gentlemen, who were formerly a neglected class, were appointed to various offices under the new Government. Some were appointed to offices in the army, some were taken as clerks, others were sent as magistrates and police officers, to various places. Some grew rich with the money got by the looting of the Govenment offices, others were robbed of their



A Palanquin of a foreign Consul or a Commissioner.

riches and were reduced to poverty. For maintenance of the new army large sums of money were extracted from the merchants and the people.

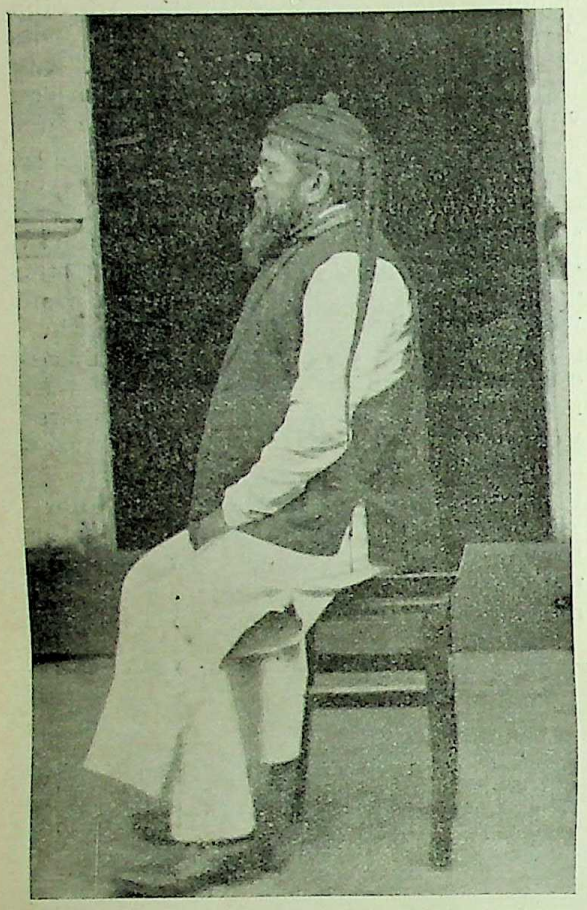
Changes in dress.

The queue was done away with first of all. Sardar Chang had it proclaimed that any one who refused to cut it off within fifteen days would be severely dealt with,

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Any one found wearing the queue after punishment in the first instance, was liable to have his head cut off. Thus what the Chinaman was forced to wear 260 years ago at the mandate of a Manchu King, was forcibly cut off at the mandate of the revolutionary leaders. During the Manchu rule any one who refused to wear the queue was considefed a rebel and was liable to be beheaded. Now the simple and ignorant villagers were pining at the loss of the queue which they were forced to cut off. The slightest objection was punished with two hundred strokes inflicted on the back of the head by a small piece of board which lacerated the skin and the flesh. Like the sacred thread of the Brahmin, and the tuft of hair of the Baisnav, the queue of the Chinaman was considered sacred—although when it first came into use it was a sign of subjection.



The dress of a Chinese gentleman with his summer head dress and the pig-tail, as was before the Revolution.

For a short time, immediately following the revolution, the blue turban came into vogue among the Civil and Military officers. Other changes in dress followed close at heels. In a month the dress of the soldiery was completely changed. Japanese cap, short coat and pantaloons, putties and boots completed the uniform. Epaulets and straps on the shoulder and the sleeves indicated the rank of a soldier. Ranks similar to those of the Captain, Havildar, Jamadar and Subahdar in the Indian army were created in the new army. Similar distinctions existed before but they were re-adjusted on a new basis. In foreign armies a Havildar is not entitled to wear a sword—



The dress of a Chinese gentleman with a winter head dress as worn before the Revolution.

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but in China all officers above the rank and file carry the sword. Over and above all this, every one got an overcoat like that of a sailor, decorated with two rows of brass buttons. I was surprised to see this large supply of overcoats at such a short notice. All these were old soldiers' or sailors' coats which the Chinese merchants had purchased at the annual sales in various parts of the world and sent to China.



The dress of the Chinese Mandarin before the Revolution.

Never before did I see such a variety of uniforms. I give a list below of the principal varieties.

1. *Haopin* – the bugler's uniform—yellow uniform and cap.

Pin—means a soldier or private.

2. *Loopin*—Black turban: they receive officers and escort them to various places.

3. *Chheng-pin*—they wear caps like the Japanese soldiers. They are the fighting units.

4. *Ma pian*—Mounted orderlies. They use both the turban and the cap as their head dress, just as it pleases them.

5. *Chin pin*—They attend on the officers as orderlies. They wear a red uniform.

6. *Oe Toe pin*—provide the bodyguard for the commander. They wear a violet uniform.

7. *Fao Tofe Pin*—artillerymen—They wear a yellow turban and yellow strap on the sleeve.

8. *Fung Chhen Yoe*—The Sappers and Miners—They wear a white mark on the sleeve.

9. *Chi Ning Chuen*—The Volunteer Corps.—They wear a red mark on the sleeve.

10. *Chin Chhajupin*—The police force—they wear a gray mark on the head.

The soldiery change their dress after every three months. During February, March and April they wear a yellow uniform; during May, June and July they wear white; during August, September and November they wear blue; and during November and December they wear blue quilted coats.

Before the revolution the general or the officers below him used to be carried on palanquins when they wanted to go anywhere or wanted to see a superior officer, and soldiers carrying the flag went before and behind them. But all that is now abandoned. Now everybody rides a horse instead. The former garments are gone too. The peacock-feathered cap or the cap decorated with jade stone, which formerly were worn during the summer and winter respectively, have also gone for ever. These are the changes so far as the military officers are concerned. I shall now proceed to describe the changes effected in the dress of the civil officers and of the populace.

The civil officers have now abandoned their former dress, which consisted of a gorgeous cassock-like outer garment, a head-dress bedecked with gold and diamond, and garlands of pearl and precious stones. This change in dress has rendered useless clothes worth many crores. But this may be said in its favour that in future no money will be wasted on such gorgeous dresses. Prior to the revolution civil and military officers used to wear the ordinary cap with the red stone at home. But this cap having been brought into vogue by the Manchus was exchanged for the evening

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cap. All the government officers have now taken to wearing the Japanese military cap, the sola hat, and the felt cap. The fashion has caught on and the people have taken to wearing various kinds of foreign caps. Caps worth many lacs have been imported this year and some people have done a very profitable business in that commodity. Officers are now dressed tip-toe in foreign attire. Foreign harness has replaced the country ones. English coat, necktie, color and gloves have become articles of every-day use. The Chinese have a fair complexion and so in their foreign attire they are mistaken for Europeans. I shall give an instance here of the fondness of the people for foreign caps. There was a marriage in one of my neighbour's family. My servants were invited to the marriage-feast. Two of them would not attend the feast because they had no English caps. They hesitated to appear in the native headdress. At last they borrowed two of my caps and went to the feast.

The revolution in dress has told hard on European missionaries. One feels sorry for them but cannot help laughing too. The pity is, that they have been obliged to cut off the queue, which they took much pains to grow, to enlist the sympathies of the Chinese on their side. But what excites laughter is that the Chinese know them too well to be enticed by their wiles. The Chinese officials now visit the foreign consuls and commissioners on horseback and these latter therefore feel some hesitation in riding palanquins. But this is not their national custom, they adopted it merely to please the Chinese.

This description of the revolution in dress, and the four pictures illustrating it, must be taken as generally correct. But there are exceptions which need not be gone into in this article.

Revolution in Religion.

It is wonderful how this ancient, superstitious and conservative race effected a revolution in religion *pari passu* with the political revolution. The Chinese have found out at last that the idols in the temples are nothing more than images stuffed with bamboo and straw. How can deity reside in a figure of straw? To think that it is possible betokens foolishness. They have consequently destroyed many of the images in the temples. Some of these temples have been divested of these idols and hand-looms have been introduced there instead, to the benefit of the nation. Some of the idols have been spared but no one worships them. Only recently the much-revered images of *Yamaraja* (Pluto) have been destroyed, and pieces



The Chinese national dress after the Revolution, with a foreign head gear.

of gold and silver having been found in them, the soldiers have been eagerly destroying them. Some of these temples are very big and lacs had been spent in building them. There is much art in them too. But they are now deserted. The other day I had been to a famous temple of Buddha. It is built on a mountain. The architectural beauty has blended with the

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natural scenery to produce an exquisite combination. A Hong Sāng or priest is in charge of this temple. I enquired of him why the temple looked deserted. He replied that people had stopped worshipping at



Mr. Lew-i-Piaow, proprietor of a Chinese farm.

that temple. This is the condition of all the temples almost.

In some of my former contributions to the "Prabasi," writing on the "Spring festival" or on the festival of "Yama's (Pluto's) journey to his father-in-law's house celebrated on the third month of the year, I mentioned how pompously these festivals were celebrated, how processions used to parade the streets; and how in autumn the officials used to worship "Lakshmi" or the goddess of the harvest at her temple. But those days are gone for ever and are counted as past history.

These changes in religion and society in China have no doubt been wrought by the sword. For the people were forced to obey what their leaders told them to do. Any one who resisted was sure to be decapitated.

The Social Revolution.

I have already mentioned that there is a strong desire throughout China to educate the women and many girls' schools have been established. I have also described the changes, which the dress of the people has undergone. The taste for the 'small foot' is gradually disappearing and men have begun to grow a moustache instead of the queue. During the Manchu rule no one below forty was allowed to wear a moustache. But you will scarcely know a present day Chinese youth in his foreign attire, wearing a moustache and with his hair nicely parted.

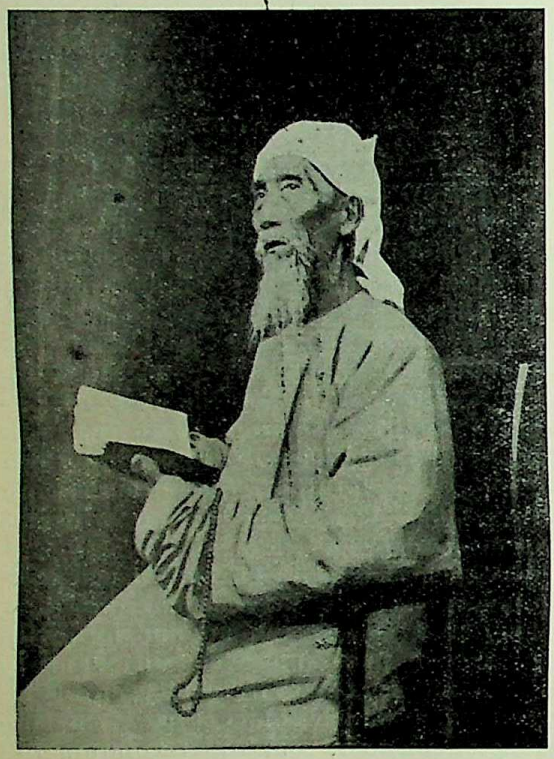
Last year Dr. Sun Yat Sen issued telegraphic orders for counting the new year from the first of January and forthwith the new year commenced in January throughout China. The new year begins about the middle of February in the Chinese calendar, but the revolutionaries celebrated their new year in the beginning of January. Their exchange of greetings, etc. attracted my notice and on enquiry I came to know that the new year in China would henceforth commence on the 1st January, according to the Christian calender. But the year 1912 of the Christian Era was declared to be the 4609th year of the Chinese Era. The new Era would thus be counted from the year 4609 of the Chinese Era.

The troops, the police force and the officers of the new government celebrated their new year in January but the people were not satisfied. They celebrated the Chinese new year and thus there were two new year's celebrations in one year. But the celeberations this year were not marked by the same merry-making and pomp which

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characterised them on previous occasions. There was no crack of fireworks heard this year either on marriage ceremonies or on the new year's day. In former years the sound of fire works would stun our ears on such occasions. This year the burning of fire works was forbidden by proclamation. Thousands of rupees were thus saved. In the house of my neighbour, next door to

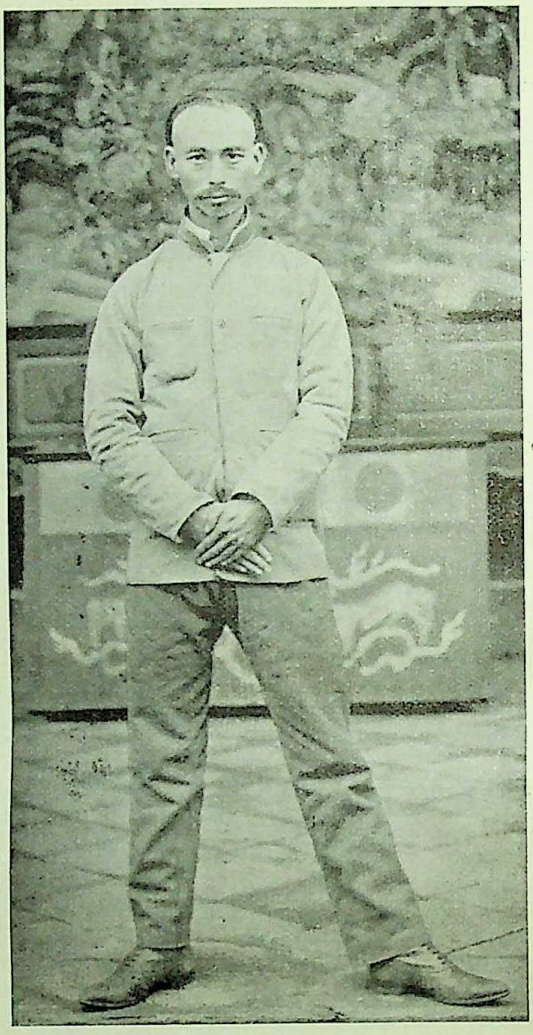


A Chinese Musalman.

mine, fire works worth Rs. 60 were burned at a marriage ceremony. The fire works crack with a tremendous sound like the bursting of a bomb. The powder which was thus wasted on vain amusements would in future be used in the defence of the country.

Formerly they used to beat the tom-tom or the large drum in marriages but all that has now been abolished. Many people now greet us by taking off their hats and shake hands with respectable visitors. Before the revolution people used to bow low with joined hands in greeting each other.

The Chinese have now taken to the European manner (of using forks and spoons) in eating. Last January one of the officers invited Sardar Chang and others to a feast. He had to send for forks, spoons and plates from my place.



Colonel Chhen Chhir Khowe.

Form of Government.

Though the republic has been established, it is merely nominal—the Government is despotic in fact. It may with better propriety be called military rule or Government by martial law. According to martial law even there are courts which try a person before convicting him. But on the Tengyueh sides there are no such courts. The revolutionary leader's word passes for law. I quote some instances below to illustrate how the administration is being carried on.

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(1) The case of Lew-i-Piaow.—Lew-i-Piaow is the proprietor of a local farm named Hoa-sen-Yong. He is a rich merchant and is the owner of many business concerns in Burmah and China. This gentleman had fled to Bhamo after the revolution. Sardar Chang invited him to Tengyueh on some pretex. He accompanied us in our journey back to Tengyueh. On his arrival he was made a prisoner and was threatened with decapitation. He, however, got off with a fine of about Rs. 75,000 but still lives under surveillance. The ostensible cause of his suffering was his flight to Bhamo. But the real motive was the satisfaction of a private grudge. Sardar Chang's father owned a house and a chemist's shop. The house and the shop were mortgaged to Lew-i-Piaow as security for a debt and afterwards sold for default. The firm of Lew-i-Piaow occupies that very house now. This is what excited his wrath.

Later on, when general Lee-Ken-Yea arrived, a new charge was invented against him, *viz.*, that of keeping stolen goods in his possession. But the Chinese tell us that the real offence in this case too was different. He is said to have secretly sought the aid of the Consul for securing a remission of the fine and was about to be beheaded for this offence when he got an inkling of the matter and fled one night, through the jungles and mountains, to Bhamo. He saved himself but his brother is to this day in captivity.

His business has been wound up, his family has left the country and his house has been kept under lock and seal by the police. Lew-i-Piaow had already paid half the fine.

(2) Long-Ling-Ting or the magistrate of Long Ling's case.—Long Ling is three day's journey from Tengyueh. The Ting is said to have sent a telegram to the General of Yunanfu in which he made certain allegations against Sardar Chang. The telegram reached the hands of the Sardar from the telegraph office. The magistrate was summoned before him on a pretext, was made a prisoner, and was about to be beheaded. On the retired and old General Chang standing security for him he was at last released. But afterwards in the heat of a quarrel on some matters he was cut to pieces in the presence of many gentlemen, in the court-yard of a temple. This incident caused pain to many people.

(3) Tu-in-Lyal.—This man is a Mohamedan. When at the outbreak of the revolution, the Tengyueh army attacked the city of Tuntang-chha-Fu, Mr. Laur, the general commanding the troops of the place, offered resistance and this man treacherously killed



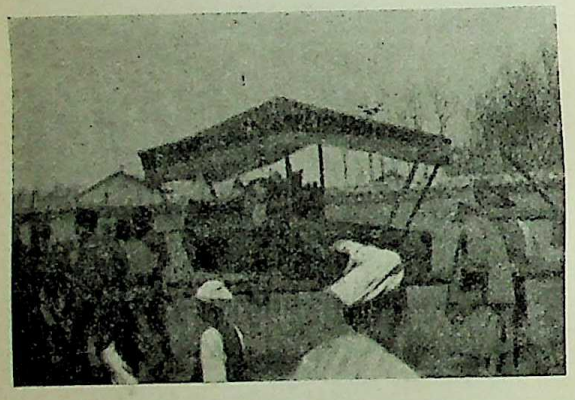
Mr. Taun-Chhoen-Yea, one of the proprietors of a famous Chinese Bank.

him. Sardar Chang was pleased at his conduct and appointed Tu-in-Lyal to the command of the 500 troops of the place. After this Tu-in-Lyal was sent to take part in the battle of Soelin-fu. Allegations were made against Tu that he had oppressed people on the way and had robbed them of their wealth and property. Sardar Chang wrote to another Mohamedan named Ma-Te-In to bring him to Tengyueh on some pretext. At first Tu would not consent. Ma-Te-In however succeeded in winning his confidence and securing his consent by swearing on oath. Another Mahomedan named

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Ma-chang-Piao was sent from Tengyueh to welcome Tu. He received Tu at Kang Lang Chai, which is one day's journey from Tengyueh. Sardar Chang had given secret instructions to Ma-chang-Piao to kill Tu and to bring his head to Tengyueh. After they had met at Kang Lang Chai and had exchanged greetings, Ma-chang-Piao suddenly took out a revolver from his pocket and fired it at Tu. The bullet pierced through Tu's body and he instantly dropped down on the ground. Thinking that Tu was killed Ma-chang-Piao ran to fetch his sword to chop off the head. When he was about to engage in this act Tu brought out his revolver from his pocket and finished him with one shot. The bullet pierced through his chest and he instantly expired. Other people however cut off Tu's head and sent it to Tengyueh together with Ma-chang-Piao's corpse. Ma-chang-Piao was taken to a mosque and I saw his corpse there.



Carrying a Coffin.

Thus one or two persons were beheaded everyday and Chang was branded treacherous and heartless by the people. It was rumoured at this time that General Lee-Ken-Yea would come here from Yunanfu. People hoped that the severity would be relaxed after his arrival and that justice would be done.

On the first of February General Lee-Ken-Yea arrived with great pomp and accompanied by a large body of troops. Just two days before Lee's arrival Colonel Chhen Chhir Khowe, who had fought at Tallifu, fled to Burmah. The reason was that General Lee-Ken-Yea wanted to decapitate him. We shall hear more of this man afterwards.

Within a few days after Lee-Ken Yea's arrival two persons had their upper lips cut off for smoking opium.

Taun-Chhoen-Yea is one of the proprietors of the famous local bank named Chhoe-Ten-Chi. The money transactions of the customs office and the Consul are done through this bank. When the Sahibs of the customs office had fled to Bhamo, Sardar Chang-Owen-Koan fearing that there would be a fall in customs revenue, appointed this gentleman to act as commissioner. During the time he so acted he used to put on European costume and was evidently proud of his position. The customs officers returned to their work in February and Mr. Taun then ceased to act as commissioner. Shortly afterwards I was told that he had been thrown into prison at the command of Lee-Ken-Yea. I could not guess why he was thus molested until one of my servants happened to inform me that Taun-Chhoen-Yea had been taken to the bazaar from the Tamin, that preparations for his execution had been made and that a coffin also was got ready. At the last moment Sardar Chang appeared on the scene and offering himself as security saved him from the executioner's axe. After this he was shut up in a wooden cage with his neck fastened to it and was exposed in the bazaar to the inclemency of the sun and the rain. When I witnessed him in the midst of these indignities he shut his eyes in shame.

(*To be continued*)

RAM LAL SIRCAR.

(Translated by

NIKHILNATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A., LL.B.)

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ABOLISH HARMONIUMS !

IS the harmonium to go? To lovers of Indian music this is a very important question, and Mrs. Maud Mann deserves our best thanks for having raised it. If in doing so she has incidentally said anything wide of the mark, it is not my business to defend her, but I feel in duty bound to say that the harmonium ought to be abolished, as it is killing our music.

In the first place, it is out of tune and is spoiling our sense of pitch.

I am astonished to see Mr. P. R. Bhandarkar assert, in the October number of this magazine, that the scale employed in the Vina "is *exactly** the scale of equal temperament," and that this scale is generally adopted by the Hindustani school. Whoever knows anything about instruments of the Vina class, knows that they are tuned in true fifths and fourths, intervals which do not occur in the equally tempered scale. Whatever else it is, the scale of the Vina *cannot* be the equally tempered scale.

It is a libel to say that Hindustani musicians employ this artificial scale. They do nothing of the kind. Their notes are always correct, and the best of them can detect the discrepancies of the harmonium.

But, it is asked, "What right has anybody to say that the so-called 'natural' scale is used by the Indians on the *Vina* or the *Sarenghi*, or in vocal music? Do the Hindu treatises on music say so? Or has anybody performed the necessary experiments from ascertaining the fact?"

That the Hindu treatises do say so, is proved in Mr. Deval's pamphlet by quotations from the treatises themselves.

As to experiments, they are very simple, and can be easily performed with a *tambura* or a violin. All that is necessary is to get a really good singer to sing his notes and test them with the instrument. As Mr. Bhandarkar has read Helmholtz, he is certainly able to do it himself, it is so very simple. I have repeatedly performed it, and *know* that our *ostads* never employ false notes. If I had not this knowledge, I should not have felt qualified to say anything on the subject.

But apart from the question of scales, the harmonium is killing our music by destroying its technique. This technique is the life and soul of Indian music. I think it is to this that Mr. Bhandarkar refers, when he says that it is not his intention to defend the harmonium, as no high-class Hindu music can be executed on it. This is some consolation, and for this we can afford to be thankful to him in spite of his witticisms about musical scales, which are not likely to mislead any thoughtful man.

I was for over twenty years a harmoniumist without feeling any the worse for it. I used to play on it, write on it, give lessons on it, happy in the thought that I was doing some good to the community. Then I began to take lessons from the late Professor Kashinath Sukul, and immediately realised how foolish I had been to adopt that instrument, and what terrible injury it had done me. My notes were all wrong, my voice inflexible, and the good professor had his work cut out for him in trying to bring me back to the starting point. Of course I gave the harmonium up at once and took to the violin. But the mischief was done, and though it is now years ago, I still suffer for my sin, and play out of tune much oftener than I like. Naturally, I am anxious that others should not suffer so. That execrable instrument has been banished from our classes, and whenever I can, I try to persuade people not to have anything to do with it.

Mrs. Mann may have made a slip or two, and there can be no harm in pointing them out. But could not this have been done without subjecting her to ridicule? Everybody is liable to make mistakes, especially when dealing with a subject like the music of a foreign country. Has Mr. Bhandarkar made no mistakes in speaking of his own national music? He says that the Sanskrit treatises on music speak of the Sruti as a unit of musical interval. Has he really consulted the treatises in question before making such a statement? The Sruti is not an 'interval,' but a musical 'sound', as the following quotations from the *Sangitaratnakara* will amply prove:—

"जातः प्राणाग्निसंयोगात् तेन नादोऽभिधीयते। * * *
* * * तस्य द्वाविंशतिर्भेदाः श्रवणाच्छ्रुतयो मताः।"
"तज्ज्ञो नादः श्रुतिर्मतः।"

U. RAY.

* The italics are not mine.

U. R.

THE RISE OF VAISHNAVISM UNDER THE GUPTAS

BY THE LATE SISTER NIVEDITA.

THERE have been many Vaishnavisms, and any adequate history of the subject must make some attempt to take account of them all. Let us begin at the end, with the movement of Chaitanya in the 15th century. This would seem to have swept over Bengal like a fever. Wherever it went, it seized high and low alike. It

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availed itself of the severest learning, and yet penetrated at the same time, to the hearts of the most ignorant and untouchable. It embraced and transformed all that was left of Buddhism. It established Brindaban as a great college of piety, holiest of *tirthas*, and most notable of *ashramas*. It ended, outside Bengal, by creating a new order of architecture, and inside her boundaries, by forming a great vernacular on its anvil. And yet, in the form given to it by Chaitanya and Nityananda, it was a Bengali, rather than an all-India movement. It centred in Radha and Krishna, and the story of the Gopis. The contemporary movement, in the rest of India, selected for emphasis, now this element, now that, in the older Vaishnavism. Here it anchored itself on Sita and Rama. There it found and clung to some other rock. It ended by placing Lakshmi-Narayan on the altar of worship. It is Lakshmi-Narayan who is worshipped throughout Maharastra and Guzerat. It is Lakshmi-Narayan that we find at Badri Narayan, and in the valleys of that diocese. The older Satya-Narayan had disputed with Siva the possession of the road from Hardwar and Kedar Nath, but it was the latest wave, the mediaeval revival, that captured the pilgrimage from Srinagar to Badri.

Had there been a Lakshmi in the older Vaishnavism? If not, what determined Her inclusion in this mediaeval renascence? A thousand years of social history lie in the answer to this question. It is an answer that can only be made definite by a detailed study of the different sects and orders of Modern Vaishnavism, and a comparison of their beliefs, customs, and traditions. In this land of religious conservation, we may rely upon it that the whole story of its own development is written upon the brow of the faith itself, for the first trained eye to decipher. We may depend upon it also, that each phase and form of the central idea has had its own individual history, most likely preserved in it as eventual tradition. Nothing that survives has occurred by accident. Nothing has been created out of wantonness, or out of an idle desire to be different from others. Ideas so born must at once have perished. The synthesis of Vaishnavism today is what it has been made by its own history.

One thing is somewhat puzzling. Why was the devotion of the Rajputni Meera Bai of so Bengali a type? It is the love of Krishna with which she is enrapt. It is Brindaban towards which all her wanderings tend. There was some strong and special bond, during the middle ages, that knit together Rajputana and Bengal. This is shown in the anxiety of Rajput princes for the recovery of Gaya from the Musalmans. No history of Vaishnavism can be complete if it does not on the one hand account for its own differences, as between Bengal and other provinces, and on the other, explain the Chaitanya-like personality of Meera Bai.

To the Indian consciousness, this mediaeval renascence was bound up with a strong movement for the assertion of the rights of women, as well as of the people. That the religious faculty of humanity is as much feminine as masculine, that woman has as much right as man to abandon the career of the household for the life of the soul, these are amongst the convictions that throned Lakshmi beside Narayan, during this period, as the centre of Vaishnavite worship. It may be, further, that they are part of the inheritance taken over by it from Buddhism. The thirteen hundred women and twelve hundred men, who were received into the congregation by Nityananda, at Khardaha, cannot have been altogether without precedent or parallel. Nor can they with all their wretchedness, have failed to hold a strong conviction of the equal right of woman with man, to play a part in the life of religion. And if it be true that they represented an old Buddhist order, bewildered by its own oblivion of its own history, puzzled by the absence of a niche for it, in the Hindu synthesis it saw about it, if this be true, then it follows that this idea of the religious right of woman, was of old and deep growth in the Indian mind.

Mediaeval Vaishnavism seems to have had its origin in the south, in the great teachers, Ramanuja and Madhavacharya. In the Himalayas, it has made a notable renewal of the relations of north and south. Both Kedar Nath and Badri Narayan must take their Mahants, or Raouls, from Madras, and though this rule may have begun with Sankaracharya, it must have been re-vitalised later. On the Vaishnava altars of the *Dravidadesh* itself, as also at Gaya, Narayan

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reigns, for the most part alone. That is to say, he dates from an older than the Badri Narayan or Maharashtra stratum of Vaishnava doctrine. And this is right. It is in the missionary-country that the propaganda of a given movement finds its fullest scope. Thus a single phase of Hinduism becomes a national religion in Burma or Ceylon. It remains but one element in a great material, in the land of its birth. It is to the south, then, that we must go, if we would learn of the older Vaishnavism. It is its religious organisation, and its temple-ritual that we must study, if we would know what was the background from which sprang Ramanuja, or what was the heaven for which the mother of Sankaracharya yearned, if indeed the exquisite story of her death-bed be not a later Vaishnavite gloss.

Southern Vaishnavism is the Vaishnavism of the Gupta Empire. It is the Vaishnavism that was spread far and wide, with the story of the Mahabharata. The *Pandav-Lilla* of the Southern villages, and the Pandava legends of the northern *tirtha* have a single chronological origin. They both alike belong to the culture that was promulgated during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, under tne later Pataliputra Empire.* Only in the South do we find temples in which the image of Krishna is worshipped as Partha-Sarathi, the Charioteer of Arjuna, because only in the South does the Gupta influence remain to this day, in its purity and strength. The Narayana image of the South now, is the old Narayana —Satya-Narayana, as he was called— of Magadha. It is the same Narayana that was placed by Skanda Gupta on the top of the Bhitari Lat, about 460 A.D., when he set this up, with the double purpose of commemorating his father's *sraddha*, and his own victory over the Huns. It is the same Narayana that seems to have been carved so freely in Bengal, under the Pal dynasty, after Gaur became the capital.

"As Krishna hastened to Devaki," says the priceless inscription on the Bhitari Lat, with the news of his victory over his enemies, so went Skanda Gupta to his mother.

A couple of times, in the national epic itself, Krishna is addressed by such titles as "Slayer of Putana," showing, as does this inscription, that Mahabharata Vaishnavism, though mainly dependent, for its central figure, on the Krishna of the Bhagavad Gita, was intended to include and confirm the story of Gokul and Mathura. How much of the Brindadan episode there may have been, in this original nucleus of the great tale, it is for the critics of language and literature to determine. The relative ages of the *Harivamsa*, *Vishnu Purana* and *Bhagavat Purana*, hold that secret between them! That the child Krishna was always the slayer of demons we may be quite sure This aspect was of His very essence. Are divine beings not always known by their slaying of demons? It is only when the fact of their divinity is firmly established in our minds that our attention can be claimed for their Gospels and their Gitas.

In an age of great education, and general understanding of the essentials of the faith, the throne of Pataliputra had to show that the older Saivism was not the only form of religion that could ratify and popularise the sublime truths of the Upanishads. The babe who had dwelt amongst the cowherds on the Jumna-side had nevertheless been of royal Hindu parentage, and it was told of him that when the usurper had been slain, He was at once sent away, by Devaki and Vasudev, to be instructed in the Vedas.* Thus the grand personality that towers above Kurukshetra, and enunciates the body of doctrine which all India, in the year 400 A.D., knew to be the core of *dharma*, combines in himself the divinity of the Indian Siva, the virility of the Greek Herakles, the simplicity of the Indian Christ, the tenderness of Buddha, and the calm austerity and bearing of any teacher of the Upanishads. The great truths he utters were in the very air, during the period when the Mahabharata was put into its present form, under the patronage of the Guptas of Pataliputra. It was essential that the Divine Incarnation should give voice to the whole scheme of personal discipline and salvation, and that utterance forms, in the present case, the Bhagavad Gita. The political power that proved the background of the new faith, is seen in the fact that the presence of the

* The reader is reminded that the fourth century, in English, is from 300 to 400 A.D., the fifth, from 400 to 500 A.D. and so on.

* See Vishnu Purana, Harivansa and Bhagavat Purana.

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Salagram, as the symbol of Vishnu, has been essential ever since, to the legality of a Hindu marriage.

The tide of the Gupta Vaishnavism lifted and re-interpreted many already familiar elements of life. The image of Narayana that it made its own, was a natural development from the figure that the sculptors were at that time in the habit of cutting on the stupas. The three little earthen mounds, placed side by side, that the common people were so apt, then as now, to make for adoration, the new movement explained as a symbol of Jagannath, Lord of the Universe. It gave a like account of the prevalent worship of a sacred foot-print. It incorporated Buddha Deva in its own synthesis, as undoubtedly the tenth incarnation of Vishnu. It accepted and perpetuated the sanctity of Brahma-Gaya, as distinguished from Bodh-Gaya. And there, and at other well-known *tirthas* of that period, it endorsed the complex customs that had grown up—probably under the influence of Chinese and Thibetan pilgrims and merchants—of prayers for the dead.

Nor need we suppose that when the Mahabharata was first promulgated, Krishna shone so much alone as He seems to us to do, today. To us, the whole tangle of culture that bears the name of the Mahabharata, appears largely as a setting for the Bhagavad Gita. But on its first publication, it was almost equally impressive in all its parts. Each of the Pandavas, Bhishma, and Karna, had his place and his glory, in the national imagination. Nay a complete map of the shrines and altars in Garhwal would show that even the munis and poets who contributed fragments,—as well as Vyasa, welder of the vast composition into a whole,—were held worthy of special honour and enthusiasm.

Thus was established Vaishnavism, as woof upon the warp of Indian religion, for the time to come. What was Siva, we wonder, in the minds of those who knelt so eagerly at this period before the Incarnation of Vishnu? Was He merely Nageswar, or Nilkantha? Had He yet become Ardhanari? Probably not, for if He had, it is difficult to see now He could have been superseded by Satya-Narayana without Lakshmi, as was probably the case. And yet that the worship of the Mother was prior to that of Krishna tends to be shown by the argument of the Devi Purana, which is, that Krishna *is* Devi. Not yet had the giant mind of Sankaracharya arrived, to work upon the great conception of Siva, and make of him Mahadeva.

In this question of the religious ideas that formed the firmament in which Krishna rose, we have a fruitful field of study. A great deal can be inferred from the stories that have gathered round the name of the Divine cowherd. Brahma tests Him, to see if He is in truth an incarnation of Vishnu. Here the idea of Brahma, as the creator, has evidently not yet been supplanted, amongst the Aryan classes and yet the doctrine of the Trinity is implicit, for Brahma shows the assumption that Vishnu is his own equal. Krishna conquers the Snake Kaliya, and leaves his own foot-print on his head. Here is the same struggle that we can trace in the personality of Siva, as Nageswar, between the new devotional faith, and the old traditional worship of snakes and serpents. He personates the shepherds to abandon the sacrifice to Indra. Here He directly over-rides the older Vedic gods, who, as in some parts of the Himalayas today, seem to know nothing of the inter-position of Brahma. And throughout the Mahabharata, Siva gives testimony to the divinity of Krishna, but Krishna never says a word about that of Siva! That is to say, the divinity of Siva was well known, was taken for granted, by both poet and audience. But that of Krishna had yet to be established. We shall find, moreover, that in the ritual of the South, the religious procession forms as important a feature as it must have been, in the Buddhist *chaityas*. Here we read authoritative organisation, in a period when such spectacles had powerfully impressed the pious imagination.

It would appear therefore that a great formative movement took place in the history of Vaishnavism, when India was politically united under the Guptas, and when Buddhism had become so highly developed and over-ripe, that the story of its origin was losing definiteness in the popular mind. This epoch saw the synthesis, under indisputable suzerain authority, of the doctrinal Krishna, Partha-Sarathi, speaker of the Gita, and the popular Krishna, the Gopala of Gokul, and

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Hero of Mathura. The same period saw missions despatched to the South, for the preaching of this great consolidated faith, and the parcelling out of Garhwal and Kumaon in the Himalayas, as pre-eminently the land of the Pandava *tirthas*. This consolidation of the story and idea of Krishna was in all probability connected with the last recension of the Mahabharata, which was probably, in its turn, the work of an official synod of poets, under Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya, between 330 and 455 A.D. We know for a fact that succeeding Guptas* were devoted worshippers of Narayana, in His incarnation as Krishna, and that in this worship, Krishna the son of Devaki and Krishna the slayer of Kansa were joined.

Even this does not exhaust the story of Indian Vaishnavism. The Ramayana was written before the Mahabharata. Rama was the creation of an age, earlier, still more vividly Saivite and still more conscious of the problems created by Buddhism than that of Krishna. And before the composition of the Ramayana, before even the rise of Saivism, there had been a still older worship of Vishnu. When the idea of the Trinity came in, with the exaltation of Siva, Vishnu was at once made its Second Person. In all lists of the Gods —Ganesha, Surya, Indra, Brahma, or Agni, Vishnu, Siva and Durga, He is named before Siva. In this fact, there must be history. Out of that history came the centuries of Vaishnavism which, in the consolidated Hinduism of the ages succeeding Sankaracharya, formed one of the two strands of which the rope of the national faith was twisted. From the time of early Buddhism onwards, we may watch the growth of an organised Indian faith, in which Saivaism and Vaishnavism are oscillating phases. A century of silence means only some episode to be recovered and recorded. Numberless must be the links between Sankaracharya and Chaitanya. For it is part and parcel of the nature of things that the Hindu development shall proceed by a regular alternation from Saivism to Vaishnavism and Vaishnavism to Saivism, and that the Epoch-maker, the avatar, shall be born again and again.

* See Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 269, for account of engineering work in Kathiawar, with temple and inscription.

THE ROYAL PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION

BY A BENGALI.

I. WHERE IS THE NECESSITY OF THE COMMISSION?

THE very fact that the appointment of the Public Service Commission has not been hailed with delight by the general public of India, goes to show its unpopularity. They know that none of the previous Commissions, whether Royal or Indian, did much good to the people of this country. Many recommendations of the last Public Service Commission have yet to be given effect to! India was groaning under the weight of heavy public expenditure and asked for some relief. A Royal Commission was appointed to devise some remedy. But the remedy which that Commission, known as Welby's, proposed was worse than the disease. The nomination of members of Commissions depends on the sweet will of the leaders of the political party that happens to be in power. Like packed juries, such persons only are made commissioners as would carry out the intentions, if not the behests, of the party which appoints them. Of course to prevent adverse criticism one or two persons are selected whose judgments are not to be swayed by considerations of so-called political expediency. They are always in a minority.

A great author has said :—

"The object of the politician is expediency. * * * The object on the other hand, of the philosopher is truth, and his duty is to push every principle which he believes to be true to its ligetimate consequences regardless of the consequences which may follow.

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Nothing can be more fatal in politics than a predominance of the philosophical spirit; or in philosophy, than a preponderance of the political spirit. * * * A disinterested love of truth can hardly co-exist with a strong political spirit. In all countries where the habits of thought have been mainly formed by political life, we may discover a disposition to make expediency the test of truth, to close the eyes and turn away the mind from any arguments that tend towards a radical change. * * * It is probable that the capacity for pursuing abstract truth for its own sake, which has given German thinkers so high an ascendency in Europe, is in no slight degree to be attributed to the political languor of their nation."

The people see that no Commissions are appointed when anything is proposed or intended to be done for bettering the pay and prospects of the Britishers in the employ of the Government of India. Whenever any question arises for such administrative necessities as the separation of the Judicial and the Executive functions, the excuse is made that there is no money in the coffers of the State to pay the expenses that would be incurred by the carrying out of such a reform. But without the appointment of a Commission or paying any regard to the consistency of their position, exchange compensation was granted to the European officers in India, without taking into consideration whether a particular officer had to make any remittance to Europe for the support of his family. Again no Commission was deemed necessary when the pay was raised of the members of those services which are called "Imperial." Was any Commission appointed to consider whether it was necessary to increase the number of British officers serving in the Native Regiments? Or was it found necessary to appoint any Commission to redistribute the territories of the various provinces of Bengal and Assam and the transfer of the capital to Delhi, all of which mean a heavy outlay? From all these considerations it is not a matter of surprise if the people of India look with apprehension on the Royal Commission which is to commence its sittings towards the close of the year.

If the aspirations of educated Indians are meant to be satisfied it can be done without the appointment of a Commission like the present one, on which with the exception of Mr. Gokhale there is no non-official Indian representative. The Commission is ostensibly to devise means for the larger employment of Indians in the public services of their own country. If so, does it not look like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet's part left out, in having only three Indian commissioners out of fifteen, these two of three being officials, who proverbially have elastic consciences, can hardly be expected to possess that independence of spirit which is necessary to tackle the ticklish questions of Indian administration where the interests of Indians are expected to clash with those of Britishers.

There is unfortunately in these days in India a widely prevalent belief that nothing should be said or done which could, in any way, hurt the susceptibilities of those who are looked upon as the constituted authority. When we remember how rigorously the press has been controlled by repressive measures witnesses can hardly be expected to speak with that freedom without which no public commission can do any good. When India was under the administration of the East India Company, on the renewal of its charter after every 20 years, Parliamentary Committees were appointed to enquire into Indian affairs. The volumes of those reports of Parliamentary Committees are very important, since they are replete with information showing the real character of the Company's administration. That was due to the freedom of speech enjoyed by the witnesses who appeared before those committees. Moreover, Imperialism had not then entered in the body politic of the English people as it has done of late. There was a desire amongst those statesmen and politicians whose names have become household words amongst English-speaking peoples throughout the world to do justice to India according to their lights.

Again, the Imperial branches of Indian services are more handsomely paid than any other service in any country of the world. When we remember how the population in Great Britain is increasing by leaps and bounds, notwithstanding the practice of all artificial checks based on Malthusian doctrines and the keen struggle for existence which is taking place there, is it to be expected, that the Commission which is mainly, if not solely, composed of Britishers, would record any recommendations which might in any way affect the interests of their countrymen in India? What will

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become of "our boys"?, that is the question of questions with the natives of England.

Blood being thicker than water and charity being said to begin at home, the Commissioners cannot be, naturally, expected to deprive their kith and kin of the bread and butter which they get from serving out in India. Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart., wrote in 1858 :—

"India opens out an almost exhaustless field for the educated labour of Great Britain, or in other words, it maintains at a higher level than that existing in any other country, the reward of the labour of educated men.

" * * * * to men who weigh well the crowded condition of every outlet for educated labour in this country, and remember how dangerous to a State the want and desperation of the educated unemployed has always been, it will appear an ample reason for striving to the utmost to retain if not all, at least a very sufficient portion of our Indian possessions. It is no use of hyperbole to say that the marked tranquility of England, when all Europe was tottering, was owing, not a little, to the outlet India had given to her educated masses,"—*Letters on India, p.* 29.

" * * * For fifty or sixty years India has been to the brains and intellect of his country what the Western States have been to the thew and sinew of America—the safety-valve that has yearly afforded an escapement for the surplus energy or ambition of our educated population. There is no mob, however numerous and violent, half so dangerous as an educated middling class, irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire.

" If we consider the price that is paid for educated labour in India, we shall see that it is at least twice as high as that existing in any other country."—*Ibid, pp.* 51-52.

Sir Edward Sullivan's words are even more true today that when, more than half a century ago, he wrote them.

We have not as yet forgotten the manner in which Indian witnesses were handled by members of the Welby Commission. The members were not so much desirous of obtaining information from Indian witnesses or to patiently hear what they had to say regarding affairs from the Indian point of view, as to unnecessarily confound and confuse them in order to discredit their evidence. The unnecessary cross-examinations to which Indian witnesses were subjected, did not reflect credit on the intelligence, not to say, sense of fairness or justice of the Royal Commissioners. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, at whose feet Lord Welby and others might have sat for years to learn lessons in Indian financial and political questions, was treated in a manner which even the dullest school boy would resent, if such treatment were meted out to him by his teacher anxious for his welfare.

Well may Dadabhai Naoroji exclaim :—

" In India, when the authorities are decided upon certain views which are not likely to be readily accepted by the public, a Commission or Committee comes into existence The members are mostly officials or ex-officials—English or Indian. Some non-officials, English or Indian or both, are sometimes thrown in, selected by the Government itself. It is a well understood thing that in all matters officials are bound always to take and support the Government views. The ex-officials are understood to be bound by gratitude to do the same. If any one takes an independent line, either in a Commission or Committee, or in his own official capacity, and displeases the Government, I cannot undertake to say with instances what happens."

II. IS INDIA A CONQUERED COUNTRY?

NOT much heed is paid to the representations of Indians, howsoever just these may be, because perhaps it is assumed that India is a conquered country and therefore its inhabitants do not possess any rights or privileges. The very word "rights" seems to stink in the nostrils of many of the castemen of India's rulers like Sir J. D. Rees. Nearly forty years ago, an Anglo-Indian, perhaps a member of the Indian Civil Service, wrote in the pages of a journal which is now defunct

"why the hardy Punjabees are easier to deal with than the effeminate people of Bengal. The former have but few conceptions of 'rights,' and, so long as these are respected, are ready enough to render obedience to superior skill and energy. The latter have learnt something of law and something of political economy; and the result has been to make them suspicious, querulous, and ready to combine. The history of Bengal in the last decade is full of illustrations of this."*

The teaching of modern Imperialism which is rampant in the Christian countries of the West as tersely expressed by a writer in one of the newly published volumes of *Harmsworth's History of the World* is to the effect that conquest means enslavement or annihilation of the people conquered.

India being assumed to be a conquered

* The *Chamelon* for July 1873, p, 27. Printed and published at the Orphan School Press by Revd. J. Hewlett.

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country, its inhabitants have, therefore, according to the Imperial school, no future before them. Even the late Sir J. Seeley in his *Expansion of England*, wrote :—

"India then is of all countries that which is least capable of evolving out of itself a stable Government. And it is to be feared that our rule may have diminished what little power of this sort it may have originally possessed. For our supremacy has necessarily depressed those classes which had anything of the talent or habit of Government. The old royal races, the noble classes, * * have suffered most and benefited least from our rule. This decay is the staple topic of lamentation among those who take a dark view of our Empire; * *" [*Seeley's Expansion of England, p, 196*].

They do not know Indian History well who opine that India has been conquered by England. It is their imagination which makes them think so. England never conquered India. The very idea of the conquest of India was repugnant to the people of England, as expressed more than once in the Parliamentary Acts a century and more old. As far back as 1793, on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, it was stated in no ambiguous language that

"To pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honor, and policy of this nation," &c.

This was again repeated on another occasion.

Since India was not a conquered country, hence its peoples have not shared the fate of the Mexicans, Peruvians, Maoris, and others. India would have been long ago colonised by Britishers, and all those evils which follow in the train of colonization would have befallen India, had England conquered India by the sword. No, because India was not conqered by England, therefore Indians were not deprived of high offices in the administration of the country during the time of Clive or Warren Hastings. It was Cornwallis who excluded them from all share in the Government of India. Cornwallis had capitulated to Washington in the war of American Independence. It seems that he came out to India to retrieve his past misconduct. Before his time, not a rood of land which the East India Company occupied in this country was obtained by conquest. Cornwallis, very unjustly, declared war against Tippoo, as if to show that England could conquer India by the sword.

The intentions of Cornwallis towards the people of this country cannot be called good. He wanted to regain his lost popularity with his own countrymen and therefore he deprived Indians of their birthright by excluding them from all high offices of trust and responsibility. How illiberal his motives were, in his dealing with the peoples of this land of ours, will be clear to all who care to read what he wrote on the occasion of his preparing the famous Regulations of 1793.

He wrote :—

"It may be urged that these ideas of justice are incompatible with our political situation—that as the people become rich they will feel their power and combine to subvert our Goverment. But there appears to me to be no ground for such a supposition, for although we hope to render our subjects the happiest people in India, I should by no means propose to admit the natives to any participation in the legislative power."

He is given the credit for granting Permanent Settlement to Bengal. But why this boon was granted to that province has been made clear in the article which appeared in the *Modern Review* for September 1907 under the heading "Why Permanent Settlement was granted to Bengal." The authorities could not help granting it, because otherwise it would have been impossible for the East India Company to carry on their administration of this country.

Cornwallis has found an apologist for his unjust measure in depriving Indians of all high offices of trust and responsibility in Sir John Kaye, who writes :—

"Perhaps it was not so much that Cornwallis and his advisers mistrusted the native, as they mistrusted the European functionaries. * * He said, doubtless, that the native functionary in the hands of his European colleague, or superior, might become a very mischievous tool—a ready-made instrument of extortion—and he determined, therefore, not to mix up the two agencies so perilously together." (Kaye's *Administration of the East India Company*, p. 419).

It is not necessary to make any remarks on the apology which Kaye has offered for Cornwallis' unjust and unjustifiable measure. The whole administration of Cornwallis was directed to reduce Indians to abject helplessness if not to slavery.

We invite the attention of our readers to the three articles which appeared in the *Modern Review* for February, March and April, 1909 under the heading of "Employment of Indians in the Public Service" as

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these give the history of the subject based on official records to show why the authorities were compelled to employ Indian agency to a certain extent, in the administration of India. From a perusal of those articles it would be evident that the clause 87 in the Charter Act of 1833 of the East India Company was not meant so much to give wider employment to pure-blooded Indians as to Eurasians—a class which had been mostly brought into existence by the immorality of the Anglo-Indians known generally as "Indian Nabobs" in those times.

That clause remained a dead letter till the assumption of the Government of India by the Queen. The Indian authorities were not inclined to give effect to it.

It was this scandalous state of affairs which attracted the attention of the Queen Empress Victoria when she assumed charge of the Indian Empire and made her insert those noble words in the Proclamation which Indians look upon as the Magna Charta of their liberties.

But serious attempts have been made to explain away the Proclamation.

The late Sir James Fitz Stephen, sometime law member of the Government of India, said it was not a treaty and therefore it did not impose any responsibility on the authorities.

A very effective reply to this was given by Lord Ripon when he declared that—

"The document is not a treaty, it is not a diplomatic instrument; it is a declaration of principles of Government which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed."

We all know how Lord Curzon also tried to explain away the Proclamation. It was this explanation of Lord Curzon which did more than any thing else to create that unrest in this country which has not as yet died away.

Mr. Justice Beaman of the Bombay High Court in an article which he contributed to an English magazine about four years ago asked in all seriousness who had appointed the English as trustees or trustors of India. According to him, the Britishers do not owe any responsibility to the people of this country.

It is the idea of the conquest of India which has made all those who believe in the doctrine of "Might is Right" to deny that Indians possess any rights and so to try to explain away the Proclamation.

Regarding proclamations in general, Mr. Freeman, whose historical writings are well-known wherever English is spoken or read, has said : —

"* * But when we come to manifestoes, proclamations, * * here we are in the very chosen region of lies; * * He is of child-like simplicity indeed who believes every act of Parliament, as telling us, not only what certain august persons did, but the motives which led them to do it; so is he who believes that the verdict and sentence of every court was necessarily perfect righteousness, even in times where orders were sent beforehand for the trial and execution of such a man." (Freeman's *Methods of Historical Study*, London, 1886, pp. 258-259).

Sir James Fitz Stephen, Lord Curzon and others of their way of thinking would have us believe that the Queen's Proclamation also should be classed with those which Mr. Freeman has labelled as "the very chosen region of lies." But we refuse to be persuaded to believe that Queen Victoria made lying promises to her Indian subjects. She meant her words to be given effect to. Nor do we believe that her august successors did not mean what they said when they reiterated the great Queen's promises to her Indian subjects. We, therefore, take our stand on them, as well as on the natural right of every human being to prosper in his own country.

India is not a conquered country and hence Indians claim as their birth-right to be appointed to every post in the country.

But even assuming for the sake of argument that India is a conquered country, does any one sincerely believe that Indians do not possess what Thomas Paine has called the Rights of Man?

No longer resort should be had to any subterfuge to explain away the Queen's Proclamation, so that no exalted person, like Lord Lytton, Representative of the Sovereign, might again be compelled to say on any future occasion :—

"We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them; and we have chosen the least straightforward course. The application to natives of the competitive examination system as conducted in England, and the recent reduction in the age at which candidates can compete, are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act and reducing it to a dead letter. Since I am writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of

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England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

A policy should now be adopted which would have the effect of effacing from the memory of Indians passages like the above.

Are not Ireland, Wales, Canada and South Africa also conquered countries? But the natives of those countries have not been deprived of high offices of trust and responsibility. The present Secretary of State for India, of course, will make a special pleading for them, that they belong to "our race." But we belong to the human race, as much as they do. That is a greater claim than the so-called superiority of "our race."

"Our race" is the Aryan race. Does Lord Crewe mean to say that he and we do not belong to that race? His unreasonable dictum cannot justify the exclusion of Indians from the public services of their country.

In his "India as it may be," page 228, published in 1853, Sir George Campbell said:—

"No principle is more incumbent on us strictly to observe than this, that all appointments which natives are capable of filling should be filled by natives."

III. JUSTICE TO BENGAL

IN his very wellknown work on the Rise of the British Dominion in India, the late Sir Alfred Lyall wrote:—

"To advance into Bengal was to penetrate India by its soft and unprotected side."

The valiant knight forgot to mention that his co-religionists and compatriots did not obtain their footing on the soil of Bengal by conquest. They did not come as conquerors but in the garb of "unpretending merchants" 'to whom every encouragement was offered.'

Historians of the rise of British supremacy in the East have not laid emphasis on the fact how the acquisition of the Dewany of Bengal enabled the British to march on their victorious career throughout India. It should be remembered that England never contributed a single farthing towards the building up or maintenance of the Indian Empire. It was Bengal which supplied the "sinews of war" in the literal sense of that phrase, for the British to raise the superstructure of what they are now proud of calling the most precious part of the Empire over which the sun never sets.

A writer wrote in the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. III, January, 1845 pp. 167-168):—

"The provinces (*i. e.* Bengal, Behar and Orissa) * * are by far the most wealthy and productive in the whole Empire. It is from the resources of the Gangetic valley alone that Government is furnished with any surplus funds; that it obtains the sinews of war, and is enable to clear off the debts it had contracted. Of the upper and lower division of this valley, it is the lower or that comprised in the Government of Bengal, which has been the main stay of the public finances. Though it does not comprise more than a tenth of the territory subject to the British crown in India, it yields two-fifths of the revenue."

Victor Jacquemout, that wellknown French naturalist and traveller, writes:—

"But the English will make this conquest (of the Panjab) only at the last extremity. All that they have added to their territory for the last fifty years beyond Bengal and Behar, beyond the empire which Colonel Clive had formed, has only diminished their revenues. Not one of the acquired provinces pays the expenses of its government and military occupation. The Madras Presidency, taken in the lump, is annually deficient; Bombay is still further from covering its expenses. It is the revenue of Bengal and Behar, principally of the former, which, after making up the deficiency of the North-West Provinces, recently annexed to the Presidency of Calcutta, Bundelcund, Agra, Delhi, &c., sets the finances of the two secondary states afloat."

The following extract from a recent issue of the *Indian Daily News* shows that even in our own days too, Bengal still pays the piper more than any other province:—

A table given in the Blue Book on the Moral and Material Progress of India for 1910-11 shows for each province separately the amounts by which the total revenue collected therein (whether classified in the accounts as Imperial or Provincial) exceeds or falls short of the total expenditure incurred therein, thus indicating the extent to which each province contributes towards the expenditure of the Government of India and the Secretary of State or draws upon the general revenues. The excess of revenue in the several provinces is as follows:—

	1909-10.	1910-11.
	£	£
Bengal	7,111,235	9,905,421
Eastern Bengal and Assam	957,801	652,373
United Provinces ...	3,256,201	3,005,516
Punjab	1,674,449	1,255,578
Burma	2,238,439	2,221,465
Central Provinces and Berar	325,362	308,083
Madras	4,705,314	4,538,970
Bombay	4,773,105	4,926,962

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The only province against which excess of expenditure is shown is the North-West Frontier Province. The excess of expenditure in 1909-10 was £309,456; that in the following year was £370,407. This amount is of course drawn upon the general resources of the country. The most interesting fact in the table is that Bengal contributed in 1910-11 double the amount contributed by Bombay and Madras, and more than the amount contributed by Eastern Bengal, the United Provinces, Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces put together. The very slight excess of revenue in Eastern Bengal shows that proportionately to her revenue, she has been permitted to spend more within her limits than Bengal.

Bengal may then be said to have a vested interest in the whole of the Indian Empire. It is not only confined to the province or the newly created Presidency of Bengal, she has a vested interest in India which is only second to that of England. Revenue taken from the people of the province of Bengal enabled the East India Company to acquire power in India.

But Bengal not only supplied sinews of war in the shape of money for the building up of the edifice of the British Empire in the East, she supplied men also for fighting battles. This may come as a surprise to those who have been reared upon the writings of Anglo-Indian authors whose interest it is to misrepresent and abuse and vilify Bengalees and in season and out of season to have a fling at them by calling them effeminate, physically degenerate and so on.

It is a historical fact that the army with which Clive and other British generals fought their early battles in this country were for the most part composed of Bengalees. Wrote Bishop Heber, in his Indian Journal, (Chapter IV):—

"I have indeed understood from many quarters, that the Bengalees are regarded as the greatest cowards in India; and that partly owing to this reputation, and partly to their inferior size, the Sepoy regiments are always recruited from Behar and the Upper Provinces. Yet that little army with which Lord Clive did such wonders, was raised chiefly from Bengal."

Walter Hamilton wrote in his work entitled *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindustan and Adjacent Countries*, [Vol. I, p. 95]:—

"The native Bengalees are generally stigmatised as pusillanimous and cowardly, but it should not be forgotten that at an early period of our military history in India, they almost entirely formed several of our battalions, and distinguished themselves as brave and active soldiers."

What Sir Robert Peel said in 1833 in Parliament on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's Charter, applies more to Bengal than to any other part of India. He said:—

"In a word, to endeavour while we still keep them under British rule to atone to them for the suffering they endured, and the wrong to which they were exposed in being reduced to that rule, and to afford them such advantages and confer on them such benefits as may in some degree console them for the loss of their independence."

Every one of the above words of Sir Robert applies more to the people of Bengal than those of any other province of India. Speaking of the East India Company, Sir Alfred Lyall writes:—

"They represented an association which insisted upon regular remittances to Europe; their primary interests and objects were still commercial; and as soon as they found themselves irresistible they began to monopolise the whole trade in some of the most valuable products of the country. By investing themselves with political attributes without discarding their commercial character, they produced an almost unprecedented conjunction which engendered *intolerable abuses and confusion in Bengal*."

Wrote Herbert Spencer:—

"Imagine how black must have been their deeds when even the Directors of the Company admitted that 'the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country.' Conceive the atrocious state of society described by Vansittart, who tells us that the English compelled the natives to buy or sell at just what rates they pleased, on pain of flogging or confinement."

This state of affairs applied solely to Bengal. So that as Bengal suffered most in the days of the East India Company, Bengalis should, as a sort of compensation, prosper most, as hitherto in some directions they have done, under the direct rule of the British Crown. But we do not ask for any preferential treatment for Bengalis, though that would not have been an unfair demand. What we ask for is that Bengalis should be entitled to be appointed wherever they may be qualified to hold office; just as in Bengal proper no one is excluded from office because of his not being a native of the province.

Bengal not only supplied fighting men, but writers and clerks without whom the administration of no civilised country of the world can be carried on. The fact is that Bengal has been the brain in the body politic of the Anglo-Indian administration. It is of course not palatable to the present

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generation of Anglo-Indians and Britishers to be told so.

Was not the loyalty of the Bengalees severly tested during the dark days of the Indian Mutiny? Not to speak of Bengal, but outside it, the Bengalees stood on the side of the Anglo-Indian Government and tried their best to put down the mutineers. The fighting Munsiff, the wellknown Babu Peary Charan Bannerjee of Allahabad, Babu Dakshina Ranjan Mukherjee, who for his services during the Mutiny was made Raja, in Oude, Bengalee clerks in charge of several offices in the North-West Provinces and Punjab rendered very valuable services in the sore hour of trial of Britishers in India.

Bengalees were the most important of all the camp followers of the British in their march of progress from Bengal to the remotest western limits of India. The rule of the British was made popular by the Bengalees who served as interpreters between them and the inhabitants of the territories which came to be brought under British rule.

But for all that Bengal and Bengalees have done for the establishment and consolidation of the British rule in India, what treatment have they been receiving at the hands of some Anglo-Indians? Vilification of the Bengalees seems to be a very pleasant pastime with many of them. Macaulay, who by his own showing, came out to India with no higher motive than shaking the pagoda tree and grow rich in as short a time as possible, in his well-known essays on Clive and Warren Hastings abused the Bengalees to his heart's content. Other Anglo-Indians there are who have not scrupled to follow his example. A well-known author has remarked that—

"In political life gratitude is of all ties the frailest and the most precarious." [*Lecky's History of England, Cabinet Edition, Vol. IV, p. 160.*]

Are we to assume that it is from political considerations that Anglo-Indians do not show that gratitude which they owe to the Bengalees?

Some Britishers are slow to acknowledge their debt of gratitude not only to the Bengalees, but also to the Sikhs without whom their political supremacy would, in all probability, have been swept away during the time of the Sepoy War.

Mr. H. H. Stevens, Member of the Dominion House of Commons for Vancouver, B.C., is reported (in the "Aryan" of May, 1912) to have said in a meeting:—

"The Sikhs are continually harping about what they did in the Indian Mutiny. I do not wish to depreciate the Sikh's courage or loyalty, but if you look up British history you will find that at the time of the Mutiny the Sikhs were between the devil and the deep sea. If they had not come to the assistance of the British and cast in their lot with them they would have been in peril of annihilation by the Mahomedans who stood 24 to 1 against them. The debt of gratitude rests more with the Sikhs than with the British."

Is this the way in which the loyalty of Indian fellow-subjects should be rewarded?

Intellectually, morally, spiritually and we do not know why we should not say even physically, Bengal is one of the most advanced provinces in India. Fairness demands that justice should be done to her.

Of late, it seems that everything is being done to discredit and suppress the Bengalees. M. J. Chailley, whose work has been translated into English by one Sir Wm. Meyer, writes:—

"An eminent ex-official of the Punjab, Colonel Grey, who still lives in the province, and meditates on the present in the light of fifty years' experience, has written the following apologue on the pretensions of the Bengali Babus to hold the first place in Indian administration:—

" 'Suppose, he said, that the Chinese had set out to conquer Europe, and that the first peoples with whom they came into contact were the Mingrelians. They educate these, mould, and civilise them, and use them as intermediaries with the conquered peoples, and as collaborators in the work of administration. Later on, however, continuing their career of conquest, they meet the Greeks and the Romans. Should the Mingrelians then be allowed to maintain their monopoly, and to remain the only, or at least the principal, auxilliaries of the conqueror, to the exclusion of Romans and Greeks?' "

Before we offer any criticisms on the passage quoted above, we must say that while notice is taken of everything written by Indians which is imagined to rouse race-animosity, no notice is ever taken of the conduct of Europeans when they write in the plainest manner possible to create ill-felling against Indians in general and Bengalees in particular. The passage above referred to is not calculated to establish good relations between Bengalees and Anglo-Indians.

Bengalees have been very contemptuously compared to Mingrelians. But the gallant

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officer has not taken the trouble to explain in what respects Bengalees resemble Mingrelians. Whom does he refer to as Greeks and Romans in India? If he and his translator with his compatriots have discovered "the Greeks and Romans" in India, why does he not state definitely what rights and privileges have been conferred on them?

M. Chailley and his translator Sir Wm. Meyer have also left us in the dark regarding the rewards which "the Greeks and Romans" in India have obtained by their coming in contact with their British conquerors. We hope in a futute edition of this work Lords Minto and Morley, under whose patronage the above mentioned work saw the light of day in English garb, will take the public into their confidence and tell us what they did during the period of their Indian regime for the advancement of "the Greeks and Romans" in India.

We have stated very clearly the grounds which demand that justice should be done to Bengalees. *Without Bengal it was impossible for the British to establish their Empire in India.* It was out of the revenues taken from the people of Bengal, that wars were fought with the princes in India and peace concluded with them. It was Sepoys who were mostly Bengalees in the Army of the British which fought battles in the early days of the Company. Bengal supplied clerks and writers in the different provinces without whom the administration of no civilised government can be carried on. Bengalees helped the Government during the Mutiny.

Bengal also possesses intrinsic merits in which many other provinces are unfortunately backward. In education she is making progress rapidly. The literary activities of Bengal are very promising. Bengal alone has in modern times produced authors whose works stand comparison with the world's best literature.

Speaking of Calcutta, Bengal and the Bengalees, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale from his place in the Viceroy's Council, on the 25th March 1912, observed :—

"But whatever the future may hold in its womb, the thought that this Council which has grown in this city from the smallest beginning to its present dimensions, will meet here no more, is a thought that makes the heart heavy. It is not merely the infinite kindness and hospitality which we, coming from other provinces, have always received from the people of Calcutta, it is not merely the friends whom we have made here, that we shall miss, it is the entire influence of Calcutta and all that it stands for that will now be lost to us. My lord, some of us have been coming to this city year after year for several years past—I have come hear now continuously for eleven years—and we have learnt to feel for this province the same enthusiasm which the people of Bengal feel. Its waving fields, its noble streams, its rich and wonderful vegetation of every kind, throw on us now the same spell that the people of this province experience, and the warm-heartedness of its society, its culture, its spiritual out-look on life and the intensity of its national aspiration, have made a deep and abiding impression on our lives. We bid good-bye to this city with profound regret and with every good wish for its continued prosperity that the heart can frame. And we sincerely trust that great as has been its past its future will be even greater."

These are the titles of Bengal even to preferential treatment, which, however, we neither claim nor ask for. On these grounds, she claims only justice and fairplay at the hands of her rulers.

Bengalees were simply surprised, not to say disappointed, when they found that no one of their community was deemed qualified to sit on the Commission which has been appointed to inquire into the public services of this country.

The police and army in Bengal are not manned by natives of that province. A great deal of the revenue of Bengal goes thus to maintain men who are not of Bengalee extraction. It may be argued that Bengalees are not fit for these services; hence it is necessary to bring natives from other provinces for the police and army in Bengal. But is this allegation of the unfitness of the Bengalees true? Even assuming for the sake of argument that this allegation as to the unfitness of the Bengalees for service in the police and army was true, has ever any attempt been made to make them fit for these services? What man has done man can do. The Japanese, who half a century ago were no military nation, can and do furnish to-day soldiers who are not considered inferior to those of any other people in the world. Can it be said in seriousness that Bengalees could not be made efficient soldiers and policemen if they were trained and drilled to do these sorts of work?

Are Bengalees not fit to serve in the Provincial Educational Service, that a Sikh gentleman—not domiciled in the province—has been recently appointed a professor of English in the Dacca College? What

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are the extraordinary qualifications of this gentleman for this post, except that he failed to pass the Indian Civil Service Examination held in England? In Dacca in a female school Parsi ladies, who are not graduates, have been appointed, to the exclusion of Bengali lady graduates, on salaries higher than those drawn by the Lady-Principal and professors of Bethune College.

Bengalees are not given to inter-provincial jealousies. Never have they protested against the appointment of any one not belonging to their province to any post in Bengal. It was in Bengal that the idea of Indian Unity was conceived. It is therefore in the fitness of things that Bengalees should not raise any agitation against the influx of people from other provinces in their midst.

But justice demands that Bengalees should not be excluded from serving in their own province and in other provinces in appointments for which they are specially fit. Domiciled Bengalees in the Panjab, Behar and the United Provinces are not treated as natives of those provinces, in the matter of appointment to the public services of those provinces. It is a great hardship to them. Their grievances should be immediately redressed.

The late Revd. Mr. M. A. Sherring's estimate of the character of Bengalees, published more than a quarter of a century ago, is quoted for the edification of all those who find nothing good in the Bengalee.

"To their honour, be it said, they have long been the leaders of public opinion in India. It is they who first formed it; it is they who chiefly sustain it. In them we perceive an amount of active patriotism and genuine earnestness not met with in any other Indian nationality except perhaps the Parsees. Sometimes their enthusiasm becomes excessive, and they are apt to indulge in statements respecting their rulers, and their relation to them, by no means honorable to their judgment,...But their inquisitiveness and outspokenness are infinitely preferable to a condition of lifelessness and dulness and the buoyancy and zeal arising from the quickening influences of education on acute and intelligent minds, producing occasionally strange errors of opinion and singular hallucinations, if not to be admired, are nevertheless to be excused, for it is quite certain that time and fuller knowledge will correct them.

"Many, perhaps, I should say most, educated Bengalees have the courage of their convictions. Their thoughts wander rapidly over the broad fields of politics, religion, philosophy, and social economy, which subjects they discuss with keenness and ability, searching eagerly into the latest results of European investigation and criticism.....

"Unquestionably, at the present time, the educated classes of Bengal, especially those persons who having imbibed the true spirit of knowledge have been anxious faithfully to follow its leadings, are in a state of extraordinary mental excitement and restlessness. Englishmen looking on are very apt to suppose that much of this mental state of the Bengalees arises from, and indicates, presumptuousness and conceit. Hence he is commonly spoken against and misjudged, his faults are exaggerated, his motives are distorted, and the very efforts he is making to improve himself are held up to ridicule. Now all this is most unfair and reprehensible. Considering the entire revolution which he is undergoing, intellectually and socially, it would be a miracle if the Bengalee did not make many mistakes, and did not otherwise place himself in a ludicrous position in the opinion of hypercritical and fault-finding Englishmen. ...The Bengalee has a glorious future before him—a future in which, if I mistake not, he will shine conspicuously as the leader of public opinion and of intellectual and social progress among all the varied nationalities of the Indian Empire. When he attains to the full stature of himself,—when his mind has thoroughly matured,—when he perceives the true bearings of the knowledge he has acquired, and in his person and life exhibits that advanced civilization which he only now hears about, and reads about, but which has not yet, except to a very meagre extent, passed into his being,—when he has thus been refined in the crucible of wisdom, and has become a genuine lover of virtue, and a sturdy champion of the truth, then he will occupy that exalted position in India, as a counsellor and guide to its teeming inhabitants, which his talents already indicate to be that which he ought to fill."

"I have dwelt upon the character of the Bengalee in order to show, that, being at the head of the party of progress in India, he has set on example of independent thought which it would be to the interest and honour of the other nationalities to follow."—*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III., pp. 279—282.

IV. RACE SUPERIORITY

ONE of the objections raised against the wider employment of Indians in high offices in their own country is that they belong to an inferior race. Britishers have superior morals which Indians can not approach. We think it is always risky to indulge either in wholesale condemnation or in wholesale eulogy of a people; nor do we believe that such sweeping statements can ever be wholly or generally true. Inferior and superior specimens of humanity can be found both in Great Britain and India. It is easy to find authors finding fault with the British people, as it is easy to quote instances of the vilification of Indians. For instance, Lecky writes:—

"A disinterested love of truth can hardly co-exist with a strong political spirit. In all countries where

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the habits of thought have been mainly formed by political life, we may discover a disposition to make expendiency the test of truth, to close the eyes and turn away the mind from any arguments that tend toward a radical change, * * It is probable that the capacity for pursuing abstract truth for its own sake, which has given German thinkers so great an ascendency in Europe, is in no slight degree to be attributed to the political languor of their nation".—(*History of European Morals*).

It should be remembered that the British nation have been reared on politics.

Mr. Kelly, a well-known American writer, says :—

"European displomacy is neither more nor less than lying on a large scale, and any less immoral system would be denounced as unpractical by the moral sense of European nations. We can not but ask ourselves why individuals should respect morality with one another when they hold it up to scorn in their relations with neighbouring states ?"—Page 146 of Kelly's *Government or Human Evolution.*

If we were disposed to attach too much importance to pronouncements like the above, we should have to say that truthfulness was at a discount in Europe. But we are not such fools as to believe that truthful persons are rarer in Europe than in other parts of the world. Nor do we believe that the character of a people is unchangeable. What may be true of it in one age may not be true in another. It is certainly not correct to say that every Britisher excels every Indian in a greater regard for truth notwithstanding what Lord Curzon and others of his mode of thinking might say to the contrary.

One has to read Max Muller's lecture on the truthful character of the Hindus to be convinced of the fact that they are not inferior in this respect to any other people on the face of the earth.

It is said that perjury in law courts shows that Indians do not possess any regard for truth. But exactly the same sort of thing has been said of British law-courts and British witnesses by British judges and others. We have room here for only one such opinion. His Honour Judge Edge, of the Clerkenwell county court, said in a judgment delivered on the 15th December, 1911 :—

"The increase of perjury in the county courts is so alarming that public attention ought to be directed to it. It is a pressing demand. I am saying it as a retiring judge, being in the Bench for 23 years, that it is almost impossible to do justice between the parties owing to the prevalence of false swearing. It is *really shocking*. It has been a matter which has placed a very great anxiety upon judges who have to try cases and endeavour to do what is right and just between the parties. False swearing is increasing in a way that I think the legislature ought to pay attention to at once. I do not think any one would oppose that greater powers should be placed in the hands of judges for checking perjury."

Nor can it be said that Britishers are exemplary in private morals. For the birth-rate of illegitimate children in Scotland is officially declared to be twenty per cent. and hardly less than that is the case in England. Sexual immorality has grown to such an extent in Great Britain, that the Legislature there is contemplating to take such legal measures as to keep it within bounds. Our object in saying these things and what follows is not to claim moral superiority for our own people, but only to show that if Great Britain were a dependent country its foreign rulers could have found excuses for excluding its people from high offices.

Drunkenness prevails in England to a degree which fortunately is unknown in India. But we do not know how long this superiority of India will last.

The cases of Crawford, Larpent and some others have only to be cited to show that in matters of official corruption there are black sheep amongst whites also. The practice of taking "dālis" by white officials will be commented upon later on. In England itself municipal corruption and the offering and acceptance of bribes during elections are not negligible evils. During the Boer war there were scandals in connection with the supply of war materials tarnishing the names of prominent men.

Sir Ch. Dilke wrote, quoting instances within his personal observation, in his *Greater Britain*, regarding the "singularly strong disposition towards cruelty" of his people, "wherever they have a weak enemy to meet." "It is not only in war-time that our cruelty comes out ; it is often seen in trifles during peace." We need not quote the whole passage. It may be read in the fifth edition of his "Greater Britain" (1870), pp. 445—447. Yet it is by no means difficult to find Englishmen who are chivalrous towards weak races. Sir Charles also quotes conversation and historical examples which made him "remember our descent from Scandinavian Sea-king robbers". Yet he would be a singularly foolish and biased man

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who would conclude from a passage like the one referred to here that every Englishman was a potential robber. Unfortunately, however, in the case of Indians, it is exactly from particular instances like these that an indictment is drawn up against the whole population.

General Booth, whose loss we are all deploring, branded large portions of the land of his birth and living as "Darkest England." He knew that the amount of immorality which prevailed in his country was simply appalling. He held that debauchery, drunkenness—aye, every sort of crime and vice grew and throve luxuriantly in the soil of Christian England and Scotland. We do not know whether his enthusiasm led him unconsciously to draw too dark a picture.

Sir Thomas Munro, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee appointed to enquire into Indian affairs, gave the following characteristic reply when asked about civilizing the people of India :—

"I do not understand what is meant by the civilization of the Hindus ; * * * But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury ; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic ; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other ; and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe ; and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo."

The above holds true to a great extent even to-day as it did a century ago when uttered by Sir Thomas Munro.

In this section we have said nothing regarding the intellectual capacity of Indians, for it is too late in the day to deny its existence now. Nor have we dwelt on the fighting capacity of the races inhabiting India, for Lord Islington's commission is to deal with civil appointments alone. As for the administrative and executive ability of Indians, it would be idle to contend that men whose ancestors commanded armies and governed provinces and whose brethren still show governing capacity in Native State, are hopelessly imcompetent.

V. DETRACTION OF EDUCATED INDIANS

MACAULAY pleaded for English education in these terms : —

"We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern ; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, words and intellect."

Without the creation of this class of interpreters, the large number of Britishers who find State employment or carry on their business of shopkeeping in India, would have been impossible. But how is this class treated by Anglo-Indians? Sir Henry Cotton writes in his well-known work named "New India" :—

"The more Anglicised a native is, the more he is disliked by Englishmen. The sense of jealousy becomes greater. Whatever may be professed, Englishmen are ready to encourage the natives who speak broken English more than those who speak good English ; those who are subject to Hindu prejudices more than those who have renounced them ; and generally those who are far removed from English habits of thought and life more than those who have made a very close approach to them. They are more pleased with the backward Hindu than with his advanced compatriot, because the former has made no attempt to attain equality with themselves.

"This abhorrence of equality rankles in the mind of all Anglo-Indians, and especially of officials. It is the peculiarity of residence in the East to develop sentiments of intolerance and race superiority" (*New India*, second edition, 1886, pp. 40-41).

Many Anglo-Indians of the present generation seem to be of opinion that they have committed a great mistake in giving education to the natives of this country, for they imagine that by so doing, they have brought a class of Frankenssteins into existence. But as has been stated over and over again in the pages of this *Review* that education was not given entirely from altruistic or philanthrophic motives to the people of this country, but chiefly from considerations of the self-interest of the rulers. The battle of Plassey was fought in 1757 A.D. and the Dewany of Bengal, Behar and Orissa was obtained by the East India Company in 1765 A.D. The Company did not at once establish schools and colleges for the education of the people living in the Dewanut. No, it was the people who at first helped in educating themselves by the establishment of schools and colleges.

It took England nearly a century to come

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to the conclusion that imparting education to the natives of India was not fraught with such evil consequences as keeping them ignorant. This is clear from the evidence of the witnesses who appeared before the Parliamentary Committees appointed in 1853 on the occasion of the renewal of the East Indian Company's Charter. Witness after witness bore testimony to the benefits that would accrue to the State by the spread of education in India. Sir Frederick Halliday, who rose to be the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in answering the question whether there was "any ground for the supposition that the spread of education was dangerous to the British Government" said :—

"None whatever, on the contrary, it appears to me that the spread of education must assist the Government. The educated classes, I think, feel themselves more bound to us, than with their uneducated countrymen, apart from the general fact that it is more easy to govern a people who have acquired a knowledge of good and evil as to government, than it is to govern them in utter ignorance; and on the whole popular knowledge is a safer thing to deal with than popular ignorance."

Equally emphatic, if not more, were declarations of such competent witnesses as, Marshman, Trevelyan and Cameron. Mr. J. C. Marshman in his evidence before the Lords' Committee on the 16th of June, 1853, was asked by Lord Monteagle of Brandon :—

"6566. You have given to the Committee many important recommendations, coupled with the expression of a strong opinion as to the necessity of extending education in India, and with the expression of your judgment of the inadequacy of the present resources applied for that purpose; do you apprehend any danger to the British connexion in consequence of the extension of education in India?"

In reply, Mr. Marshman said,—

"I have never thought that there was any danger whatever to our political supremacy connected with the spread of education in India. I do not think that the loyalty of the natives has been in the slightest degree impaired by the amount of education which we have already communicated to them. Perhaps some of the Members of the Government may think that there is an incompatibility between the idea of a despotic Gevernment and a free Press, and that hereafter there may possibly be some difficulties arising from the circumstances of the freedom of the Press; but even those who entertain that idea never suppose for a moment that there is any danger to our dominion from the general education of the natives."

In the course of his evidence, Sir Charles Trevelyan said that imparting of education to the natives of India would

"be most conducive to the continuance of our dominion, and most beneficial both to ourselves and to the Natives. I may mention, as a familiar illustration, that I was 12 years in India, and that the first six years were spent up the country, with Delhi for my headquarters, and the other six at Calcutta. The first six years represent the old regime of pure native ideas, and there were continual wars and rumors of wars. The only form which native patriotism assumed up the country was plotting against us, and meditating combinations against us, and so forth. Then I came to Calcutta; and there I found quite a new state of things. The object there was to have a free Press, to have Municipal institutions, to promote English education and the employment of the Natives and various things of that sort."

In passing, we may ask whether it was a statesmanlike act to have shifted the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi? Has Calcutta deteriorated so much since the days of Trevelyan that it was not considered safe any longer to locate the capital in it but to have it removed to Dehli?

Mr. Charles Hay Cameron, who was President of the Council of Education, as a witness before the Lord's Committee on the 7th July, 1853, was examined as follows :—

"7450. Lord *Monteagle* of Brandon.] Do you anticipate any danger to the connexion between England and India by the extension of education amongst all classes of the subjects of the Queen in India?

"No; I look upon it as a bond of union.

"7451. Will you state your reason for that opinion?

"My reason is, that their own literatures, the Sanscrit and the Mahomedan literatures, are of such a character as to excite the minds of those who study them against the dominion of infidels, as the Mahomedans would say, and of Mlechas as the Hindoos would say. The influence likely to be exercised by education in our literature and science is, of course, of quite an opposite kind, calculated to inspire respect for us, as their teachers, who bring them up to the level of the most civilised nations of the world.

"7452. Would not the gravitation of the educated classes be all in the direction of the civilization of Europe, rather than the turbulence of Asia, and above all, of Asia in a state of revolution?

"I think entirely so. I think the classes we are educating know perfectly well that their sole dependence is upon us; and that if we were voluntarily to leave the country, they would immediately have to succumb to the warlike classes. They are perfectly aware of that, I think, and that their safety consists, and will consist for a great number of years to come, in the protection of the British Government.

"7459. Earl of *Ellenborough*.] Do you think that we can educate the civil classes, and prevent education from reaching the military classes?

"No; I should desire to educate both.

"7454. Lord *Monteagle* of Brandon.] Do you think that the military class, educated and improved

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by the course of instruction which you have witnessed in some of the Indian educational establishments, would be more dangerous to the British connection than the uneducated military classes?

"No; I think it would be less dangerous, for the reason which I have given; and, looking at the examples of history, we know that the great conquering nations of antiquity educated their subjects up to their own level."

On a memorable occasion, Lord Salisbury said:—

"The other and more serious difficulty is that we have not the power to give permanent force to a new policy. Can we enact that our successors shall do exactly that which we are not doing—forbear from altering their predecessor's work? Sir Louis Mallet notes a long series of inconsistencies in the course of the Indian Government. Have we any grounds for thinking they will cease? They are not merely subjects of reproach; they are a warning of the fashion after which our Indian Government is made. By the law of its existence it must be a government of incessant change. It is the despotism of a line of kings whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years. Whatever power exists in England is divided between a council of which the elements are fluctuating, and a political officer whose average existence amounts to about thirty months. It would be absurd to expect from this arrangement a persistent and systematic policy, if the policy is to depend on the will of the Government. We might indeed commence a new policy with some confidence, if the state of opinion in the service and among Anglo-Indians here was such as to give assurance that it would be sustained; but of that security there is no appearance. Any sharp change of measures would not be a natural development. It would be "Octroye" by the present Government, and would be at the mercy of any succeeding Government to set aside; and another link would be added to the chain of inconsistencies that would present themselves to future criticism."

India is not governed on a consistent policy. That is the cause of all her troubles, misfortunes and of the present unrest. No sooner an educated class was coming into existence, than it became an eyesore to Anglo-Indians and the object of their ridicule and contempt. It was one thing when irresponsible journalists and pettifogging lawyers having some British blood in their veins used to abuse them to their hearts' content. But when a Viceroy like Lord Dufferin joined the ranks of journalists and lawyers in his ridicule of educated Indians by calling them a "microscopic minority" (and therefore they were not to be taken into consideration in deciding Indian political questions), the matter assumed a different aspect altogether. From that day, the progress of education has received a check. The policy which is responsible for this untoward result found its unflinching supporter in Lord Curzon. Losing sight of the fact that India is a very poor country, perhaps the poorest on the face of the earth, School and College-fees have been increased to an extent which means denial of education to hundreds of thousands of deserving, albeit poor students. What wonder, if this policy is responsible for the present unrest in India? In his letters on India written in 1858, Sir Edward Sullivan wrote:—

"There is no mob, however numerous and violent, half so dangerous as an educated middling class, irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire." (Page 52).

Is it not adding insult to injury when sufficient attempt is not made to provide outlet for the display of talent of educated Indians, when it is seriously proposed by an Anglo-Indian journal like the *Pioneer*, that the number of educational institutions should be controlled like those of mints, which were thus prevented from the free coinage of rupees—to have a fling at them by calling them a "microscopic minority" not worth taking any notice of? It is ignored that the progress of the world has always been effected by a "microscopic", or "ultra-microscopic minority." Says Sir Henry Sumner Maine (*Popular Government*, p. 88).

"All that has made England famous and all that has made England wealthy, has been the work of minorities, sometimes very small ones."

M. Joseph Chailley represents the views of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy when he speaks of the educated Indians in the following contemptuous terms:—

"What will those (*i.e.*, the aristocracy of birth and wealth, and the mass of the people) think of the larger and more effective share in the administration of India being given to Hindu literates? The people will continue to bear their burdens in silence. If they have thinkers within their ranks these will hold that they have nothing to expect from the grant of larger powers to an egotistical fraction which, while speaking in the name of the people, is thinking, above all, of itself. As to the aristocracy, they will hold that England must decline as a consequence of abandoning its old policy of reliance on the *elite*. The nobles and gentry will not welcome, as an efficacious measure of reform, the grant of more places and higher powers to students, literates, and native 'Competition-wallas'. All of them think, with the English and the Musalmans, that theoretical knowledge, the actual possession of which is often doubtful, is a poor factor compared to birth and experience. And what rejoice the Babus of Bengal and the Poona Brahmans would be likely to cause grave displeasure to the men of action in the United Provinces and the Punjab."

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The above libel on educated Indians, although it passes under the authorship of M. Joseph Chailley, may not be his expression of opinion at all, but that of his English translator, Sir William Meyer, K. C. I. E., who, in the preface writes that Chailley

"personally visited India twice, in 1900-1 and again in 1904-5, charged with a mission to study our administrative systems there for the benefit of French Colonial administration. During the latter visit I was Indian Editor of the recently published *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and in that capacity I was able to assist M. Chailley with information in regard to the matters he was studying, and, to supplement this by personal experience of administrative work in Madras and with the government of India. Our acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and M. Chailley, having determined to embody the results of some of his researches in book-form, asked me to revise his manuscripts, and to undertake an English version. I obtained permission to do this from the Viceroy; and Lord Morley, to whom I showed some of the French text in London last year, was kind enough to express his interest in the work, and to accept the dedication of the English version."

M. Chailley is not therefore entitled to speak on Indian questions with the authority of an expert. He has seen them through the spectacles of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy.

The educated Indian is not fit for public service in his country, but the Anglo-Indian is because of his sympathy for poor Indians! Wrote the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1855 (p. 285), regarding the sympathy of the English for Indians as follows:—

"We can sympathise with our own countrymen, on whatever shores they may be cast, or in whatever situation they may be thrown; but it is not easy to sympathise, under any circumstances, with a genuine Asitic. Even the most experienced among us understand but imperfectly the feelings, the instincts, the principles of action which move the Hindoos and Mohamedans, by whom we are surrounded. And if we do understand them, it is troublesome to go out of ourselves for the occasion to place ourselves in the situation of people of different colour and different creed, and to forget our nationality altogether. Some how or other, we cannot take a living interest in the actions of our dusky neighbours. Surrounded as we are by them, often seeing from month's end to month's end no other faces, we are still little able to regard them as anything more than so much furniture. We don't think how the blood flows or the heart pulses, or the brain works beneath the dark skin. Even a dead body is a mere thing of corruption—not the outward and visible sign of a foregone tragedy of the deepest human interest. It is an atom of a great mass of mortality—not one living member of a family complete in all its parts, and bound together by the same endearing ties, that we ourselves are wont to recognize. In our eyes it is not the ruin of a father, a brother, or a son—whose place is vacant—whose *lota* has passed into other hands. We may speak his language—know thoroughly the history of the country and the geography of the district to which he belonged—perhaps, in the abstract understand something about the mysteries of caste; but he is, after all, nothing more than one of so many millions of taxpayers—a grain of sand from the great desert, on which we have stamped the foot-prints of the European conqueror."

But then this want of sympathy of which the educated Indian is said to be guilty, was observable in England between the rulers and the ruled about a century ago. Thus a writer on "Parliamentary Reform" in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1809, says:—

"With regard, again, to the obvious want of sympathy between the people and their rulers, and the mingled discontent and contempt which naturally arises, on both sides, from this unconstitutional estrangement; this is owing, we believe, in a very great degree, to the actual ignorance of the most forward and stirring part of our public functionaries with regard to the real sentiments, as well as the intelligence and temper of the people." &c.

But this real want of sympathy between "the people and the rulers" of Great Britain did not deprive the latter of high appointments in their own country. Even if literate Indians felt no sympathy for their illiterate countrymen, which we deny, why should that then disqualify them for office? Wrote "Honest John" before he was made Secretary of State for India, or created Lord Morley of Blackburn:—

"Is it in the present stage of European civilization conducive to the general progress of mankind that any European power should assume the supreme government of a vast country with traditions of which we are comparatively ignorant, with ancient institutions that it needs a philosopher to explain, with wants that we can hardly appreciate, with deep and unalterable peculiarities of character some of which revolt us and none of which evoke our sympathy? If we were perfect in probity and virtue, and at the same time adequately armed with intellectual apprehension of the conditions of the problem and of the means by which to satisfy them, there would be no difficulty in answering the question."

Further on he remends us of

"the small likelihood of the majority of a great body of public servants identifying themselves heartily with the interests of a country which they think of mostly as a temporary sojourning-place on the road to a pension."—[Edmund Burke; by John Morley].

These are perhaps the qualifications of Anglo-Indians for making better public [illegible] than educated Indians,

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Perhaps Government service is the only vocation, except the practice of Law and Medicine, to earn a livelihood that is left to the educated Indian. Those who taunt him for not finding any other suitable employment should know the politico-economical circumstances of the country which have made him the helpless being that one sees him to be. The ancient manufactures and industries have ceased to exist. Agriculture is the only resource left to the poor people. But land taxes are so exorbitant that the agricultural classes are always in debt and do not know how to make the two ends meet. Sir Charles Trevelyan in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian affairs strongly pleaded for the technical education of Indians in the following terms :—

"I conceive that there is a peculiar call upon us to give the natives of India all the advantage in the cultivation of the arts which it is in our power to give, for in order to favour our own manufactures, we have, partly by levying no duty upon English manufactures imported into India, and partly by levying a heavy duty upon Indian manufactures imported into England, in addition to the natural manufacturing superiority of England, by these means swept away great branches of manufacture, and have caused great distress in India. Consequently, I consider that we owe a heavy debt to India in this respect, and that it is specially our duty to give to our Indian fellow-subjects every possible aid in cultivating those branches of art that still remain to them * * ."

But his words fell on deaf ears.

Had those who are never tired of accusing Indians of a hankering for service sincerely welcomed the *Swadeshi* movement, it would have proved the salvation of India and provided bread for millions of starving and famine-stricken people, for it would then have met with support and encouragement from all those who possess any power of any sort in this country. But that has not been the case.

Hence follows the necessity of the wider employment of Indians in the public services of their country.

VI. "THE IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM."

BEFORE the Welby Commission, Lord Ripon who appeared as a witness to give evidence on Indian Finance, said that if British rule should exist in India, there should be an irreducible minimum of the British officials in that country. The question naturally arises what is this "irreducible minimum?" Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who also appeared as a witness before the Commission, tried to answer this question of the irreducible minimum as follows :—

"First of all, there ought not to be so great a minimum as now exists. * * The irreducible minimum, if considered by the British as absolutely necessary, * * is for the sake of maintaining their rule in India and their position in the East, as well as their position in Europe. * * I grant * * that a certain number of Europeans may be considered absolutely necesssry. * *
* * * * * *

"Only the highest portion, such as the Viceroy, the Governors, the Commander-in-Chief * * * I do not see any necessity for others ; * * *"

Great was the indignation of the Anglo-Indians at Mr. Naoroji's limitation of the irreducible minimum of the British in India. Everything, they argued *a la Viscount Wolseley*, worth having in India has been brought into existence by the British. India as such did not exist before the advent of the British in India. And that if any limitation were to be put to the number of the British in India, capital would not flow into this country and the resources of India would not be developed.

But to fix the irreducible minimum we have to seek the aid of Indian History, especially of that period which is connected with the rise of the British supremacy in India. We have to contrast the rise of the British power with that of the Muhammadan supremacy in this country. The supremacy of the Muhammadans in India was founded on the sword. They came as conquerors and were, therefore, "justified" to a certain extent, in trampling under foot, what is called the rights of man and treating Indians as a conquered people. It shows their magnaninity of spirit and generous nature that they did not always treat the people of this country as their bondsmen.

The title of the British to supremacy in India on the contrary is not due to their conquest of the country ; it is not founded on the sword. This being so, they cannot treat the people of India as their bondsmen and slaves. We often hear Englishmen talk that India has been conquered by England by the sword and it can only be maintained

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by the sword. Those who talk like this have not read the history of British India aright. What one of the greatest of Anglo-Indians, who was as distinguished a diplomatist as an administrator, wrote about the rise of the British supremacy in this country should be borne in mind by those who talk about the English having conquered India by the sword. That great Anglo-Indian administrator was Sir John Malcolm, whom the leading Christian daily in India sometime ago called a great teacher.

Sir John Malcolm came out to this country in his teens, and in those days when there was no Suez Canal, or steam ships or railways, Anglo-Indians were not in such abundance as they are now. Being a handful of them, they had to make friends with the natives of the country, and learnt their languages and manners and also respected their social customs and religious usages. That proud and haughty spirit which characterises the latter-day Anglo-Indians was to a great extent unknown amongst them. It was thus that they understood the character and feelings of the people of this country and succeeded in establishing the British supremacy in India. Sir John Malcolm played many parts in the history of British India and was one of those Anglo-Indians who helped to extend the British rule in this country. His observations on the rise of the British supremacy in India are so true that they merit the attention of all those who are interested in the history of British India. According to him, India was not conquered by the sword. In the introduction to his political history of India, he wrote :—

"Force and power could not have approached the shores of India without meeting with resistance; but to the unpretending merchant every encouragement was offered; and when the spirit with which the early settlers defended their property from spoliation showed that they were as superior in their military as their commercial character, they became more an object of admiration than "of jealousy to the principal powers of India, who in process of time courted their alliance and aid against each other". P. 2.

"For if, in the pride of power, we ever forget the means by which it has been attained; and, casting away all our harvest of experience, are betrayed by a rash confidence in what we may deem our intrinsic strength to neglect those collateral means by which the great fabric of our power in India has hitherto been supported, we shall with our own hands precipitate the downfall of our authority." P. 7.

He, the biographer of Lord Clive, and who had himself done not a little to bring a great portion of India under the sway of his countrymen, did not believe that the sword was the means by which England succeeded in establishing her supremacy in India. No, if British rule in India did not in Malcolm's time, and does not, even now, rest entirely on the sufferance of the people, it did at least depend for a great part on the opinion which the people entertained regarding the good faith and benevolent intentions of their Christian rulers. Any thing which tends to weaken that opinion necessarily saps the foundation of the British supremacy in this country. The old East India Company understood this very well, and so did Malcolm also. They knew and he knew too, that the good opinion which the people of India entertained regarding British rule would be weakened, if not quite shattered by the influx of a large number of Englishmen into this country. It was, therefore, that in the good old days of the East India Company unlicensed and unregistered Englishmen, or for the matter of that, Europeans, were not allowed to remain in this country. Before the Parliamentary Committee of 1813, Malcolm was, according to the entry made in his diary by Sir James Mackintosh,

"to give strong testimony in favor of the Company's favorite argument, that a free trade will lead to an influx of Europeans, which will produce insult and oppression to the natives, and at last drive them into rebellion, which must terminate in our expulsion".*

The question of the irreducible minimum then was well understood by Malcolm. And if the British Government had acted on the warning of the East India Company and of Malcolm, there would not have been that discontent which is now found in Indian society all over the country.

The present day Imperialists look upon India as the happy hunting ground of all the failures of the British Isles. The number of Englishmen in every department in the service of the State is day by day being increased and to swell their number a class of "statutory natives" (who would resent being called "natives") has been created to

* In this connection see also the articles published in the *Modern Review* for November, 1907, under the heading "The Genesis of the British Idea of Civilising India"; for February, 1908, "The Free Influx of Englishmen into India"; for July, 1908, "The Settlement of Europeans in India."

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share in the loaves and fishes of the services depriving the children of the soil of their bread and butter. This impoverishes the country. But this alone is not the sole cause of the discontent. Every "waif and stray" of English society who finds his way into India, considers himself the monarch of all he surveys. He is not an embodiment of Christian meekness and charity. No, on the contrary, he gives himself grand airs, and otherwise acts as he should not. Macaulay described this class of Anglo-Indian loafers as follows :—

"The danger is that the new comers, belonging to the ruling nation, resembling in color, in language, in manners, those who hold supreme military and political power, and differing in all these respects from the great mass of the population, may consider themselves a superior class, and may trample on the indigenous race. Hitherto there have been strong restraints on Europeans resident in India. * * * Even those who were not in the public service were subject to the formidable power which the Government possessed of banishing them at its pleasure."

Of course, all the high offices are monopolized by Britishers. Even subordinates are now mostly Britishers. Go to any office of the Military Department. Formerly where there used to be native civilian clerks, now their places are filled up with British soldier clerks. It is another question whether the work is being done so efficiently as formerly. British subordinates can not live decently on the same pay as natives can, because their luxuries and wants are more numerous than those of natives. No wonder if corruption is found among them.

It is not merely British subordinates, however, who are suspected to be corrupt. The taint possibly exists among men of the higher services, too. Englishmen themselves think so. In the *Calcutta Review* for April, 1885, a contributor, signing himself as "Covenanted," presumably an English I. C. S., wrote :—

"The Indian service is said to be the purest administration in the world as regards its European members. But even here is there not something wanting? Are there not instances familiarly known to the members of the administrative services of men among them (I speak of men of English birth) who are generally known to be untrustworthy, who are commonly suspected of being corrupt? Such things are not a secret, yet they seem very imperfectly known to the highest authorities; if they are known the case becomes worse."

* * *

"A smaller point quite worth passing notice, on which improvement is still required, is the practice of receiving 'dalis', or small presents, on occasions of visits from natives. Many of us have, I fancy, abjured such things entirely, and experience shows that the refusal, far from exciting resentment, may be accepted as evidencing a desire to see the visitor for his own sake. But in many parts, especially, perhaps, in outlying districts, the objectionable practice still prevails; a thrifty housewife has been heard to express her satisfaction at getting sugar and oranges enough in Christmas 'dalis' to make marmalade for all the year; a trivial matter truly to us, but one of real consequence often to the donors, who may be subordinate officials on small salaries. The thing is an anomaly, an anachronism, and should be wholly brushed away like an obnoxious cobweb."

Considerations of effecting economy in the administration of the country and thus making Indians prosperous and happy, and also of producing as little ill-feeling and hatred between Englishmen and Indians as possible, should induce Government to import as few Englishmen, whether civilians or soldiers, as possible into India. These considerations alone should be sufficient to make them incline to view with favor Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's opinion about the irreducible minimum of British officials in this country.

But besides these political and economical there are moral considerations as well which should induce Government to limit the importation of large numbers of Anglo-Indians into this country. By coming out to India, Englishmen become haughty and arrogant. The spirit of imperiousness and imperialism is infused into them; they are much disliked by their own people on their return to England. General Gordon, who met with his death at Khartoum in 1885, said :—

"India, to me, is not an advantage; it accustoms our men to a style of life which they cannot keep up in England; it deteriorates our women. * * * It is the centre of all petty intrigue, while if our energy were devoted elsewhere, it would produce tenfold. India sways all our policy to our detriment."—(*Gordon's Journal, 1st edition, p. 133*).

So by coming to India, the English people would seem to lose some of their special excellencies of character. Moral considerations then should also induce them not to come out to India in such large numbers as they do at present. It is to the interest not only of India but also of England, for the welfare of her own people, to fix the limit of this irreducible minimum.

In days gone by, as said before, Anglo-Indians were compelled to live in this country for a number of years at a stretch

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and learn the languages of the country. But such is not the case now. With those facilities of travelling which railways, steam ships and above all the Suez Canal have brought into existence, home-sick natives of England residing out in India go to visit their native land almost every two or three years on long or short leave and so they have less interest in this country than their predecessors.

Moreover they do not care to learn the languages of the country, because not being good linguists, they find their work of interpretation is being very effectively done by English-educated Indians, which of course means the saving of a great deal of trouble and worry to them.

It is these very considerations which are multiplying the number of Britishers in this country year after year. What Sir Edward Sullivan wrote more than half a century ago regarding India as a field for educated British labour has been already quoted in a previous section of this article.

So far we have pointed out the harm that accrues to England and Englishmen by their coming out to India. It deprives them of many excellent features of their character and so in the estimation of Indians, the prestige of an Englishman is lowered.

But there is another side to the question of a large employment of Englishmen in all the public services of India. It is whether this is beneficial to the people of India.

In "Some Essays on the Public Service Commission," presumably written by the late M.r K. M. Chatterji, Barrister-at-law, and one of the judges of the Calcutta Small Cause Court, it was stated :—

"Now, of all her subjects the natives of India are chiefly interested in the matter and have the largest stakes. The men who are appointed to the service need not be natives of India at all, but the men whose destiny it is to be governed by those men are *necessarily* natives of India. Then again, so far as the natives of India are concerned, the examination is not an *open* competition, as such it is a mere misnomer. Any Englishman or Irishman may simply walk over and attend the examination with just as much ease as if he were going to the Mortlake or the Ascot races, or at most he has to live in some lodging-house in London at 10 or 15 *s.* a week and leisurely go through all his examinations ; but who in his senses will ever pretend to say that any native of India but the wealthiest could ever afford the luxury of taking a trip to England on the bare and remote possibility of passing the examination ? Is that an *Open Competitive* Examination which is open to all but the humblest of one class of her Majesty's subjects, but from which all but the very wealthiest of another, and *that* the most deeply interested class, is absolutely shut out ? Apart from the caste-loving Hindus, there are some very respectable young men of the Eurasian and domiciled European class who command the double advantage of being both Native and English that are, poor wretches, debarred, although they may possess more wealth than many English or Irish candidates, from the honors of the higher appointments. Even a young *rich* native of India would, under the present rule, sooner risk his money on the turf than on the mere chance of the so-called open competitive examination. It is evident that under the system as it now exists those men only have the best chances who are likely to know the least about this country and its people, and a Hottentot, because he is a natural born subject of Her Majesty, may enjoy the luxury of ruling over us without our having any chance of ruling over the territory of our esteemed fellow-subjects, the Bushmen. The nett result is this, that a native of India is destined to be governed by any but a native of India. A young foreignerr, * * is considered to be quite fit to discharge partly judicial and partly executive functions among a people who are ninety percent. alien to him."

The evil consequences of this policy were very thoroughly exposed by Mr. John Stuart Mill. He wrote :—

"To govern a country under responsibility to the people of that country, and to govern one country under the responsibility to the people of another are two very different things. What makes the excellence of the first is that freedom is preferable to despotism ; but the last is despotism. The only choice the case admits is a choice of despotisms ; and it is not certain that the despotism of twenty millions is necessarily better than that of a few, or of one. But it is quite certain that the despotism of those who neither hear nor see, nor know anything about their subjects, has many chances of being worse than that of those who do. It is not usually thought that the immediate agents of authority govern better because they govern in the name of an absent master, and of one who has a thousand more pressing interests to attend to. * * *

"The Government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as Government of a people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle-farm to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants. But if the good of the governed is the proper business of a Government, it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it. The utmost they can do is to give some of their best men a commission to look after it, to whom the opinion of their own countrymen can neither be much of a guide in the performance of their duty, nor a competent judge of the mode in which it has been performed. Let any one consider how the English themselves would be governed, if they knew and cared no more about their own affairs than they know and care about the affairs of the Hindoos. Even this comparison gives no adequate idea of the state of the case ; for a people thus indifferent to politics altogether, would probably be simply acquiescent,

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and let the government alone. Whereas in the case of India a politically active people like the English amidst habitual acquiescence, are every now and then interfering, and always in the wrong place. The real causes which determine the prosperity or wretchedness, the improvement or deterioration, of the Hindoos are too far off within their ken."

How the appointment of Indians in high offices will prove useful to the native population of India has been very truly pointed out by Major Evans Bell. He writes :—

"And to these considerations may be added the undoubted fact, that a native Judge or Prefect would be fully subjected, in all the relations of life, to the public opinion of his town or district; and that if he became justly obnoxious to the community, not only might he be visited with those legitimate social penalties from which the European in a similar position is perfectly exempt, but there would be none of that despair of being heard, and dread of the consequences of such audacity, which too often prevents a complaint being made against an English civilian". [*The Empire in India, p. 329*].

From all the above considerations, then, the appointment of as few Englishmen as possible to offices of trust and responsibility in this country is desirable—both for the good and welfare of England as well as of India.

In our opinion, there should be a schedule prepared of those offices which should be reserved for Englishmen only in this country. As that is an Imperial question, the pay of those officers should be borne by the Imperial, and not, the Indian Exchequer.

VII. THE HINDOO-MUHAMMADAN PROBLEM

ONE of the grounds on which Anglo-Indians urge the exclusion of Indians from the public services of their country is the diversity of religions in India. They say that Muhammadans do not like to be governed by Hindus, whom they look down upon as their former slaves. Lord Dufferin tried to excite in the breast of Mussalmans a feeling of animosity against Hindoos. In reply to an address from the Mahommedan Community in Calcutta, his Lordship said :—

"Descended as you are from those who formerly occupied such a commanding position in India, you are exceptionally well able to understand the responsibilities attaching to those who rule: nor does it surprise me to learn, considering the circumstances under which your forefathers entered India, that you should be fully alive to the necessity of closing its gates, for it is only by such precautions that content can reign, that commerce can flourish, or wealth increase."

A few days afterwards in reply to another address from Mahommedan associations at Lucknow, his Lordship was pleased to say :—

"I need not now repeat what I have often said, that, having for so many years of my previous public career found myself closely connected with Mahommedan Governments and Mahommedan populations, it was an additional pleasure to me in coming to India to remember that it would be one of my duties to watch over the interests of fifty millions of Her Majesty's Mahommedan subjects. Fifty millions of men are themselves a nation, and a very powerful nation; and when we remember the circumstances under which the Mahommedan community has come to form an integral part of the Indian people, and all the splendid antecedents attaching to their history, a ruler would indeed be devoid of all political instinct if he were not careful to consider their wants and wishes, and to bring their status and condition into harmony with the general system over which he presides."

Unfortunately, since his days, the Hindoo-Muhammadan Problem has become an acute one. Lord Minto has added to the gravity of the problem by admitting the superior political importance of Musalmans. The mundane interests of Muhammadans are being artificially separated from those of the Hindoos and they are being led to believe that they have no interests in common with the followers of the Brahmanic faith. Lord Curzon admitted in the House of Lords, that he was led to partition Bengal with no higher motive in view than to create a separate Muhammadan province! The Council Regulations also have alienated Muhammadans from Hindus.

In many departments of the public services in some of the provinces undue preference is given to Muhammadans not so much for their efficiency, but to hypnotise them into the belief that they are the "favorite wives."

But was there any want of harmony between Hindus and Mussalmans when the Anglo-Indian Government had not been so firmly established in this country as now? Let us answer this question from the evidence of Anglo-Indians themselves.

Thus, Mr. John Sullivan, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on 28th February 1832, being questioned,

513. The Hindoos and the Mussalmans sit

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together very friendly, without reference to each others' religion ?

said

"Without any reference whatever to religion, there is a feeling of perfect equality ; they live in social habits."

The amicable relations which existed between Hindus and Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal in the early part of the last century has been thus referred to by Dr. Taylor in his Topography of Dacca, page 257—

"Religious quarrels between the Hindoos and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same *hookah*."

The following extracts from Mr. Walter Hamilton's *East India Gezetteer* published in 1828 show the good relations between Hindus and Muhammadans in different parts of India and of several Muhammadan States outside it too.

Hindustan : Open violence produces little effect on so patient a people, and although the Mahomedans subsequently lived for centuries intermixed with Hindus, no radical change was produced in the manners or tenets of the latter ; on the contrary, for almost a century past, the Mahomedans have evinced much deference to the prejudices of their Hindu neighbours, and a strong predilection towards many of their ceremonies (Vol I, p. 648).

Rungpoor : The two religions, however, are on the most friendly terms, and mutually apply to the deities or saints of the other, when they imagine that application to their own will prove ineffectual (Vol. II, p. 478).

Malabar : When the Portuguese discovered India, the dominions of the Zamorin, although ruled by a superstitious Hindu prince, swarmed with Mahomedans, and this class of the population is now considered greatly to exceed in number all other descriptions of people in the British District of South Malabar. This extraordinary progress of the Arabian religion does not appear (with the exception of Hyder and Tipoo) to have been either assisted by the countenance of the government or obstructed by the jealousy of the Hindus, and its rapid progress under a series of Hindu princes demonstrates the toleration, or rather the indifference, manifested by the Hindoos to the peaceable diffusion of religious practices and opinions at variance with their own (II, 181).

Deccan : There is a considerable Mahomedan population in the countries subject to the Nizam, but those of the lower classes, who are cultivators, have nearly adopted all the manners and customs of the Hindoos (I, 484).

Kelat (The capital of Beluchistan) : The Hindus are principally mercantile speculators from Mooltan and Shikerpoor, who occupy about 400 of the best houses, and are not only tolerated in their religion, but also allowed to levy a duty on goods entering the city for the support of their pagoda (II, 81).

Afganistan : Brahminical Hindus are found all over Cabul, specially in the towns, where they carry on the trade of brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths and grain-sellers. (I, 12).

Cabul : Many Hindus frequent Cabul, mostly from Peshawar ; and as by their industry contribute greatly to its prosperity, they are carefully cherished by the Afgan Government (I, 12).

Candahar : Among the Inhabitants he (Seid Mustapha) reckons a considerable number of Hindus (partly Kanoje Brahmins) both settled in the town as traffickers, and cultivating the fields and gardens in the vicinity.....with respect to religion, a great majority of the inhabitants are Mahomedans of the Sooni persuasion, and the country abounds with mosques, in which Seid Mustapha asserts both Hindoos and Mahomedans worship, and in other respects nearly assimilate. (I, 341).

In spite of historical evidence like that quoted above it has been often said that before the advent of the British into India, Hindus and Musalmans used to indulge in the perpetual pastime of cutting each other's throats. Had this been really true, not a single Hindu would have been left alive or unconverted in India, for the Musalman supremacy lasted over five centuries. What Lecky says of Protestants and Roman Catholics in Ireland seems to have been true of Hindus and Musalmans in India.

"The decline of religious fanaticism among the Prostestants, * * as well as the natural feelings produced by neighbourhood and private friendships, all conspired to this result [namely, that the two sects became friends].....Society cannot permanently exist in a condition of extreme tension and it was necessary for the members of both religions to find some way of living together in tolerable security", &c. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II, 2nd Edition, 1879, p. 311.

Lord William Bentinck observed :—

"In many respects, the Mahomedans surpassed our rule ; they settled in the countries which they conquered ; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives ; they admitted them to all privileges ; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. Our policy on the contrary, has been the reverse of this,—cold, selfish and unfeeling"

In this connection, we recommend our readers to peruse the article on "Democracy and the Multiplicity of Religious sects in India" which appeared in the *Modern Review* for October, 1907, p. 354.

It is useless to multiply more instances of the amicable relations between the votaries of the two principal faiths in this country which existed in the days of the East India Company.

But to excite the mutual jealousies of the followers of these two creeds has been the

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desire of many short-sighted men. Formerly, it was the Hindus who used to be patted on the back. Lord Ellenborough wrote in his letter to the Duke of Wellington, from Simla on 4th October, 1842, after the fall of Cabul and Ghazni :—

"I could not have credited the extent to which the Mahometans desired our faiture in Afghanistan, unless I had heard here circumstances which prove that the feeling pervaded even those entirely dependent upon us.

"Here there is a great preponderance of Mahometans. I am told that the guns produced absolute consternation visible in their countenances. One Ayah threw herself upon the ground in an agony of despair. The Commander-in-Chief observed it amongst his own servants.* * The Hindoos, on the other hand, are delighted. It seems to me most unwise, when we are sure of the hostility of one-tenth, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenths which are faithful."

Again writing to the Duke of Wellington on January 18, 1843, Ellenborough said :—

"I have every reason to think that the restoration of the gates of the Temple of Somnauth has couciliated and gratified the great mass of the Hindoo population. I have no reason to suppose that it has offended the Mussalmans; but I cannot close my eyes to the belief that that race is fundamentally hostile to us, and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindoos,* *."

But since the establishment of the Indian National Congress, everything is being done by many short-sighted men in power to discredit the Hindoos and to install the Musalmans as "the favorite wife". The only right policy is to treat all Indians alike.

In his "Forty-one years in India" Lord Roberts wrote :—

"A remark made to me by the late Sir Madhava Rao, Ex-Minister of the Baroda State, which exemplifies my meaning, comes back to me at this moment. Sir Madhava was one of the most astute Hindu gentlemen in India, and when discussing with him the excitement produced by the 'Ilbert Bill,' he said: Why do you English raise these unnecessary questions? It is your doing, not ours. We have heard of the cry, "India for the Indians," which some of your philanthropists have raised in England; but you have only to go to the Zoological Gardens and open the doors of the cages, and you will very soon see what would be the result of putting that theory into practice There would be a terrific fight amongst the animals, which would end in the tiger walking proudly over the dead bodies of the rest. 'Whom,' I inquired, 'do you consider to be the tiger?' 'The Mahomedan from the North,' was his reply."

It was with reference to this that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji very properly observed in his evidence before the Welby Commission :—

"Is this the result of 150 years of British rule that we are not civilised enough to observe law and order? * * the result of British rule that we are yet unfit to be law-abiding people?"

This undue favour to one at the expense of another is not fair, to say the least. Impartial justice should be done to all without regard to one's color or creed. If this he done, there would be no Hindoo-Muhammadan question in the administration of Indian affairs.

VIII. MORALITY AND HEALTH OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

OF late, the Government of India have very properly made regulations to control the political activities of their public servants and to divert their attention from running into channels which are seditious and disloyal. This is as it should be But is it not equally necessary for Government to look after the morals and health of their servants? Like Caesar's wife, a public servant should be above all suspicion and reproach. Not only should he keep his hands clean, which, fortunately as far as an University graduate in the public service is concerned, is the case, but his private character should be quite exemplary. One's indignation knows no bounds when one sees some England-returned and English-educated Indians in some of the highest services of the State marrying a second wife after their return from England during the life time of their first wife. No England-returned bigamist Indian, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, should be allowed to remain in the Indian Civil or Medical Service.

Those who figure in divorce cases as co-respondents should also be dismissed the service without much ceremony. Government should not give briefs to any legal practitioner, whether Barrister, solicitor or pleader, or appoint him as public prosecutor, who has been mixed up in the proceedings of any divorce court. Government should lead the way in these matters for others to follow.

Very salutary regulations have been made which debar public servants from indulging in speculations, which in many cases bring on financial disasters and get them into debt.

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But drunkenness, whoring, gambling and betting should be put down with a high hand amongst public servants.

It is the duty of the State to take care of the health of its employees. We are sorry to say that hardly anything has been done to inquire into the causes which break down the health of pure-blooded Indian servants of the State employed as subordinates in various departments. *The Modern Review* for November 1909 (p. 498) wrote :—

"Have those philanthropists of England whose hearts bleed for the so-called hard lot of the Indian factory hands and who are, therefore, leaving no stone unturned to make them happy, ever turned their attention to the lot of the clerks and those servants who are on the ministerial and menial establishments of the British Indian Government and done anything to remove their grievances and better their condition of existence ? Why, the subordinate judicial service—composed of graduates who understand and administer law and justice better than the members of the Indian Civil—the Heaven-born service, as it is called, is very badly paid and is overworked, with the result that many fall victims to various ailments—most notoriously diabetes, and yet nothing has been attempted so far to enquire into their state of affairs or ameliorate their condition. The employees of the subordinate medical, postal, and telegraph departments are not treated so well as their comrades in other civilised countries,....."

We hope the Public Service Commission will record a recommendation to improve the general health of Indian employees of the State and also to inquire into the causes of their heavy mortality.

IX. PREFERENCE TO EURASIANS

A Muhammadan is preferred to a Hindu, but preference is given to Eurasians over both. Mr. William Edwards, who served in India during the days of the Indian Mutiny and rose afterwards to be a judge of the Agra High Court, wrote in his personal reminiscences published in 1866 :—

"*We are*, and ever must be, regarded as foreign invaders and conquerors, and the more the people become enlightened and civilised the more earnest will, in all probability, be their efforts to get rid of us. Our best safeguard is in the evangelization of the country; for although Christianity does not denationalize, its spread would be gradual, and Christian settlements scattered about the country would be as towers of strength for many years to come, for *they* must be loyal so long as the mass of the people remain either idolators or Mahomedans."

It is not the native convert to Christianity who is so much the object of official patronnage as a member of what is now euphemistically called the "domiciled community", which means "Eurasians and Anglo-Indians". They are being introduced in large numbers in all public services—both as subordinates and supervisors. Large sums of money are being spent on their education. Why is all this being done? The reply is to be found in the declaration given some years back of one provincial Government, namely, that of Madras, that volunteers should have prior claims to Government service. Because pure-blooded Indians—whether Hindu, Muhammadan or Christian—can not enroll as volunteers, therefore their claims to public service notwithstanding their superior qualifications are to be ignored, as they can not serve as volunteers.

It seems to us that while a few Indians like so many ornamental gilt figure heads are placed at the top of some of the departments of the public services, the base is cut under them by placing Eurosians and Anglo-Indians in situations which used to be occupied by pure-blooded Indians before. Eurasians and Anglo-Indians who would be offended if they were called "natives", are classified as "statutory natives" in order to be deemed qualified for getting jobs in the public services of this country. We would never object if they got appointments according to their qualifications on the same footing as the Asiatic natives of India.

A certain gallant military officer wrote :—

" I would reward good conduct (of natives) with honour, but never with power ; * * *

"*Nullum imperium tutum, nisi benevolentia munitum.* The good will of the natives may be retained without granting them power, the semblance is sufficient ; and although I abhor in private life that maxim of Rochefaucault's which recommends a man to live with his friends as if they were one day to be his enemies, I think it may be remembered with effect by the sovereigns of India." (Captain P. Page's Memorandum, dated East India House, April 9th, 1819, published in the Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832, Vol. V (Military), pp. 480-483.)

We do not know whether it is for this reason that honour is given to Indians by their being placed as ornamental figure heads in some departments, while the real power is kept in the hands of Anglo-Indians.

For the progress, peace and prosperity of

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India, this state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. The sooner this is done away with the better. Volunteering should be allowed to all public servants. This will be not only doing justice to Indians, but it will surely cure the present unrest.

At a time when every Anglo-Indian and Eurasian residing in this country is requested to enroll himself as a volunteer,—and if he is not inclined to do so, he has to state his reasons for refusal,—when one Provincial Government, namely, that of Madras, has in additon declared that these volunteers should have prior claims to Government service, will it be too much to ask the Indian Government to raise corps of volunteers for pure-blooded natives of this country? This will go a long way to cure much of the unrest that prevails in India. No one could have accused the late Rev. Dr. Murdoch of being a pro-Indian. As a compatriot of the Marquess of Dalhousie, he saw nothing good in Indian society, Indian literature, and natives of India generally. Like that "Laird of Cockpen" he would have been only too glad to see the end of the few native states still existing and all Indians thoroughly placed under the power of the British. But even he favoured volunteering for Indians. In his pamphlet on "India's Needs" published from Madras in 1886, he wrote :—

"*Volunteering.* There should be no restriction here. The only candidates are likely to be young men acquainted with English. Their number would not be large; and a grievance would be removed."

The author of the pamphlet "Ought natives to be welcomed as volunteers ?" who preferred to be known as "Trust and fear not," and was presumably an Anglo-Indian, wrote some quarter of a century ago :—

"The offers to be enrolled as volunteers have proceeded entirely from the new and progressive school of educated natives. * * If the Government is afraid of the movement overflowing its banks and spreading among the people at large to such an extent as to be embarassing, it would cause no appreciable dissatisfaction were it to limit the privilege to those who have passed some university examination or are studying at some recognised Anglo-vernacular school. No such restriction is advocated here, as no such distinction is necessary, for volunteers must be men with a certain amount of leisure and with a moderate competency, and after the first burst of enthusiasm is over, and they are confronted by the inconveniences of drill and discipline without the sustaining power of political excitement, the number, instead of increasing, would, after a time, fall off considerably.

"But still, if the Government thinks it necessary to limit the concession to the class from which the desire has emanated any fair and justifiable restriction would be accepted, and even welcome, when compared with the very invidious and antiquated distinction now drawn in favour of Christians. * * Permission to educated natives to volunteer would, for practical purposes, meet all aspirations.

"This class is numerically small, but politically day by day becoming more powerful. It is a class which by its political instincts and by its power of setting in motion the hostility of other classes, can do the British Government great harm as it can also render it great service. * * Educated natives, by instinct and interest, belong to the party of order, and the great majority of them know, that they would lose more than gain by such *emeutes* and risings in India as we have to apprehend. The chance that any large number of educated natives who might be enrolled as volunteers would turn their weapons against the British Government is indeed, remote, and if they did so, the injury would be insignificant.* *

"The premises which have to be proved then are the following :—

(1) That the educated class of Indians exercises and will hereafter exercise, great, even predominant influence in India;

(2) That their future attitude towards the British Empire depends on the wisdom and justice with which they are treated.

(3) That from this point of view, great importance attaches to the volunteer question."

The author proves his premises in the most logical manner possible and in his conclusion pleads for the grant of free political institutions to India. The truly statesmanlike views of this author deserve the very careful consideration of the Indian authorities, and no time should be lost in enrolling Indians as volunteers. A measure like this will considerably allay the unrest which is visible everywhere in this country.

It is the complaint of many Anglo-Indian officials that Indian students have hardly any respect for authority, and that they lack in the spirit of obedience. Admitting for the sake of argument that such is the case, we should try to find out the causes of these defects and apply the remedy. Education is in no other country so defective as in India, because nothing has so far been attempted to instil the spirit of discipline into the minds of our students. This is not to be attained by the Risley Circular and other repressive measures. There is only one way of attaining this end and that is by enlisting our youths in the military service —by raising corps of volunteers in all schools and colleges. The system of cons-

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cription which prevails in the countries of Europe, makes the youths of those lands learn discipline and produces in them habits of obedience and respect for authority. As Lecky says in his "Democracy and Liberty,"

"The true beginning of wisdom, is the desire of discipline; and it is probably on this side that modern education is defective. Military service at least produces habits of order, cleanliness, punctuality, obedience and respect for authority; and unlike most forms of popular education, it acts powerfully on the character and on the will." (Vol. I, p. 253).

"No reasonable man will deny that a period of steady discipline is, to many characters, an education of great value,—an educatian producing results that are not likely in any other way to be equally attained. It is especially useful in communities that are still in a low stage of civilization, and have not yet attained the habits of order and respect for authority, and in communities that are deeply divided by sectional and provincial antipathies." (Vol. I, p. 266.)."

X.—ONE STANDARD SERVICE FOR INDIA

THERE should be one standard and one only for all the public services in this country. This is a very old demand on the part of British statesmen and Indians. In the course of a speech delivered in the House of Commons on June 3, 1853, the late Mr. John Bright said :—

"With regard to the question of patronage, I admit, so far as that goes, that the plan proposed by the Right Hon'ble Gentleman (Sir Charles Wood) will be an improvement on the present system. But I do not understand that the particular arrangement of the covenanted service is to be broken up at all. That is a very important matter, because, although he might throw open the nominations to the Indian Service to the free competition of all persons in this country, yet, if, when these persons get out to India, they are to become a convenanted service, as that service now is constituted, and are to go on from beginning to end in a system of promotion by seniority— and they are to be under pretty much the same arrangement as at present—a great deal of the evil now existing will remain; and the continuance of such a body as that will form a great bar to what I am very anxious to see, namely, a very much wider employment of the most intelligent and able men amongst the native population."

Although the above was uttered more than half a century ago, the covenanted service exists today as it did when the great quaker statesman regretted its existence. Nay more, in several other branches of the Indian Public Service, Imperial Departments have been added from which "intelligent and able men amongst the native population" are scrupulously excluded. This is a state of affairs which requires immediate mending. Not only does this produce discontent and thus propagates the present "unrest," but it is detrimental to Indian progress and prosperity. Mr. John Slagg, M. P., in his article on the first Indian National Congress, published in the *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1886, rightly observed :—

"Resolution four demands that greater facilities should be granted the people of India for admission into the covenanted civil service. I regret this resolution. The time seems to have arrived for the gradual extinction of this exclusive service and the breaking down of the walls of partition which divide what are called 'Subordinates Services' from the higher. The urgent need of economy, apart from all other considerations, imperatively demands that the civil service, as a separate body, should cease to exist; because not until this has been done will it be possible to proportion the salaries of public servants to the resources of the country which they govern. And not only in the Covenanted Civil Service do sound policy and equity require a larger introduction of the native element: the need for it is much more urgent in the subordinate services, and, what may be described as the 'non-political' branches of the administration.....the proportion to be found in various branches of the Administration, * * is highly instructive as showing the manner in which State patronage is distributed in British India.....The Bengal Opium Department is one to which no political character belongs, and where Indians, one would think, could hardly fail to be more efficient than Englishmen, and yet in this department no native can be nominated to an office with a salary beyond 100 rupees a month; and as a matter of fact, no native is in it at all. In the Postal Department the highest salary attached to the service is 2,000 rupees a month: the highest which a native of India can get is 600 rupees. In the Preventive and Salt Department, the highest salary attached to the service is 1,000 rupees a month; the highest which a native of India can get is less than 100 rupees. In the Jail Department, the highest salary is 2,000 rupees a month; the highest which a native of India can get is less than 100 rupees. And so on through all the departments. It is manifestly absurd to pretend that this profoundly unjust allotment of State patronage is occasioned by the lack of fit men among the children of the soil."

Although a few Indians have been appointed to the higher posts in the above-mentioned departments still there has been no material improvement in the state of affairs as depicted by Mr. Slagg. In no other civilized country of the world is there anything like the partition dividing the higher from the "subordinate" services. But here in India, instead of breaking down the walls of partition, more new ones are being erected. Twenty years ago, there was

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nothing like the Imperial and Provincial Services in the Educational and Public Works Departments. These have been created later. So in other departments also. All these walls of partition should be pulled down as soon as possible, and pure-blooded Indians should be made eligible to the highest posts which are now reserved for foreigners only.

XI. THE NATIVES OF INDIA AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

IN a pamphlet with the above title printed for private circulation at the Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay, in 1885, the anonymous author—whose identity, however, is not very difficult to recognise, wrote :—

"That the lowering of the age has had a disastrous effect on native candidates from India, there can, I think, be no doubt ; but, on the other hand , it is fairly open to question whether any alteration of the regulations would really bring much success within the reach of Indian candidates."

The prediction of the author has come to be true. Notwithstanding the raising of age, there has been no phenomenal success of Indians in the competitive examinations.

The anonymous author then proceeded :—

"It seems to me that natives of India have a distinct and independent claim to employment in the higher grades of the public service, quite irrespective of any regulations that may be in force for appointing candidates to the Covenanted Civil Service. This claim seems to me to rest on grounds of natural equity and the plainest political expediency ; and would, in my opinion, hold good whether natives of India chose to take part or not in the public competition in England. Moreover, as a question of tactics, it would seem to be a mistake for natives of India to clamour for an alteration of the examination rules, when it is clear that they ought, if otherwise qualified, to be appointed to their fair share of the higher appointments without any reference to the Covenanted Civil Service at all."

The writer from statistics of which he is a well-known master, has shown that in 1884, in the Bombay Presidency, the number of appointments reserved for the Convenanted Civil Service, was 84, while that of unreserved appointments in the higher grades, carrying a salary of Rs 300 a month upwards—amounted approximately to 352. This number excluded the grades of Deputy Collector and Subordinate Judge, which are now practically reserved for pure-blooded Indians. Out of 352 appointments only 41 were held by natives.

Although 28 years have rolled their course since then, there has been hardly any improvement in the state of affairs. The statistics which have recently appeared in some of the newspapers conducted by Indians also tell the same tale.

The anonymous writer then stated :—

"If the facts are here correctly stated, it would seem to be perfectly clear that the agitation, which has been raised for the admission of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service, is to a great extent based upon a delusion. * * * Now it is a singular fact that while English statesmen of both parties are perfectly well aware that the great bulk of the higher partonage in the unreserved appointments is in practice reserved—and as they say improperly reserved—for the friends and kinsmen of powerful officials and public men nominated in India, and although this abuse has been frequently exposed both in Parliament and in public correspondence, the whole of the native agitation has hitherto been directed almost exclusively against the limited monopoly of the Covenanted Service. * * *

"The literal truth seems to be that as long as it is in the power of the local authorities to appoint their friends to the unreserved appointments, Englishmen with interest will, as heretofore, almost infallibly be preferred to natives, and the present agitation may be expected to continue. * * *

"It will not fail to be noticed that under existing conditions nearly three-fourths of the higher patronage of the Bombay Government lies outside the sphere of competition altogether ; and thus I submit, as matters now stand, the scheme of open competition is most imperfectly carried out. Moreover, it may well be asked why if open competition is desirable for the higher appointments reserved to the Covenanted Civil Service, similar competition should not be enforced amongst Europeans for the valuable and far more numerous posts in the so-called Uncovenanted Service ; or why at any rate private patronage should not be subjected to some clear and eqitable rules. * * * The circular instructions of the Government of India, sanctioned by Lord Cranbrook in 1879 and extended to Bombay, are little calculated to effect any material change in the state of things which now prevails in that Presidency. Briefly stated these circular instructions are to the effect that no person other than a native of India shall hereafter be appointed to any office carrying a salary of Rs. 200 a month or upwards without the previous sanction in each case of the Governor General in Council, unless the person appointed belongs to the Covenanted Civil Service or to the staff corps, or was originally nominated by the Secretary of State or Government of India after examination either to the (1) Financial, (2) Forests, Educational Depts. ; or unless the office to which the appointment is made belongs to any one of the following 6 departments : (1) Opium, (2) Salt and Customs, (3) Survey ; (4) Mint, (5) Public Works Department, (6) Police. * *

"The practical effect of the circular instructions referred to, issued by the Government of India, seems briefly to exempt from the operation of the rule almost

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the whole of the higher unreserved patronage of the Bombay Government."

What was true of Bombay some 28 years ago, holds true now—not only of Bombay, but of other provinces as well.

They were not satisfied to confer posts of 200 Rs. and upwards on "natives." But to share the loaves and fishes of offices with "natives," a class was created called "statutory natives"—who would feel offended if simply called "natives."

The author of some essays on the Public Service Commission wrote :—

"The term 'natives' was clearly, and we had hoped once for all, defined in 33 Vict. c. 3 ; but, now, in the midst of our repose, we are disturbed out of our bed to find that within the folds of the idea of throwing open higher appointments to the 'natives,' there lurks the notion of widening the area of the lower appointments in the country so as to introduce *all natural born subjects* of Her Majesty, within the limits of whose vast Empire the sun itself is afraid to set."

Justice demands that all the posts in the higher grades of public services in this country should be *recruited by competitive examinations held in India only*, at which Indians should be allowed to appear and such domiciled persons whose parents have settled in India. One of the compulsory subjects for examination should be a vernacular of the country, in which a very proficient knowledge of the candidate is to be tested. If this be done, much of the present discontent and unrest in this country will disappear.

XII. EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

OF all the services, The Educational is the one most carefully guarded by the Anglo-Indian anthorities. The reasons for this may be evident from what one Mr. Coloquohn wrote in the *North American Review* for May 1903 on the future of the Nogro. The writer favored Negro Slavery on the ground,

"that under it some advance was made, the American Negro was raised to a higher plane ; he learned a civilised language, acquired a better standard of living and in many cases attained considerable skill as a mechanic or house servant. * * * These faults—instability, unreliability, restlessness and the like were corrected and subdued by the discipline of slavery, and therefore in many respects the Negro artisan, mechanic, field-hand or servant of today is inferior to his prototype of slave-days."

These were the grounds of the slave-traders also. If he could, the writer would have reintroduced negro-slavery throughout the world. It is because of this bias that he says :—

"Throughout, the writer is strongly of the opinion that the control of schools, churches, institutions and every organization of the social life should remain to a large extent in the possession of white men. * * *

"Education is necessary, but not *any* kind of education. Discipline is essential, and should be enforced by white teachers, preachers and controllers in every department to induce steadiness and thoroughness and discourage emotionalism."

What Mr. Coloquohn said regarding Negroes, Anglo-Indians are apt to apply towards Indians.

M. Joseph Chailley and Sir Willian Meyer write in their Administrative Problems of India.—

" Native teachers will be more conversant with the mentality of their fellow-countrymen, with the limits of their intelligence, and with the best methods of awakening it. But as they themselves will have been recent pupils, will they not, of necessity, prove imperfect interpreters of Western science and civilisation, which can, at least, only be acquired by a process of slow initiation ? And if our knowledge has not been thoroughly assimilated by those who transmit it to their countrymen, will not the defective medium cause a failure which it will be difficult to repair ?"

Sentiments like the above have perhaps prompted the authorities to fill the Educational Service in all the higher appointments with Europeans, however inferior their academical qualifications may be. Referring to the Presidency College of Calcutta, which had, some years ago, only seven Englishmen in a teaching staff of twenty-two, the above-mentioned authors wrote :—

"This reduction in the European element has had unfortunate consequences. The methods of teaching in India are mediocre, as is admitted by enlightened natives who have studied in England. But how can they be reformed with Indian professors, many of whom are incapable of anything but a repetition of text books ? There is also a moral element involved. The English do not expect mere teaching from their educational institutions. Their schools have as a main object the formation of character, and it is in that field that Oxford and Cambridge are most characteristically successful. Similar results are sought in India but how can they be obtained with a native staff who mostly lack force of character." [p. 513].

Whatever interested persons may say, we have found by personal experience that many Indian professors are as good as the best European professors in India, in character, in learning, as well as in the capacity to

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impart knowledge. As regards original research, it is known to all but the wilfully ignorant that Indian professors have, to put it mildly, made not smaller additions to the worlds' stock of knowledge than European professors in India. Indian professors are naturally more sympathetic than Anglo-Indian professors. The claims of Indians to the higher appointments in the Education Department have been so often and so ably put forward in our newspapers that we need not write more on the subject.* We draw attention to the pamphlet on "the Color Line in the Indian Educational and Scientific Departments" published from the Modern Review office.

XIII. MEDICAL SERVICE

THE education given in the Indian Medical Colleges now-a-days is considered quite equal to that in England, and hence Indian Medical Graduates are no longer required to get an English qualification before appearing in the I. M. S. Competitive Examination. Some Indian Medical Graduates with their Indian qualifications only have come out successful in the Service Examination. Such being the case, it is no longer necessary to hold the competitive examination in England alone, but simultaneouly in India also. Successful candidates should be allowed permission to go to England on study leave to attend hospital practice and avail themselves of courses of post-graduate study there.

How injustice has been done to Indians in the Medical Services of their own country will be evident from the following articles and notes which appeared in the Modern Review for July, 1909, pp: 6—9, pp. 82-83; August, 1909, p: 180, pp. 182-183.

XIV. JUDICIAL SERVICE

IF Indian Government is based on opinion, that opinion presumably is regarding the impartial justice said to be meted out in law courts. Anything which destroys that opinion goes to drive the nail in the coffin of the British Indian Administration. Every thing should be done to improve the Judicial Service. There should be no favoritism or nepotism or question of racial distinction in the selection or promotion of judicial officers. Every post should be given to the all-round best man available.

It is therefore no longer necessary that District Judges should be recruited from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service. As far back as 1835, the *Meerut Universal Magazine* wrote:—

"It must be remembered, that our judicial officers are not bred from their youth up, to balance evidence, to bully a witness in a cross examination, and extricate a difficult question from the labyrinth of special pleadings; all these advantages (if advantages they may be called) are not with them, any more than with the collectors. We have gone upon the principle of *ex quovis ligno fit mercurius*, and a gentleman in the Civil Service, who has practised all his life in the revenue line, may tomorrow ascend the tribunal of the Judge. Indeed, this latter office was degraded by Lord William Bentinck's administration, and was set aside, merely for those who could not abide the test of revenue capacity. Commissioners who were unable to master the difficulties of superintending the collection of rupees, have been unwillingly thrust into the judgment seat, to solve the knotty points contained in three distinct legislative codes.* * In the Civil Service, there is no more difficulty in becoming a Judge, than Beralde considered necessary for becoming a physician. In reply to Argan, who thinks it absolutely necessary to study Latin and the Materia Medica, he says—

"En recevant la rohe et le bonnet de medicin, vous appendrez tout cela; et vous serez apres plus ahabile que vous ne vou drez. L'on n'a qu'a parler avec une robe et unbonnet, tout galimatias devient savaut, et tout sottise devient rainson."

The discussions which have of late taken place in the journals of this country as well as of England regarding the appointment of civilians as judges go to show that the state of affairs is hardly any better now than it was in 1835 when the above was written. Hence it is not necessary to delay any longer the reform in the judicial administration of the country.

The judicial service should be divided into two branches, *viz.*, civil and criminal. There should be civil judges and criminal judges—in the higher appointments they should be called sessions judges. These judges should be recruited from the ranks of legal practitioners of at least three years' standing—whether barristers or pleaders.

If this be done, the much needed reform of the separation of judicial from executive

* Professor Homersham Cox's article in the present number is an able and authoritative contribution to the subject. Editor, *The Modern Review*.

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functions will naturally take place. All judicial work whether civil or criminal being placed in the hands of the judges,—the executive work will be left in the hands of collectors.

About half a century ago wrote Major Evans Bell :—

"If I were asked by an intelligent native of India, what are the two great pillars which have so long preserved English society in a state of stable equilibrium, and have made the English nation and government the most powerful and influential in the world,—I should point to the right of private property in land, and to the complete separation of judicial and executive functions in our administration.

"* * strange to say—completely English as they are, and tenaciously as we cling to them at home, we have not merely done less than might have been expected towards their establishment in India, but we have actually done much to unsettle landed tenures which we found in existence, and which could scarcely be distinguished from private property ; and we have lately adopted, and largely extended, the oriental confusion of offices in our Non-Regulation districts." (*The Empire in India*, p. 294)

The separation of judicial and executive functions was pronounced by the astute diplomatist—Lord Dufferin—as a counsel of perfection. But this counsel of perfection has not been given effect to by those who consider themselves as standing in the relation of Providence to the people of India ! The Commission should recommend the separation of these functions with the least possible delay. Without this, no good Government of India is possible. We fail to see why this measure should be a costly one. Even if any additional expenditure be necessary to carry it out, that is no reason for delaying the much needed and beneficial reform.

The Indian judicial service, excluding the members of the Heaven-born Civil Service, is the most unenviable, because it is the most hard-worked service in the world. Munsiffs and Subjudges are overworked and that is the reason that so many of them die prematurely and generally of diabetes. It would be doing a philanthrophic work if the Commission were to recommend to the Government of India to make enquiries regarding the prevalence of diabetes amongst members of the judicial services in the different provinces of India.

To prevent over-work, the number of Indian judicial officers should be largely increased. In many stations, one munsiff has generally to do the work of two.

Indian judicial officers are not entitled to privilege leave on full pay. They are compulsorily given one months' leave every year, that is, when the courts remain closed. But in that season of the year courts would be naturally closed for at least 16 days on account of the Durgapuja, Dewali and Sundays. In fact, one month's holiday is no holiday at all.

Members of the Educational Service do not get any privilege leave, on full pay. But then their case is quite a different one, because out of 365, they have hardly to work more than 200 days. Such is not the case with judicial officers. We strongly recommend that they should be allowed privilege leave on full pay, or they be granted as many days' holiday in the year as are the professors in Indian Colleges.

Considering the nature of their duties, Indian judicial officers' pay should be increased. Their pay was fixed at a time when the cost of living and education was not half so dear as at present and when it was not possible to secure the services of efficient judicial officers.

There should be one standard of pay for all the judicial services throughout India.

Justice cannot be administered properly if constant reports are called for of cases pending more than three months or six months. The work should not be judged by quickness of decisions, but by its quality and also by the satisfaction of the parties concerned. The practice of the different High Courts in calling for returns of cases pending on the files of Indian judicial officers should be strongly condemned, as it interferes with the independence of judges.

We have said that the Indian judicial service is the hardest worked and badly paid service. It is therefore that so many of its members are broken down in health and die early. There should be no injustice done to its members in the matter of promotion or selection to some prize appointments by passing over deserving men in the service. The selection as the Assistant Judicial Commissioner of Oudh of a very junior man, who had not distinguished himself by any extraordinary merit as a judicial officer, or as a scholar, was a distinct injustice to several Indian gentlemen in the provincial judicial service who had no inferior claims to the post from consi-

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derations of their judicial work or scholarship.

High Court judgeships should consist of at least 75 p. c. Indians and 25 p. c. Britishers. Half the number of Indian members should be recruited from the Service and half from the Bar. Two of the Indian judges at least should be well versed in Hindu and Muhammadan Law. They should be sound Sanskrit and Arabic scholars.

The claim of Hindu Law on the State is very great.

Professor Jolly in his Tagore Law Lectures says :—

"In modern times, after the establishment of the British rule in India, the hold of the early native institutions over the Indian mind was found to have remained so firm, that it was considered expedient to retain the old national system and adoption amidst the most sweeping changes which had been introduced in the administration of the country and in judicial procedure. It was the desire to ascertain the authentic opinions of the early native legislators in regard to these subjects which led to the discovery of the Sanskrit literature. European Sanskrit philology may be said then to owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of the ancient Sanskrit Lawyers of India."

Sir Henry Sumner Maine says that India

"may yet give us a new science not less valuable than the science of language and folklore. I hesitate to call it comparative jurisprudence, because if it ever exists, its area will be so much wider than the field of law. For India not only contains (or to speak more accurately, did contain) an Aryan language older than any other descendant of the common mother tongue and a variety of names of natural objects less perfectly crystallised than elsewhere into fabulous personages, but it includes a whole world of Aryan institutions, Aryan customs, Aryan laws, Aryan ideas in a far earlier stage of growth and development than any which survive beyond its border."

Comparative philology came into existence, because attention was paid to the study of Hindu Law. This study again is to help the creation of comparative jurisprudence. But unfortunately, the original texts of many of the lawbooks lie still buried in manuscripts and have not been as yet printed. For the proper administration of Hindu Law, we strongly urge on the Commission to recommend the appointment of a scholar in every province, well versed in Sanskrit and Law to edit and translate into English, Hindu Law Books from Sanskrit. The study of Hindu Law presupposes a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar and Hindu Philosophy. A Scholar of such eminence should be appointed to the Bench of every High Court to administer justice according to Hindu laws and to edit and translate into English Hindu law texts. This will greatly help to settle many knotty points of Hindu law and facilitate the administration of justice.

XV. THE POLICE SERVICE

"THE Indian Police has earned an unenviable reputation for being corrupt and inefficent in the extreme. The poor police constable in India is badly paid and is placed amidst temptations to which more often than not he yields. It is he who rules India, for the people see in him the embodiment of authority. He can do or undo a man if he likes. The Indian Police constable considers himself to be an omnipotent being."

The question of improving the police service has engaged the attention of Indian authorities since a very long time. There can be no efficiency in this most important department, unless educated Indians are admitted into it. Graduates of our universities should be appointed to the higher giades. Superintendents and their assistants, Inspectors and Sub-inspectors should be Indian graduates.

The inefficiency of the police has been mainly due to the mannner in which the service has been hitherto recruited in its higher grades, *viz.*, that of Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent. The strictures passed by Mr. Pennell, the whilom district judge of Noakhali, in his famous judgment, on the mode of recruiting police officers had no doubt much truth in them. Sons of high officers who were failures everywhere were nominated as Assistant Superintendents of Police, from which appointment they rose to be Superintendents and Inspectors General of Police. Men of hardly any education, and very often of not very high character, little wonder that they could not make the police force an efficient one in this country.

If Indian graduates are appointed, instead of Englishmen of the deseription given by Mr. Pennell, within a decade the Police in India will become as efficient and above corruption as any police service in the world.

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XVI. EQUALIZATION OF PAY

EXCEPT the pay of the Viceroy and the members of his Council, High Court judges, Governors and Lieutenant Governors and members of their Councils, and the Commander-in chief, the maximum pay in any department should not be more than 1500 Rupees a month. This is much more than the maximum pay in England, which is fixed at £1000 a year. The cost of living is not so dear in India as in England. Why then should Indian services be paid more extravagantly than English ones? In one of his speeches delivered on 24th June, 1858, Mr. John Bright said:—

"I believe there never was any other service under the sun paid at so high a rate as the exclusive Civil Service of the East India Company. Clergymen and missionaries can be got to go out to India for a moderate sum—private soldiers and officers of the army go out for a moderate remuneration—merchants are content to live in the cities of India for a percentage of profit not greatly exceeding the ordinary profits of commerce. But the Civil Service, because it is bound up with those who were raised by it and who dispense the patronage of India, receive a rate of payment which would be incredible if we did not know it to be true, and which, knowing it to be true, we must admit to be monstrous. The East India Government scatters salaries about at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Agra, Lahore, and half a dozen other cities, which are up to the mark of those of the Prime Minister and Secretaries of State in this country."

The evil has not decreased, but rather increased, since the above famous utterance of Mr. John Bright. The Imperial Services are paid almost as handsomely as the Covenanted Civil Service. Then there is the indiscriminate grant of Exchange Compensation to almost all European servants.

Wages are not paid according to the nature of services rendered to the State, but according to the nationality of the laborer. This unreasonable practice should be immediately put a stop to.

The same pay for the same service should be paid to the Indian as to the Englishman. There should be only one standard of service, and equalization of pay in all the services. This, of course, means doing away with the distinctions of Imperial, Provincial, Covenanted and Uncovenanted services, as well as the grant of the Exchange Compensation.

If the Commission can effect these important changes in the constitution of the Indian services, it will earn the gratitude of all Indians, irrespective of different creeds, castes or colors.

XVII. MINISTERIAL SERVICE

COMMISSIONS, as a rule, are engaged with the higher branches of public services, but do not take any notice of clerks. The lot of clerks is a very hard one. Whenever any reductions are made in the establishment of any office, it is invariably the clerks who suffer. Their number is reduced as well as their pay and prospect in the service.

No establishment can go on without the proper complement of clerks.

In our opinion, there should be a competitive examination for clerks to enter the government service. It may be called Subordinate Public Service Examination. Candidates for this examination should have at least passed the Entrance or Matriculation Examination of an Indian University or an examination corresponding to it. The starting pay should be at least 30 Rupees. The cost of living has become very dear in these days and no respectable man can live decently under 30 Rupees. A Government servant has to live decently and generally has one or more dependants on him. Under the circumstances, it is just and fair to give him his living wages.

We have calculated the cost of a student studying in the Matriculation class. His expenses do not come to less than 15 Rupees a month. What with the enhanced school fees, prices of books, fees for games, &c., Rs. 15 is the lowest sum which a Matric-class student has to spend every month for education. But what prospect has he in life after passing the University examination and entering the Government Service?

The preference which is now shown to individuals of certain creeds or races to appointments as clerks should be at once done away with. The only passport to public offices should be efficiency and good character.

Clerks should be generously treated in the matter of pay, promotion and pension. They should not be sacrificed for effecting economy. To do so, is something like a

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penny wise but pound foolish policy. If economy is to be effected in any department, a few highly paid officers should be got rid off, which will make great saving.

XVIII. CONCLUSION

WE have given the broad and general outlines on which the questions of public services of this country should be considered. Because Educational, Judicial, Medical and Police Services are the ones most directly in touch with the peoples of this country, we have dwelt on the importance of their reforms and made such suggestions as will enhance their usefulness to the country. The other departments, *c.g.* the Public Works, the Forest, the Customs, the Revenue, &c., are to be treated on general principles. It is necessary to appoint more Indians to these Services, and there is no difficulty in doing so, for there is no dearth of suitable Indian candidates for any service in the world. They may be judged by any and the most severe standard and will not be found wanting to discharge the duties of any office of trust and responsibility. One word of caution has to be said, regarding the appointment of Indians to high offices, which are generally looked upon as reserved for Britishers. Indians in those posts are often considered as interlopers and so they are sometimes not fairly treated. When an Englishman in any service is in trouble, everything is done to hush up the matter. But not so in the case of any Indian officer. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea's case is an old one. Not many years ago, the case of a Parsee Civilian of Madras attained notoriety, for it seemed to all outsiders that he was not fairly treated.

Why of late have so many Indian officers from the Indian Medical Service retired early, some of them after earning their first pension only ? That is a matter for enquiry.

More than half a century ago, Major Evans Bell wrote :—

"But the radical defect and inherent weakness of this exclusive employment of English gentlemen in the higher branches of the public service, consists in a certain consciousness of absolute superiority and privileged security, which nullifies both the wholesome fear of public obloquy and the most powerful motive to exertion. The introduction among them, on an equal footing, of well-educated and qualified natives, would excite a healthy emulation and competition ; and would necessarily terminate that practical impunity which has frequently screened some of the worst members of the Covenanted Service."—[*The Empire in India*, pp. 328-329].

In a footnote to the above, Major Evans Bell added :—

"Sir Charles Trevelyan, when governor of Madras, was assailed with great virulence in the local English society, and in the Indian press, which chiefly reflects their views, for having on one or two occasions departed from the usual plan of smothering scandals relating to covenanted civilians."

Indian public servants have no one to look up to as their *ma bap*, as have the Britishers. Hence, every complaint against Indians in high offices should be very carefully inquired into and they should be fairly treated.

Services in the Army, Navy and Political Department should be thrown open to the natives of India, for that is the only remedy for the present unrest and discontent in this country.

The Exchange Compensation Allowance to European servants should be immediately discontinued. The grant of this allowance is neither legally nor morally right. They who seek service in India come with their eyes open as to the value of the Rupee, and we do not see any reason for India being made to pay European Servants any conpensation for depriving her children of posts which they would have otherwise filled with great credit to themselves and benefit to their country.

India demands justice and not charity. Not being a conquered country like Ireland, Wales, Canada or South Africa, she naturally expects to be treated at least like those conquered countries. The birth-right of Indians to all posts of trust and responsibility should be restored to them. They have been deprived of these, which is a wrong inflicted on them. It should be rectified without delay.

England never paid a farthing for the acquisition or maintenance of the Indian Empire. But Bengal did. Hence Bengal has, as it were, a vested interest in the services in and outside her province. Bengalis should not be abused or ill-treated as is the wont of a certain class of Anglo-Indians. The services in Bengal are open to the inhabitants of all provinces in India. Bengal keeps an open door. So the door should

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be kept open to Bengalis in every province. We want no favour, but only justice. We have very conclusively shown why Bengal expects this fair and just treatment at the hands of the British Government.

There should be only one standard of service. So the different compartments into which the various services are divided should be pulled down. There should be no distinctions like Covenanted, Uncovenanted, Imperial or Provincial. This reform is most urgently needed.

No consideration of race, color, creed or caste, should be made in appointing a candidate to any post in this country.

If the commission makes the above-mentioned recommendations which we have suggested, the remarks of Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee that "in India, when the authorities are decided upon certain views which are not likely to be readily accepted by the public, a commission or committee comes into existence," will not be true of this commission. Let the Royal Public Commission disprove this bold assertion of the Grand Old Man of India. Some previous commissions did us more harm than good. Let this one prove an exception.

SOME STATISTICS OF HIGHER INDIAN GOVERNMENT POSTS

FROM the Quarterly Civil List of the Home, Education and Legistative Departments, Government of India, No 21, corrected up to 1st July 1912, we find that the Viceroy and Governor General of India, who is an Englishman himself and draws about 3 lakhs of Rupees a year as his salary, has no Indian on his personal staff, all the five members of which are like himself Britishers. The pay and allowance of these five officers amount to about 8000 Rs. a month.

The Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor General of India in charge of the Home Department who draws 6,666⅔ Rupees a month is not a native of India but of Great Britain.

The Viceregal Secretariat contains 8 Europeans on 10 thousand Rupees a month against 3 Indians on 1800 Rupees a month.

There are 9 heads of provinces, *viz.*, three Governors on 10,000 Rs. a month each; four Lieutenant Governors on 8,333⅓ Rs. plus sumptuary allowance of 500 Rs. a month each; two Chief Commissioners on 5,166⅔ Rs. plus sumptuary allowance of 500 Rs. a month each. It is needless to say that none of these is a native of this country.

Amongst those whose names are shown in Part III as belonging to the Coorg Commission, only two are Indians on 260 and 500 Rs. a month. The other 6 gentlemen, none of whose pay and allowances come to less than 800 Rs. a month, are all Europeans.

Part IV is the list of officers employed at Port Blair. In it are given the names of 29 officers serving in that convict island dependency. Of these only five are Indians—four Assistant Surgeons and one Assistant on a pay of about 200 Rupees a month each. All the rest are Europeans drawing fat pays more often than not running to four figures.

Part V is that of Law and Justice. Here at least one would have expected justice to Indians; but what do we find here? Amongst 21 names borne on the roll of Judges of the High Court, Calcutta, six only are those of Indians, against 15 Britishers.

Amongst Registrars of the High Court and Law officers of the Crown, Calcutta, there is only one Indian, *viz.*, the Hon'ble Mr. B. C. Mitra; and the remaining 5 are Britishers.

Eight names are given under the heading of judges of the Chief Court, Punjab, of which only one is that of an Indian.

Of the nine names of Judges of the Chief Court and judicial Commissioner, Burma, none happens to be that of a native of this country pure and simple, or of Burma.

Of the four Judicial Comissioners of Oudh only one is an Indian.

There is no Indian Judicial Commissioner

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in the Central Provinces. All the three are Europeans. So also is the Judicial Commissioner of Coorg.

None of the four gentlemen shown in Part VI as belonging to the Police Department is an Indian.

Part VII is a formidable list of medical officers. There are 40 names on this list—of which only three are those of natives of this country—the curious fact being that none of these three belongs to the charmed circle of the Indian Medical Service. Dewan Bahadur Hiralal Basu, Dr. Clement Cornelius Caleb and Dr. Saidud Zafar Khan are the three Indian gentlemen who have the unique distinction of having their names borne on the Medical Department under the direct control of the Government of India. None of these however draws more than 800 Rupees a month, while the pay and allowances of none of the Britishers come to less than a thosand Rupees a month.

Part VIII—Miscellaneous appointments—3 in number—all given to Britishers.

Part IX is the Department of Education of which the Member in charge is an Englishman on Rs. 6,666⅔ a month and of his Secretarial Staff consisting of 9, only 2 are Indians, one on Rs. 1000 and the other on Rs. 500 a month.

Every Census Report shows the increase that is taking place in the number of Indian Christians. But the startling fact remains that none of these Indian Christians is considered fit to be appointed to the Ecclesiastical Department, which is filled from top to bottom with natives of England, Scotland and Ireland.

None of the twenty-nine names shown on the list of the Sanitary Department is that of an Indian.

One would have expected that there would be a preponderance of Indians in the Archeological Department in India—but of the 16 higher appointments only 6 are filled by Indians.

There is only one Indian gentleman, *viz.*, Mr. B. L. Chaudhuri, on the Superior Staff—consisting of four men—of the Indian Museum.

None of the 7 appointments shown as miscellaneous under the Educational Department—except that of Sir A. Mukherji, unpaid Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University—is given to any Indian.

Of the Legislative Department, the member in charge is an Indian on 6,666⅔ rupees a month. Out of 6 gentlemen who are on his staff only one—Rai Bahadur Dr. Sarat Chandra Bannerjee—is an Indian.

In Part XVI is given the gradation list of the members of the Indian Civil Service directly under the Government of India on the 1st July 1912. There are 90 names on this list of appointments which are not parts of the Provincial Cadres. Curiously enough, this list does not contain a single Indian name.

Such is the analysis of the Quarterly Civil List of the Home, Education and Legislative Departments, Government of India, as corrected to 1st July 1912.

The Pioneer Press of Allahabad publishes every quarter the Combined Civil List for India, giving the list of the Civil Services and Higher European Services under the Government of India. The latest available is the one corrected up to 1st April, 1912.

There are no Indians on the personal staff of the Governor General except the two Indian Aides-de-camp.

The only Indian in the Viceroy's council is the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, the legal member, against six Europeans.

The Imperial Secretariat.—There is only one Indian in the Foreign Department—the Indian Attache, against 17 Europeans.

There is not a single Indian in the Home Department. All the four appointments are held by European. There are four Indians in the Finance Dept. against 11 Europeans. Of the four Indians one is Asst. Secretary, the other three being Superintendents.

There is not a single Indian in the Military Finance Depertment. All the *eight* appointments are held by Europeans.

All the 12 appointments in the Public Works Department are held by Europeans.

In the Education Department there are two Indians against 7 Europeans.

Of the 7 appointments in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture none is held by an Indian.

There is one Indian as against 5 Europeans in the Legislative Department.

No Indian has been found fit for a post in the Department of Commerce and Indus-

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try, which exists for the furtherance of the Industrial and Commercial progress of India and Indians. All the four members are Europeans.

Of the 12 posts in the Army Department three only goes to Indians. Of these three one is a Registrar and the other two occupy the insignificant posts of superintendents.

Of the 21 posts under the Railway Board only one goes to an Indian. The Board is presided over by Sir T. Wynne, in whose opinion the Indians have more than their due share in Railway appointments! The only post held by an Indian is the insignificant one of a Superintendent.

BENGAL.

Of the 14 persons on the Personal Staff of the Governor of Bengal only one is an Indian.

Of the three members of the Executive Council one is an Indian.

Of the 20 appointments in the Bengal Secretariat only two are held by Indians. One is an Officiating Assistant Secretary and another an Under Secretary.

BOMBAY.

Of the 14 persons on the Personal Staff of the Governor of Bombay *four* are Indians. Three being Hony. Aides-de-camp and one the Indian Aide-de-camp.

There is one Indian member in the Executive Council of three members.

Of the 19 appointments in the Secretariat four goes to Indians. They are all Assistant Secretaries.

MADRAS.

Of the nine persons on the Personal Staff of the Governor one is an Indian, who is styled the Native Aide-de-camp in the combined list.

There is one Indian member in the Governor's Executive Council of three members.

There are *seventeen* appointments in the Secretariat; only one goes to an Indian, who is a mere Registrar.

ASSAM.

There is only one person on the *Personal Staff* of the Chief Commissioner who is of course an European.

BEHAR AND ORISSA.

There are two persons on the Personal Staff of the Lt. Governor—both are Europeans.

In the Lt. Governor's Council there is one Indian.

Of the 14 appointments in the Secretariat 4 are shown as vacant. The rest are all filled by Europeans.

BURMAH.

There are two Indians on the Lt. Governor's Personal Staff of eight members.

The *twenty* appointments in the Secretariat are all held by Europeans!

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

There is only one member on the Personal Staff of the Chief Commissioner, and he is an European.

Of the 11 posts in the Secretariat all are held by Europeans.

N. W. FRONTIER PROVINCE.

There are only two persons on the Personal Staff of the Chief Commissioner and one of them is an Indian.

There are eight appointments in the Secretariat and only one is held by an Indian.

PUNJAB.

The Personal Staff of the Lt. Governor consists of three members—all Europeans. There are 25 appointments in the Secretariat, the largest in all India, and there is not a single Indian appointed to any of them!

U. P. of Agra and Oudh.

There are *six* members on the Personal Staff, all Europeans.

There are *seventeen* appointments in the Secretariat and all of them are held by Europeans.

BENGAL.

In the graded list (of Civil Servants, Bengal) there are 175 civilians, of whom 12 only are Indians. The remaining 163 appointments are held by Europeans.

The members of the Board of Revenue, and of the Executive Council are all European civilians. The Indian member of the Executive Council is not a Civilian. The Divisional Commissioners and the Secretaries are all Civilians. There is no Indian civilian judge in the High Court though it is admitted that Indians are better *judges*. The Registrar of the Calcutta High Court is an European civilian.

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The Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation are European Civilians.

The Post Master General and Inspector General of Police are European Civilians too.

The salaries of the above mentioned officers vary from Rs. 5,333 to Rs. 1,500.

The highest pay received by an Indian member is Rs. 2,500 and there is only one such Indian member.

Bombay.

The total number of Civil Servants attached to Bombay at present are 177, of whom 10 only are Indians. Only one of these draws a salary of Rs. 2,500.

Of the European members two draw a salary of Rs. 5,333 each, five draw Rs. 4,000 and above each in pay and allowances, while there are no less than eight posts on Rs. 3,000 and above, held by European members.

As in Bengal there are two Statutory Civilians in Bombay.

Madras.

There are 174 Civil Servants attached to Madras of whom of only 9 are Indians. The highest salary received by an Indian is Rs. 2,500 and there is only one such member.

Among the European members there are *two* drawing Rs. 5333 each, *three* drawing Rs. 4000 each, *twelve* on Rs. 3000 and above each, and *twenty* men Rs. 2500 and above, including pay and allowances!

There is only one statutory civilian in Madras.

Assam.

There are no Indians in the Assam list. All the 39 appointments are held by European members of the Civil Service. There are 9 military commissioned officers in civil employ, besides. They are all Europeans.

Bihar and Orissa.

There are 155 members attached to the Behar and Orissa list of whom four only are Indians. The highest salary received by an Indian is Rs. 2,500 and there is only one such member. As in other provinces the appointments on salaries ranging from Rs. 5,333 downwards are all held by Europeans. There are three on Rs. 4,000 and above, 6 on 3000 and above, seven on Rs. 2,500 and above in pay and allowances.

There is one Statutory Civilian in Behar.

Curmah.

In Burmah there are 126 Civilians, none being an Indian. There are 49 Military and other officers in civil employ, who are Europeans too.

Central Provinces.

There are 95 members of the I. C. S. attached to the C. P. list, four only of them being Indians. The highest salary received by an Indian member is Rs. 1,300 and there is only one such member.

One European member receiving Rs. 5,666 is the Sub-pro-tem Chief Commissioner.

There are three on Rs. 3,000 and above, twelve on 2,500 and above, in pay and allowances.

There are 14 military and other officers holding Civil Appointments. Of them four are Indians.

There is one Statutory Civilian besides.

N. W. Frontier Province.

There are 38 members in the N. W. Frontier province list. This includes I. C. S. men and military officers and others.

There is not a single Indian in this list.

Punjab.

In the Punjab gradation list there are 143 members. Only *three* of them are Indians.

The highest salary received by an Indian is Rs. 1800 in pay and allowance. The Europeans have as usual the monopoly of the most highly paid posts. Thus there are 6 of them on Rs. 3,500 each, 4 on Rs. 3000 each, 9 on Rs. 2250 and above, in pay and allowances.

There are three statutory civilians however.

Besides, there are 25 military and other officers in civil employ. There are also 4 special assistant commissioners. All these are Europeans.

United Provinces.

In the United Provinces—the civilian's paradise—there are 237 members in the list. Of them 12 only are Indians. The highest salary received by an Indian is Rs. 1833.

The number of posts carrying big salaries and held of course by Europeans is abnormally large in this province. The poorest

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peasantry are thus burdened with the costliest civil service; a strange anomaly, which shows in whose interest India is governed by the bureaucracy. Thus, to begin with, the Lieutenant-Governor gets Rs. 8333. One member gets Rs. 5000. Three get Rs. 4000 each. Twenty get Rs. 3000 and over each. Twelve members draw Rs. 2500 and over each, while there are no less than 27 posts on Rs. 2500 each.

Consider these magnificent salaries with the Rs. 1833 received by an Indian member.

There are 50 members of the various provincial services who hold posts ordinarily reserved for the Indian Civil Service. It should be remembered in this connection that the Public Service Commission of 1886-87 proposed that 108 posts should be detached from the schedule of the statute of 1861 and should be incorporated with the Provincial Service by legislation. The Government cut it down to 93 posts and did not incorporate them with the provincial service but made special appointments to those posts under the Act of 1870.

This shows how the bureaucracy of India have persistently opposed the appointment of Indians to High posts.—*Vide Dadabhai Naoroji's minute to the Welby Commission.*

Of these 50 posts again 7 are held by Europeans and Eurasians! The good old maxim of "Heads you lose, tails I win".

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Foreign Department.

There are 112 posts under the foreign department of which 3 only are held by Indians. Of these three one is an assistant commissioner and the other two are judicial assistants merely.

Political Department.

There are 5 miscellaneous appointments under the Political Department of which one is held by an Indian.

Imperial Forest Department.

The two posts under this department are held by Europeans.

Botanical Survey of India.

There are seven posts under the above department. All of them are held by Europeans.

Geological Survey.

There are 21 posts under the above department. Only two of them are held by Indians, both being assistant superintendents.

Royal Indian Marine.

The seven posts under this department are all held by Europeans.

Imperial Department of Agriculture.

There are eighteen posts under this department, one only of which is held by an Indian. The rest are all held by Europeans.

Survey of India.

All the eight posts in this department are held by Europeans.

Imperial Civil Veterinary Department.

The three members of this department are all Europeans.

Imperial Meteorological Department.

There are nine posts in this department. Two only of them are held by Indians.

Forest Research Institute and College.

There are thirteen posts in this department. Three are held by Indians.

Post Office of India.

There are twenty-five posts under this department. Five of them are held by Indians.

I.

In the office of the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs there are eight posts all held by Europeans.

II.

In the office of the Accountant-General Post office and Telegraphs there are six posts. Three of them are held by Indians.

III.

The six posts in the Technical Branch are all held by Indians.

IV.

In the telegraph workshops and stores there are three posts - all held by Europeans.

FOREST DEPARTMENT.

BENGAL.

All the thirteen posts, including Conservator, Deputy conservators and Asst. Conservators are held by Europeans.

BOMBAY

The twenty-nine posts in the Bombay including conservator, Dy.

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Conservators & Asst. Conservators are all held by Europeans.

MADRAS

There are *thirty-three* posts in Madras all held by Europeans.

ASSAM

The sixteen posts in Assam are all held by Europeans.

BEHAR

The five posts in Behar and Orissa are held by Europeans.

BURMAH

All the *Sixty-eight* (68) posts in Burmah including chief conservator, conservator, deputy conservators and assistant conservators are held by Europeans.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

The twenty-six posts in this province are entirely in the hands of Europeans.

PUNJAB.

The sixteen (16) posts in this province are held by Europeans.

N. W. FRONTIER PROVINCE.

There is only one post in this province and it is held by a European.

UNITED PROVINCES.

The twenty-four (24) posts in this province are held by Europeans.

The Indians are thus completely shut out from the higher appointments in the Forest Service. Indians are said to be lacking in governing capacity. But cannot Indians be as good forest engineers as Europeans?

BBNGAL EXCISE, SALT AND CUSTOMS.

I

EXCISE.

There are eight posts in this department—six of which are held by Indians. But whereas the two Europeans draw Rs. 2800 between themselves per month, the Indians get Rs. 1850 only!

This justifies the statement often made that the pay of the European head in an office often exceeds the sum total of the pay of the rest of the establishment.

II. SALT DEPT.

The three posts in this department are held by Europeans.

III. CUSTOMS DEPT.

There are eighteen posts in this Department all but two of which are held by Europeans. Of the two Indians one is a mere cashier.

BOMBAY CUSTOMS, SALT,
OPIUM AND ABKARI.

I. CUSTOMS.

There are seventeen posts—two only of which are held by Indians. The rest are all held by Europeans.

II. SALT

There are thirteen posts in this Dept. Two of them are held by Indians. The rest are all Europeans.

III. EXCISE

There are nine appointments in this dept. One is held by an Indian, the rest being Europeans.

MADRAS—EXCISE, SALT, CUSTOMS.

There are twenty-eight (28) appointments under the above heading. One only is held by an Indian. The rest are Europeans.

ASSAM

In the Assam Excise service there is only one appointment, which is held by a European.

BEHAR AND ORISSA—EXCISE AND SALT.

There are *sixteen* appointmeets in this Department. *Three* of these are held by Europeans including the Excise Commissioner. The Indians, who are 13 in number, are mostly Deputy collectors.

BURMAH—EXCISE, CUSTOMS AND OPIUM.

There are 37 posts in the above departments. They are all held by Europeans with the exception of two who are Indians.

CENTRAL PROVINCES—EXCISE, CUSTOMS AND SALT.

There are two posts only in this province—one of which is held by an Indian.

N. W. FRONTIER PROVINCE.

The four posts are all held by Europeans.

PUNJAB—SALT DEPARTMENT.

The five posts in this department are all held by Europeans.

UNITED PROVINCES EXCISE, SALT AND OPIUM.

There are twenty-five posts in this pro-

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vince under the above headings. Only one is held by an Indian; the rest are all held by Europeans.

POST OFFICE OF INDIA.

I. Bengal.

The seven posts are all held by Europeans.

II. Bombay.

The Five (5) posts are all held by Europeans.

III. Madras.

Of the four posts—one only is held by an Indian. The rest are Europeans.

IV. Assam circle (Dacca).

There are three posts—all held by Europeans.

V. Behar and Orissa.

The five posts are held by Europeans.

VI. Burmah.

The two posts are held by Europeans.

VII. Central Circle.

There are four posts, one only being held by an Indian. The rest are Europeans.

VIII. Punjab, N. W. Frontier province.

The five (5) posts are held by Indians.

IX. United Provinces.

The six posts are held by Europeans.

Telegraph Department.

Bengal Circle.

The nine posts are all held by Europeans.

Bombay Circle.

There are seventeen posts one only of which is held by an Indian. The rest are all Europeans.

Madras Circle.

There are eighteen posts one only of which is held by an Indian. The rest are all Europeans.

Assam Circle.

There are nine posts one of which is held by an Indian. The rest are all Europeans.

Behar and Orissa Circle.

There are four posts two of which are held by Indians. The rest are Europeans.

Burmah Circle.

There are twenty posts, five of which are held by Indians. The rest are all Europeans.

Central Provinces Circle.

There are twelve posts, one of which is held by an Indian. The rest are all Europeans.

Punjab Circle.

There are (17) seventeen appointments all held by Europeans except two which are held by Indians.

U. P. Circle.

There are twelve posts—two only of which are held by Indians. The rest are all Europeans.

Bengal—Survey of India.

The twelve posts are all held by Europeans.

Madras—Revenue Survey.

Of the (8) eight posts one only is held by an Indian. The rest are all Europeans.

Assam—Survey of India.

The four appointments are all held by Indians.

Bihar and Orissa Survey of India.

The five appointments are held by Europeans.

U. P. Survey of India.

The two posts are held by Europeans.

Punjab—Survey of India.

There are eighteen (18) posts one only of which is held by an Indian. The rest are all held by Europeans.

Bengal Financial Department.

There are nineteen appointments. Five only are held by Indians.

Bombay Financial Department.

There are thirteen posts. Four only are held by Indians. The rest are Europeans.

Madras Financial Department.

There are fifteen posts. Seven of them are held by Indians. The rest are Europeans.

Assam Financial Department.

There are four appointments, one of which is held by an Indian.

Behar and Orissa.

Information not yet received.

Burmah Financial Service. (Civil Branch).

There are seventeen posts, four only of

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which are held by Indians. The rest are Europeans.

N. W. Frontier Provinces Financial Dept.

The Accountant General is an I. C. S. Officer drawing Rs. 2500 in pay and allowances. There is no other appointment.

Punjab Financial Dept.

There are fourteen (14) appointments three only of which are held by Indians.

U. P. Financial Dept.

There are ten appointments. Two of these only are held by Indians. The Assistants are Europeans.

P. W. Branch.

There are three appointments all held by Europeans.

Bengal Judicial Dept.

There are (37) thirty-seven posts in the above Department. 9 of them only are held by Indians. The rest are held by Europeans.

Bombay Judicial Dept.

There are (27) twenty-seven appointments in this Department ten only of which are held by Indians—the rest being held by Europeans.

Court of Judicial Commissioner, Sind.

All the three posts are held by Europeans.

Madras Judicial Dept.

There are (21) twenty-one appointments, 5 only of which are held by Indians. The rest are all Europeans.

Assam Judicial Dept.

Of the 4 four appointments two goes to Indians. The other two are held by Europeans.

Burmah Judicial Dept.

Of the 16 appointments—one only goes to an Indian—the remaining 15 are held by Europeans.

Central Provinces.

There are seven appointments one only of which is held by an Indian. The remaining six are held by Europeans.

Punjab Judicial Dept.

In the Punjab Judicial department there are (13) thirteen appointments—one only of which is held by an Indian. The remaining 12 are all Europeans.

U. P. Judicial Dept.

There are 16 sixteen appointments, three only of which are held by Indians. The rest are all Europeans.

SMALL CAUSE COURT—BENGAL.

There are eight appointments four of which are held by Indians.

PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE—BENGAL.

There are seven appointments—five of which are held by Indians. The Chief and Second Presidency Magistrates are Europeans.

SMALL CAUSE COURT—BOMBAY.

Of the nine posts six are held by Indians.

PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE—BOMBAY.

There are four—two of whom are Indians.

SMALL CAUSE COURT—MADRAS.

There are four appointments, three of which are held by Indians. The other is a European.

Presidency Magistrates—Madras.

There are four appointments—two of which are held by Indians. The other two are Europeans.

Small Cause Court—Burmah.

There are eight appointments—four only of which are held by Indians. The rest are Europeans.

Small Cause Court—U. P.

There are eight appointments—five of which are held by Indians. But while the five Indians get Rs. 1700 between themselves, the three Europeans get Rs. 2855—12—0 per mensem.

JAIL DEPARTMENT.

I. Bengal.

All the ten appointments are held by Europeans.

II. Bombay.

There are five appointments—two of which go to Indians. But while the two Indians draw between themselves Rs. 750—the three Europeans get Rs. 3900 per mensem.

III. Madras.

All the ten appointments are held by

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IV. Assam.

All the four appointments are held by Europeans.

V. Behar and Orissa.

There are five appointments—one of which is held by an Indian. The other four are Europeans.

VI. Burmah.

There are eight appointments--one only of which is held by an Indian.

VII. C. P.

There are six appointments—all held by Europeans.

VIII. N. W. Frontier Province.

There is only one appointment which is held by a European.

IX. Punjab.

All the six appointments are held by Indians.

X. U. P.

All the eleven posts are held by Indians.

REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

I. Bengal.

There are two posts both held by Indians.

II. Bombay.

There is only one post which is held by a European.

III. Madras.

There is only one post which is held by an European.

IV. Assam.

V. Bihar and Orissa.

There is only one post in each province which is held by a Europen.

VI. Burmah.

There is one post only which is held by a European.

VII. Central Province.

There is one post only which is held by an Indian

VIII. Punjab.

The one appointment is held by a European.

IX. United Provinces.

There are two highly paid appointments both of which are held by Europeans. This province is peculiar in its highly paid European officers.

POLICE.

I. Bengal.

The Inspector General of Police is a European I. C. S. Officer.

The Four Deputy Inspector-Generals are all Europeans.

The two Superintendents in the first grade are Europeans.

The seven Superintendents in the second grade are all Europeans.

The Eleven Superintendents in the third grade are all Europeans.

Of the twelve Superintendents in the fourth grade one is an Indian. The rest are Europeans.

Of the thirteen in the fifth grade one only is an Indian. The rest are Europeans.

ASSIST. SUPERINTENDENTS.

The sixteen appointments in the first grade are all held by Europeans.

The ten appointments in the second grade are held by Europeans only.

The eighteen appointments in the third grade are all held by Europeans.

II. Bombay Police

The I. G. of Police and the Commissioner of Police are both Europeans.

The two Deputy Inspector-Generals 1st grade are Europeans. The two in the Second grade too are Europeans.

SUPERINTENDENTS.

The two appointments in the first grade are held by Europeans.

The five appointments in the second grade are all held by Europeans.

The eight appointments in the third grade are all held by Europeans.

The eight appointments in the fourth grade are held by Europeans.

Of the twelve appointments in the 5th grade two only are Indians.

ASST. SUPERINTENDENTS.

The twelve posts in 1st grade are all held by Europeans.

The thirteen posts in the second grade are all held by Europeans.

The nine appointments in the third grade are held by Europeans.

III. Madras Police.

The Inspector General is a European.

The five Deputy Inspector-Generals are Europeans.

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The two Asst. Inspector-Generals are Europeans.

Of the two Deputy Commissioners one is an Indian and so is the Asst. Commissioner.

SUPERINTENDENTS.

The two Supds. in the 1st grade, the five in the second grade and the ten in the third grade are all Europeans.

Of the seven in the fourth grade one is an Indian, of the 10 in the fifth grade one is an Indian—the rest are all Europeans.

ASST. SUPERINTENDENTS.

The thirteen appointments in the 1st grade, the eleven in the second grade, the ten in the third grade are all held by Europeans.

IV. Assam Police.

The Inspector-General is a European. The three Commandants in the Military Police are Europeans. The five asst. Commandants are Europeans too.

SUPERINTENDENTS.

There is one in the first grade who is a European. The one in the second grade is also a European.

The three posts in the third grade, the two in the fourth grade, the five in the 5th grade are all Europeans.

ASST. SUPERINTENDENTS.

The four in the 1st grade, the two in the second grade, the three in the third grade are all Europeans.

V. Behar and Orissa Police.

The I. G. of Police is a European. The Deputy I. G. is also a European. The two Deputy Inspector-Generals, are also Europeans.

Superintendents.

The two in the first grade, the five in the second grade, the six in the third grade, the seven in the fourth grade, the eight in the 5th grade are all Europeans.

ASST. SUPERINTENDENTS.

There are seven in the first grade, seven in the second grade, and eleven in the third grade, and are all Europeans.

VI. BURMAH POLICE.

(1) *Civil and Military Police.*

The Inspector General, the personal assistant to the I. G. and the Superintendent of Supplies are all Europeans.

Civil Police.

The four Deputy Inspector-Generals are all Europeans.

Superintendents.

The three in the first grade, the six in the second grade, the ten in the third grade, are all Europeans.

Of the eighteen in the 4th grade 2 are Indians. The rest are Europeans. There are thirteen appointments in the 5th grade all held by Europeans.

Assistant Superintendent.

The sixteen in the first grade, the 12 in the second grade and 9 probationers are all Europeans.

Deputy Superintendent.

There are 26 twenty-six of them, 9 of whom only are Indians. It may be remembered that these posts were created for Indians specially!

(2) *Military Police.*

The Deputy Inspector-General is a European. The twelve commandants are all Europeans. The adjutant is a European —the three assistants are also Europeans.

VII. C. P. Police.

The I. G. and the four Deputy I. G.'s are all Europeans.

Superintendents.

There are two in the 1st grade, (7) seven in the third grade, seven in the fourth grade, nine in the fifth grade, all Europeans.

Assistant Superintendents.

There are ten in the first grade, five in the second grade, six in the third grade—all Europeans.

VIII. N. W. Frontier Province Police.

The Inspector-General is a European.

Superintendents.

There are six superintendents—one each in the 1st, 3rd and 4th grades and three in the 5th grade. All are Europeans.

Assistant Superintendents.

There are six in the first grade, two in the second grade, and one in the third grade. All are Europeans.

IX. Punjab Police.

The two Inspector Generals are

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Europeans. The four Deputy Inspector-Generals are Europeans too.

Superintendents.

There are two in the 1st grade, seven in the second grade, ten in the third grade, eleven in the fourth grade, fourteen in the fifth grade—all Europeans.

Assistant Superintendents.

There are 17 in the 1st grade, fourteen in the 2nd grade, 11 in the 3rd grade—all Europeans.

X. United Provinces Police.

The Inspector General is a European. There are four Deputy Inspector-Generals,—all Europeans.

Superintendents.

There are three in the first grade, eight in the second grade, thirteen in the third grade, fifteen in the fourth grade, seventeen in the fifth grade,—all Europeans.

Assistant Superintendents.

There are nineteen in the 1st grade, nineteen in the second grade, sixteen in the third grade,—all Europeans.

MARINE.

I. Bengal.

There are ten posts all held by Europeans.

II. Bombay.

There are five posts all held by Europeans.

III. Madras.

There are seventeen posts all held by Europeans.

IV. Assam.

There is one post and it is held by a European.

V. Behar and Orissa.

There is one officer and he is a European.

VI. Burmah.

There are eleven posts all held by Europeans.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

I. Bengal.

There are 46 forty-six appointments all held by Europeans except three.

II. Bombay.

There are thirty appointments one only of which is held by an Indian. The rest of the 29 are held by Europeans.

III. Madras.

Of the 35 thirty-five appointments none is held by an Indian—all are Europeans.

IV. Assam.

There are seven appointments all held by Europeans.

V. Behar and Orissa.

There are fifteen appointments all held by Europeans.

VI. Burmah.

Of the fifteen appointments one only is held by an Indian. The rest are Europeans.

VII. Central Provinces.

There are sixteen appointments two only of which are held by Indians. The other fourteen are held by Europeans.

VIII. N. W. Frontier Province.

There are two appointments one of which is held by an Indian who is the Director's personal assistant.

IX. Punjab.

There are seventeen appointments all held by Europeans.

X. United Provinces.

All the thirty appointments are held by Europeans.

ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT.

I. Bengal.

There are 27 incumbents including the Lord Bishop, Senior Chaplains, Junior Chaplains, Chaplains of the Church of Rome and Chaplains of the Church of Scotland. They are, needless to say, all Europeans.

II. Bombay.

There are 27 incumbents including the Lord Bishop. There are six honorary canons besides.

In the Bombay establishment there are also 5 chaplains of the Church of Scotland and one of the Church of Rome.

They are all Europeans.

III. Madras.

There are 41 incumbents, all Europeans.

IV. Assam.

There are five incumbents, all Europeans.

V. Behar and Orissa.

There are seven incumbents, all Europeans.

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VI. Burmah.

There are 11 incumbents, all Europeans.

VII. Central Provinces.

There are 16 incumbents, all Europeans.

VIII. N. W. Frontier Province.

There are five incumbents, all Europeans.

IX. Punjab.

There are thirty incumbents, all Europeans.

X.

There are thirty-five incumbents, all Europeans.

MEDICAL DEPT.

I. Bengal.

All the thirty-seven appointments are held by Europeans.

II. Bombay.

Of the 49 posts in the Medical Dept. four only are held by Indians. The remaining 45 are all held by Europeans.

Of the 14 appointments in the Sanitary dept. and the Bacteriological Laboratory two only are held by Indians.

III. Madras.

Of the 65 appointments 6 only are held by Indians the remaining 59 are held by Europeans.

IV. Assam.

Of the 14 posts none is held by an Indian.

V. Bihar and Orissa.

Of the 26 posts one only is held by an Indian.

VI. Burmah.

Of the 39 I. M. S. Officers two only are Indians. There are besides 27 military Asst. Surgeons on salaries ranging from Rs. 400 to Rs. 950. Seven of them are on Rs. 750 and above. They are mostly Eurasians. Compare the lot of Indian Asst. Surgeons with these Eurasians, who are of much inferior training to that of Indians.

VII. Central Provinces.

Of the 21 posts one only is filled by an Indian.

VIII. N. W. Frontier Medical Dept.

All the fifteen appointments are held by Europeans.

Punjab.

Of the 39 appointments three only are held by Indians. The rest are all Europeans.

There are besides 10 appointments in the Lahore Medical College none of which is held by an Indian.

X. U. P.

Of the 44 appointments none is held by an Indian.

There are besides 9 appointments in the Sanitary and Vaccination Dept. which are all held by Europeans.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

I. Bengal.

All the three appointments are held by Europeans.

II. Bombay.

All the six appointments are held by Europeans. There are 34 political agents besides, all but one of whom are Europeans.

III. Madras.

Of the twelve appointments two only are held by Indians.

IV. Assam.

All the four appointments are held by Europeans.

V. Bihar and Orissa.

Both the two posts are held by Europeans.

VI. Burmah.

All the seventeen posts except one are held by Europeans.

VII. C. P.

There is only one post which is held by a European.

VIII. Punjab.

All the four posts are held by Europeans.

IX. U. P.

All the four posts are held by Europeans.

INDIAN FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

P. W. ACCOUNTS OFFICERS.

Class I.

All the eight posts are held by Europeans.

Class III.

Six only of the 47 posts are held by Indians. The remaining 41 are all filled by Europeans.

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PUBLIC WORKS.

I. Bengal.

(1) *Imperial.*

The Chief Engineer is a European. Of the four Superintending Engineers one only is an Indian and he belongs to the third class of Superintending Engineers.

Of the 19 executive engineers 6 only are Indians.

None of the 11 Assistant Engineers is an Indian.

(2) *Provincial.*

The three assistant engineers are Indians. Of the two executive engineers one is a European.

Of the three assistant engineers of the 2nd grade one only is an Indian.

II. Bombay.

(1) *Imperial.*

The two chief engineers are Europeans. Of the seven superintending engineers one only is an Indian.

Of the thirty-five executive engineers ten only are Indians.

Of the 40 Assistant Engineers 3 only are Indians.

(2) *Provincial.*

Of the two executive engineers one only is an Indian.

Of the 16 Assistant Engineers 4 are Europeans.

III. Madras.

(1) *Imperial.*

Both the Chief Engineers are Europeans.

All the eight Superintending Engineers are Europeans.

Of the 39 Executive Engineers five only are Indians.

Of the 26 asst. engineers one only is an Indian.

Of the four Sanitary Engineers one is a European.

(2) *Provincial.*

All the three Executive Engineers are Indians.

Of the 21 Asst. Engineers 6 are Europeans.

All the six appointments in the Ry. department are held by Europeans.

This is an instance of how Indians are systematically shut out from higher Ry. appointments.

IV. Assam.

(1) *Imperial.*

The Chief Engineer is a European.

The Superintending Engineer is a European.

Of the six Executive Engineers two only are Indians.

All the ten Asst. Engineers are Europeans.

Provincial.

All the three Asst. Engineers are Europeans.

All the three Temporary Engineers are Europeans.

Lower Ganges Bridge Project.

The Superintending Engineer is a European.

All the fourteen Executive and Asst. Engineers are Europeans.

The five men in the Stores, Audit and Medical Dept. are all Europeans.

This is how Indians are kept out from participating in all scientific operations.

V. Bihar and Orissa.

(1) *Imperial.*

Both the chief engineers are Europeans.

All the six superintending engineers are Europeans.

Of the thirteen Executive Engineers three only are Indians.

(2) *Provincial.*

The two Executive Engineers are both Indians.

Of the eleven Asst. Engineers two are Europeans.

The Sanitary Engineer is a European.

VII. Burmah.

(1) *Imperial.*

Both the *Chief Engineers* are Europeans.

Of the nine *Superintending* Engineers one only is an Indian.

All the thirty *Executive* Engineers are Europeans.

All the thirty-two Asst. Engineers are Europeans.

(2) *Provincial.*

All the four Executive Engineers are Europeans.

Of the 14 Assistant Engineers one only is an Indian.

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Railways.

All the Five Railway appointments are held by Indians.

VII. Central Provinces.

(1) *Imperial.*

The Chief Engineer is a European.

Of the four Superintending Engineers one only is an Indian. The other three are Europeans.

Of the 13 Executive Engineers five only are Indians.

Of the 13 (thirteen) Asst. Engineers one only is an Indian. The remaining 12 are Europeans.

The four Royal Engineers are Europeans.

(2) *Provincial.*

The only Executive Engineer is a European.

Of the 14 Assistant Engineers 6 are Europeans.

VIII. N.-W. Frontier.

All the 27 Royal Engineers are Europeans. Besides, all the 17 posts including the Chief Engineer, Superintending Engineer, Executive Engineers and Assistant Engineers are held by Europeans.

IX.—Punjab.

(A) Buildings and Road Branch.

(1) *Imperial.*

The Chief Engineer is a European. The 5 Superintending Engineers are Europeans. Of the 20 Executive Engineers one only is an Indian.

All the eight Assistant Engineers are Europeans.

(2) *Provincial.*

Both the two Executive Engineers are Europeans.

Of the 11 Asst. Engineers two are Europeans.

(B) Irrigation Branch.

(1) *Imperial.*

The two Chief Engineers are Europeans. All the ten Superintending Engineers are Europeans.

Of the 47 Executive Engineers 4 only are Indians.

Of the 45 Assistant Engineers one only is an Indian.

This is the result of Lord Morley's reactionary policy of restricting the appointment of Indians to only ten per cent of the total recruitment. Most of these 45 men have been recruited between 1904—1911.

(2) *Provincial.*

All the five Assistant Engineers are Indians. None of these were recruited after 1903.

Of the six Executive Engineers three are Indians.

Both the Assistant Engineers of the 1st grade are Europeans.

Of the eight Assistant Engineers of the 2nd grade one is a European.

(c) *Railway Department.*

Of the 10 appointments on the N. W. Railway one only is an Indian. Of the 18 Traffic Superintendents two only are Indians.

Of the 25 Assistant Traffic Superintendents two only are Indians.

All the 39 appointments in the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments are held by Indians.

(d) *Engineering Department.*

All the five appointments including the Chief Engineer and four Superintending Engineers are held by Europeans.

Of the 25 Executive Engineers five only are Indians.

Of the 22 Assistant Engineers one only is an Indian, the remaining 21 are Europeans.

Most of these men mere recruited between the year 1903 and 1911—hence the sparsity of Indians.

All the four Signal Engineers are Europeans.

The two Mining Engineers are Europeans.

Of the 14 examiners—Accounts Department, only one is an Indian.

Of the five appointments in the Store Department only one is an Indian.

Of the 14 men on the construction division none is an Indian—another instance of Indians being kept out from scientific undertakings.

X. United Provinces—Direction.

Of the six appointments under the above heading none is held by an Indian. All are held by Europeans.

Engineer Establishment.

(1) *Imperial.*

All the seven Superintending Engineers are Europeans.

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Of the 30 Executive Engineers four only are Indians.

Of the 43 Assistant Engineers one only is an Indian. He joined the service in 1893, while the rest of the 42 men all joined between 1902 and 1911.

All the nine Royal Engineers are Europeans.

PROVINCIAL.

Of the 11 unclassed engineers 4 are Europeans.

Of the three Executive Engineers third grade one is a European.

Of the Six Assistant Engineers one is a European.

RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

Of the 22 appointments none i by an Indian!

Of the 5 in the Traffic Department none is held by an Indian!

Of the four in the Audit Department only one is an Indian!

The Chief Storekeeper is a European.

THOMASON COLLEGE ROORKEE.

Of a staff of 18 Professors one only is an Indian who occupies the bottom of the list! Although he received part of his training in Europe, he draws only Rs. 400 a month!

PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

I. Bengal.

Of the three posts one only is held by an Indian.

II. Bombay.

All the seven posts are held by Europeans.

III. Madras.

All the nine posts are held by Europeans.

IV. Assam.

There are two appointments both held by Europeans.

V. Behar and Orissa.

Of the 5 appointments one only is held by an Indian.

VI. Burmah.

All the four posts are held by Europeans.

VII. C. P.

All the six posts are held by Europeans.

VIII. N. W. Frontier Province.

The Superintendent of farms is a European.

IX. Punjab,

All the five appointments are held by Europeans.

X. United Provinces.

Of the eight appointments two only are held by Indians. The rest are held by Europeans.

CENTRAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, KASAULI.

All the six appointments are held by Europeans.

Here again the total exclusion of Indians from a Scientific Department.

ANDAMAN COMMISSION.

All the 25 appointments commanding salaries ranging from Rs. 3000 to Rs. 320 are held by Europeans.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—MISCELLANEOUS APPOINTMENTS.

Of the 40 appointments two only are held by Indians.

MISCELLANEOUS APPOINTMENTS.

I. Bengal.

All the fourteen are held by Europeans.

II. Bombay.

All the eight appointments are held by Europeans.

HIS MAJESTY'S MINT, BOMBAY.

All the four appointments are held by Europeans.

III. Madras.

All the ten appointments are held by Europeans.

IV. Assam.

Both the appointments are held by Europeans.

V. Bihar and Orissa.

All the six appointments are held by Europeans.

VI. Burmah.

All the twelve appointments are held by Europeans.

VII. Central Provinces.

All the six appointments are held by Europeans.

VIII. N. W. Frontier Province.

Both the appointments are held by Europeans.

IX. Punjab.

All the eight appointments are held by Europeans.

X. United Provinces.

There are 21 appointments—in this province of inordinate European employment—none of which is held by an Indian.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N. B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

The Chronology of the later Palas.

It is very interesting to find a well-known figure among new environments. Lovers of Ancient Indian History will no doubt rejoice to hear that Mr. A. K. Maitra, the renowned lawyer and journalist of Rajshahi, has at last turned his attention to the serious study of Ancient Indian History and Chronology. Cato learnt Greek when he was an Octogenarian. Let us hope that Mr. Maitra will yet live to be a second Buhler or Kielhorn. A serious study of Ancient Indian History is rather difficult on account of the difference of the methods employed in it. In modern and mediaeval Asiatic History as well as in Ancient European History, the student depends on the existing historical literature. As he advances and proceeds to enumerate the *minutiae* he checks his conclusions with the help of Epigraphy and Numismatics. But the student of the Ancient History of India has to derive the main facts from Epigraphs and ancient coins and has no other material at his disposal to check his conclusions save what he gets from Epigraphs on cognate subjects. Mr. Maitra is well-known in the domain of modern Bengali Literature as an accomplished student of Ancient Indian Literature and an amateur writer on Drama, Poetry, Grammar and Rhetoric. As these subjects have as yet but little connection with Ancient Indian Chronology I am not at all surprised to find that Mr. Maitra finds some of my conclusions very amusing. But I fondly believe that a man of Mr. Maitra's capacity will very shortly cease to find cause of mirth among the objects of his study if he sticks seriously to it. Circumstances are very favourable to him at present. Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya is spending large sums of money for the promotion of Antiquarian Research in his own District. There are very few men in Bengal of the type of Mr. Ramaprasada Chanda, the learned author of the Gaudarajamala. Mr. Chanda's contact has already wrought an wonderful change in the older scholar. The creamy, frothy, style for which a certain school is famous and to which Mr. Maitra owes his place in the literature of the day has changed a fact much to be regretted. The cold and sober style which characterised the historian of the Fall of the mightiest Empire of the Occident, and than which nothing is more suitable for the interpretation of the mute language of ancient stones, has already been adopted by Mr. Maitra. The introduction to the "Gaudarajamala" marks an epoch in Mr. Maitra's career. The nation does not want a gaudy fabric "woven with dreams" from Mr. Maitra but more solid facts and let us hope that Mr. Maitra will respond more fully to his country's call.

I have to acknowledge with regret I have not been able to make myself fully understood to Mr. Maitra, on the subject of the chronology of the later Palas. In the *Sravana* number of the *Prabasi* I wrote an article on the position of King *Laksmanasena* in the Synchronistic table of Northern India. In that paper I had said that certain limits have been found about the dates of the later kings of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. It was a very bold statement no doubt, but I had the assurance of having such men as Kielhorn and Haraprasada Sastri at my back. Mr. Maitra finds my "theory" to be very amusing but I hope he will allow me to explain that it is not a theory at all, and if there is any theory in it, I have no right to associate my name with it. On the other hand it was a mere statement of facts. Mr. Maitra is no doubt aware that the Chronology of any period of Indian History prior to the Muhammadan conquest has to be settled either from calculation of recorded dates or from Synchronisms found in dated records capable of exact calculation.

In this case of the later Palas we have a certain date, capable of exact calculation, in the Sarnath image inscription of the Malava-Vikrama year 1083—1026 A.D. So this is one of the fixed points and the limits of the reign of Mahipala I, must lie within half a century on either side of this date. We know from the Imadpur image inscription, that Mahipala I reigned for at least 48 years. When the *Ramacharita* of *Sandhyakara Nandi* was published, it was found that according to two verses two kings named Madana and Chandra were contemporaries. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasada Sastri surmised that as Madana was Madanapala, the third son of Ramapala of Bengal, so Chandra must be Chandradeva, the founder of the Rathor or Gaharwar dynasty of Kanyakubja. For Chandradeva we have the certain date 1097 A.D. of his Chandravati plate of the Vikrama year 1148. Then again we know from the Jayanagar image inscription of Madanapala that he reigned at least for 14 years. So between 1026 A.D. and 1104 A.D., we have to place the following kings of the Pala dynasty :—

Mahipala I, Nayapala, Vigrahapala III, Mahipala II, Surapala II, Ramapala, Kumarapala, Gopala III and Madanapala.

Some explanatory notes will be necessary :—

(1) The beginning of Mahipala's reign must be placed before 1026 A.D. as we know that he was a contemporary of Rajendra Chola I, whose certain dates range from 1020—1042 A.D. The latter commenced to reign from 1012 A. D. and his Tirumalai rock inscription proves that his Northern Indian campaign was over before the end of his 12th regnal year. It might be surmised from the wording of the Sarnath inscription that it was a posthumous one. (2) The

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Chandravati plate gives a certain date for Chandradeva the Gaharwar, but his latest date is 1104 A.D. for we know from the Basahi plates of his grandson the *Maharajaputra* Govinda Chandra of the Malava-Vikrama year 1161 that he had ceased to reign at that time.

Now we find that Nayapala reigned for at least 15 years, Vigrahapala for at least 13 years, Ramapala for at least 42 years and Madanapala for at least 14 years. If we assign one year in the average as the limit of the reigns of Mahipala II, Surapala II, Kumarapala and Gopala III and leave out the figure for the reign of Madanapala out of our computation, because though he was a contemporary of Chandradeva, he might have continued to reign after the formers' decease, we find that at least seventy-four years elapsed from the beginning of the reign of Nayapala to that of Madanapala. Deducting 1026 from 1104 we find that there is a difference of 78 years between the two points, the date of the Sarnath image inscription to that of the death of Chandradeva, leaving a margin of four years for variations in the actual lengths of reign. Consequently it must be admitted that if the synchronism of Chandradeva Gaharwar and the Pala Madanapala be a fact, longer reigns than those already indicated cannot be assigned to any of the Pala princes. If Mr. Maitra rejects Sandhyakara Nandi's statements about the synchronisms of Chandradeva and Madanapala then the case will have to be tried on the merits of his arguments or on fresh grounds. If Mr. Maitra finds any further instances of irrelevancy or unsoundness which cause uncontrollable mirth in him, I can assure him that my services are always at his disposal to prove that they are not so. On this occasion I refrain from saying anything on the subject of the newly discovered Belabo grant. My remarks on the published text and Mr. Maitra's historical introduction shall have to be reserved for a fresh paper. I believe my statements will have the effect of convincing Mr. Maitra that *my arithmetic is not different from his*, and if I have unblushingly assigned a short reign to Vigrahapala III. and unhesitatingly ignored the flourish of words into the Manahali grant, it is because I cannot sacrifice Truth for Sentiment and historical facts for a *Kaviprasasti*. The chronology I have put forth is not a convenient one as it has to respect synchronisms and historical facts.

I find that a stone pillar without any inscription standing in the middle of a tank at a distance of 6 miles from the rest house, at Laskarhat, in the District of Dinajpur, has been looked upon by Mr. Maitra as "the mute monument of this memorable (*i.e.* Kaivartta) revolution" on the evidence of "tradition handed down.....to posterity, which was current even in the beginning of the last century, when Dr. Buchanan Hamilton carried on his investigations in Varendra." I am astonished to find that even a man like Mr. Chanda has been caught in this net of sentimentalism. The tradition "century" old has no value. Would Mr. Maitra care to admit that the Garudastambha was really set up by the legendary hero Bhima? There is not a shred of proof to substantiate similar assertions. "This massive stone, carried forth into the interior and set up in the middle of a large tank, was itself an evidence of a great achievement of the resourceful Kaivartta leader" is a statement for which Mr. Maitra will ever be at a loss to find a basis. Mr. Chanda has blamed Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasada Sastri for considering the statements of Ghanarama's *Dharmmangala* in his introduction to the Ramacharita, but what has he to say for himself, in defence of the sacrilegious act of putting such sentimental stuff into a work otherwise very respectable?

R. D. Banerji.

The Aryas of India and Iran.

I could have saved Mr. Prabhu the trouble of writing a note in criticism of my paper on the Aryans of India, if I could publish my paper relating to the Iranians in the September number of the *Modern Review*. My physical unfitness was in my way; and the publication of the papers may still be delayed. I have no hesitation to record it in reply that I agree in the main with what Mr. Prabhu has stated regarding the unity that subsists between the Aryas of India and of Iran in respect of language as well as religious belief. I stated it in my article that "the term Arya is applicable only to the Hindus and the Persians, in whose traditions only the word occurs." Having reserved the consideration of the question as to what relationship subsisted between the Hindus and the Persians of old, for a future independent treatment, I discussed only the proposition that there could not be any ethnic relationship between the Hindus and the European people, on whom the Aryan culture was once superimposed. Mr. Prabhu has not failed to notice it that I have mentioned it distinctly in my paper that the word "Dakshina" in its primitive sense is found in the Zend "Dashina." Since I did not ignore this fact and did not give any explanation in my article as to the cause of this unity of primitive notions between the Hindus and the Persians, it was rather clear that I wanted to speak about the Iranians in a subsequent issue of the magazine.

The less I speak of Mr. Tilak's wholly untenable theory, the better. I doubt not that one of Mr. Prabhu's culture and attainments will surely reject the polar-region-whimsies on a careful reference to the researches of the anthropologists regarding the original home and the movements of the Hominidæ throughout the palæolithic and the neolithic times.

B. C. Mazumdar.

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NOTES

Living and Non-Living.

Few of us can realise the difficulties that stand in the way of a pioneer who initiates a new line of inquiry. He has to make tangible what had hitherto remained beyond the cognisance of human senses. But this is not his only difficulty. A new accession of knowledge necessitates the readjustment of the old. Conservatism in science is as rigorous as in any other domain. It therefore takes a long time before the significance of a discovery is fully realised.

In the study of the phenomenon of life, the difficulties met with are so numerous that any attempt at a consistent explanation had been found to be a hopeless task. Hence a hypermechanical vital force was assumed which seemed to act in contradiction or defiance of the physical laws that govern the world of matter.

It was in 1900 that Prof. J. C. Bose announced at the Paris Congress the continuity of responsive phenomena in the Living and in the Non-Living. How widely this discovery has affected different departments of knowledge, will be seen from the following extracts.

Prof. Carveth Read in his *Metaphysics of Nature*, speaks of its influence on Physiological Psychology :

"The differences between the organic and inorganic are much less than we are accustomed to assume. J. C. Bose, in his *Response in the Living and the Non-Living*, after showing that under electrical stimuli plants exhibit fatigue, etc., and are affected like animals by anaesthetics and poisons, goes on to prove the same properties of tin and platinum wire. These also become fatigued ; there is a threshold of response ; subliminal stimuli become effective by repetition ; response increases with the intensity of stimulus up to a certain point at which another limit is reached ; response is affected by temperature, the median range is most favourable to it ; some substances act as stimulants upon tin and platinum, others like anaesthetics, others as poisons (destroying all response) ; a small dose may increase the response, and a large dose of the same agent abolish it. The resemblance of these results to some of those obtained in Physiological Psychology is obvious. Inorganic matter is much simpler than organic, and so is its molecular activity ; the simpler an organism, the simpler its consciousness."

Prof Kennedy Duncan, the eminent Chemist in his *Chemical Interpretation of Life*, after giving a full account of the discovery of Inorganic Response by Prof. Bose, says that it has thus been shown

"that the whole power of an animal or plant to respond to stimuli is a function not of "Life" but of matter, and with the out-and-out proof of this has passed away the necessity of postulating for it any unknowable and arbitrary Vital force."

The physiologists have hitherto been, generally speaking, upholders of the *Vitalist* theory. But now one of the leading physiologists has, as a result of his recent work, been constrained to arrive at a different conclusion. Prof. Schafer in his Presidential address before the British Association, this year, says

"that the dividing line between the Living and the Non-Living substances is not so sharp as has hitherto been supposed ; both are governed by the same laws."

This may be regarded as a reaffirmation almost in the same words of the concluding portion of Prof. Bose's Friday Evening Discourse before the Royal Institution, eleven years ago, that

"the responsive processes seen in life, have been foreshadowed in non-life—that there is no abrupt break, but one uniform continuous march of law."

or the concluding sentence in Prof. Bose's *Response in the Living and the Non-Living* --

"These investigations prove to us that these things are determined, not by the play of an unknowable and arbitrary vital force, but by the working of laws that know no change, acting equally and uniformly throughout the organic and inorganic worlds."

Decay of Sanskrit learning in India.

Hindus claim to be better educated than Muhammadans. This is true so far as University and High School education is concerned, but certainly not with regard to education in the Eastern classical languages. Hindus number four times as much as

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Muhammadans. But the remarkable fact is there that advanced teaching in Arabic and Persian possesses fifty per cent. more scholars than Sanskrit. The following figures for the official year 1910-11 taken from the Educational Statistics of British India speak for themselves.

Arabic or Persian	Institutions	1,470
	Scholars	31,346.
Sanskrit	Institutions	1,298
	Scholars	20,610.

Then again, for the teaching of the Koran in the same official year, there were for boys 7,357 institutions with 141,460 scholars, and for girls 1,305 institutions with 23,964 scholars.

There are no corresponding institutions for the teaching of any Hindu scripture to Hindu boys and girls of this country.

If true, what does it mean ?

According to the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, the Nicholson Committee which has been conducting its proceedings in secrecy, has discovered

"that military efficiency in India has entirely shifted from the quarters in which it is generally said to reside, that the native Indian troops are no longer regarded by the highest military authorities as being of much fighting value, and that the Government is under the necessity of widening its area of recruiting and at the same time sacrificing part of the establishment which it at present possesses if it is to maintain an army of a high standard."

It is hinted by the same correspondent that the Sikhs have lost their fighting qualities and so, in future, the Indian army will consist almost entirely of Gurkhas, and Afridis and other Pathans.

We do not know what truth there is in the statements of the above correspondent. If not too late, we suggest the committee to take evidence in public, for the Indian tax-payer as well as the soldier is interested in its proceedings.

Ours has been the only Indian journal which has discussed the question of the Native Indian Army in all its different aspects and so we recommend Lord Nicholson and the members of the Committee to peruse the military articles which appeared in the pages of this *Review* during the past few years. That will help them to see the question from the Indian's point of view and thus find a solution of it which will prove advantageous both to England and India.

We invite the Committee's special attention to the following articles :—

1. The fighting races and castes of India. Modern Review for July, 1907, pp : 57—59.
2. The efficiency of the native Indian Army. *Ibid*, August, 1907, pp : 110—113.
3. How the Sepoy is housed ? *Ibid*, September, 1907, pp : 272—277.
4. Indians and the Artillery. *Ibid*, October, 1907, pp : 330—332.
5. Native officers of the Indian Army. *Ibid*, December, 1907, pp : 491—495.
6. Lord Roberts on the efficiency of the Native Army. *Ibid*, January, 1908, pp : 35—39.
7. Foreign mercenaries in the Indian Army. *Ibid*, February, 1908, pp : 111—116.
8. The pay of the Sepoy. *Ibid*, May, 1908, pp : 430—432.
9. The white army in India. *Ibid*, June, 1908, pp : 543—545.
10. Who should pay the piper ? *Ibid*, October, 1908, pp : 332—336.
11. Indian Military charges. *Ibid*, November, 1908, pp. : 427—431.
12. India's Military Problem. *Ibid*, December, 1908, pp : 511—515.
13. The Gatekeepers of India. *Ibid*, June, 1909, pp : 526—528.
14. Eurasian Regiments. *Ibid*, September 1912, pp : 296—298.

Wake up Sir Ashutosh !

The exclusion of art from the category of faculties is an inexplicable anomaly in the curriculum of the Indian Universities. The prescribed courses in the Universities here are generally believed to embrace all forms of higher education—so that whatever is not included in the University course is generally despised by the so-called educated classes. The study of the fine arts has thus become a sort of a forbidden fruit to our graduates and "Masters of Arts" The University of London has arranged to include in its syllabus for the first term, session 1912-13, a course of four lectures on Indian Art to be delivered by A. K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc., Fellow of the University College.* When will the authorities of

* University of London, University College First Term. Session 1912-13. A course of four lectures on Indian art will be delivered by A. K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. (Fellow of the College), on Tuesdays at 5 p.m., beginning Tuesday, October 15th, 1912. Syllabus 1. Introduction 2. Architecture 3. Sculpture 4. Painting. Fee for the course 10s. 6d. Applications for tickets of admission should be made to the undersigned.

Walter W. Seton, M. A.
Secretary. University College, London.
(Gower Street, W. C.)

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the Indian Universities wake up to their responsibility?

In January 1906 the faculty of "arts" of the Calcutta University formally accepted Mr. Havell's proposal, as an abstract resolution, "that in the interest of general culture art should not be excluded from the arts courses of the University." The resolution was then referred to a Committee who dropped the matter altogether. The proposal, since then, has been lying buried, crying for a resurrection.

O. C. G.

Mr. Har Dayal on some present-day movements.

In the article published in this number Mr. Har Dayal writes from his own point of view on the Depressed Classes Missions and the Hindu University movement in his usual forcible and brilliant style. But it is easy to see that there are other points of view which cannot be ignored.

Every educated Indian knows that his countrymen are looked upon as pariahs among the nations and treated as such, by white men in general, and particularly by British colonists. It is our duty to strive by all legitimate means to secure a recognised position of equality with all progressive nations. Self-respect requires that we should never forget or neglect this duty. Mr. Har Dayal has done well to brand this fact on the memories of Indians. But at the very outset of the endeavour to obtain recognition as members of the human brotherhood, no right-minded Indian can fail to reflect whether his own house is in order. Six centuries before Christ Buddha and Confucius taught the law of reciprocity, that one should accord to others the same treatment that one expects from them, or that one should behave as one expects others to behave. Christ taught the same lesson, "do unto others as you would be done by." It is true that if we treat millions of our own people as pariahs, that is no reason why foreigners should treat us as pariahs. But if they do treat us in that way, can we consistently protest against such treatment, and protest with force? "Physician heal thyself," would be the natural retort.

But even if there be no such retort, is it not obvious that if we had no pariahs, no despised or untouchable castes among ourselves, if we had no insuperable hereditary barriers between class and class, if we could march forward in a practically solid phalanx, the movement for the betterment of our international position would acquire a far greater momentum than it possesses at present? It is no doubt historically true that nations have sometimes attained a recognised place in world-polities in spite of their own internal social inequalities. Even among some of the great nations of Europe great social inequalities still exist. But the "untouchables" are a special product of India. And the circumstances of India are such that a parallel can hardly be found elsewhere in history. Japan had a caste-system and a class of untouchables, but these clogs on the wheel of Japan's progress have been shaken off.

Still Mr. Har Dayal may argue that the elevation of our international status is a far more momentous problem than the raising of the condition of our own untouchables, and as such it should be attended to first. His article, in any case, is a reminder to the mere social reformer who fights shy of politics that our internal social problems are neither the only nor the most pressing problems. At the same time, there is no reason why we should belittle or throw ridicule on the efforts of social reformers pure and simple. Nor should we forget that there are men among us who are as much interested in the promotion of social reform as in the solution of problems arising out of our inferior international status.

There is also another consideration which may appeal to Mr. Har Dayal and those who are of his way of thinking. Educated Indians are now in a position to understand the humiliating character of their international status. The treatment of their countrymen in India abroad hurts their self-respect. They are therefore impelled to make efforts in the proper direction. They are also, therefore, in a position to profit by the bitter and pungent pill administered by Mr. Har Dayal. It is certain that the "untouchable" classes (with the exception of solitary individuals here and there) have no idea of the Indian's international position or of national self-respect. Mr. Har Dayal's article is of no use to them. But were they

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properly educated by Depressed Classes Missions and other agencies, they would be able to benefit by his admonition and join hands with their educated brethren to see that India does not for ever remain in her present condition.

As for the Hindu University movement, we are not among those who think that it is necessary or serves any useful purpose to teach any kind of religious dogma in schools and colleges. There may be lectures on theology for post-graduate students on the distinct understanding that the lecturer is to be free to teach what he considers to be true. That is our position. But we cannot lose sight of the fact that even the mediaeval universities of Europe which did not enjoy religious freedom and taught certain dogmas did good educational work. It would have pleased us best if there had been one or more unofficial universities on a non-sectarian basis, open to students of all religions. But educational facilities in India are so insufficient that we must be prepared to make the best of every bad bargain ; though we do not know how the sectarian, Hindu and Musalman universities are going to counteract their narrowing tendencies.

As for the teaching of politics in the proposed Hindu University, we suppose it will teach political science and political economy of the sort taught in the officialised universities. Idealists like Mr. Har Dayal cannot like this state of things. Nor do we, as we think there ought to be complete freedom of teaching and learning in all subjects taught in a university. But seeing that even in some progressive Western countries, this freedom does not exist, we must not break our hearts over the matter. Seeing, moreover, that the official universities have done some good work in spite of their defects and limitations, the non-official universities may also do some good.

Man, in every age and country, in addition to learning from other ages and countries, should think for himself and adjust himself to his surroundings. For it is a truism that the wisdom of no age or country can suffice for the conduct of life in another age or country. Ancient Hindu wisdom is no exception to this rule. Neither in religion nor in politics nor in any other matter can Sanskrit or Pali literature, standing by itself, suffice for all the needs of our present-day existence. But we do think that in both these literatures there is much that affords and will even in future ages continue to afford invaluable guidance to man in his individual and social capacity.

Manu is not the sole repository of Indian political wisdom. Chānakya's Arthashāstra, the Shānti-parva of the Mahābhārata and other works may still be read with profit by statesmen ; though we cannot advise exclusive or preponderating devotion of time and energy to their study. Manu, too, is not so effete, politically speaking, that we can throw him into the waste paper basket. And the republican form of Government was not unknown in India, as we have shown in this *Review* again and again.

The Royal Public Service Commission.

In our last number we published an article on the Islington Commission. In this we publish a series on the same. Professor Cox's article has a direct bearing on the same subject, as also the statistics of higher Indian Government posts. But these by no means exhaust it. There are many departments of the public service which remain untouched. Many facts and arguments bearing generally on all the services remain to be published. We shall be glad fo publish the same in future numbers if contributors who have made a special study of particular aspects of the question and of service in particular departments will kindly send articles or notes on the same.

There is no more effective way to keep down a people than to dwarf its intellect, and there is no more effective means of dwarfing its intellect than to deprive it of opportunities to show its capacity. We shall, therefore, be glad if our readers will kindly place us in possession of well-authenticated information relating to all original work done by Indian professors *and their students*. We have italicised the last three words intentionally; for the best teacher is he who inspires his students with love of knowledge and shows them how to add to the world's stock of knowledge and of principles. As we have not the least desire to be one-sided, we shall

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also be glad to publish an account of original work done by European professors in India and their students.

"Should European Women Marry Indians?"

When printing in this number the article on the subject which forms the heading of this note, we did not know that in England even an Indian menial may be actually looked upon as a desirable husband by an English "girl of education and refinement." The following extract from the letter of the London correspondent of the *Empire* will be news to many:—

While the marriage of an Indian student to an English girl is no uncommon event, there cannot be many cases of Indian servants following their masters to this country and then marrying English women. But judging from the recent observations of an Indian gentleman of much distinction such cases would not be infrequent if it were customary for Anglo-Indians or Indians to bring male servants to this country. From the first moment my friend and his wife set up home here his Mahomedan bearer attracted eager curiosity, and indeed amorous attention, from the cook and the housemaid. His employer (to whom he was so greatly attached that he refused much better paid and less menial service in order to accompany him here) charged him to be most circumspect in the servants' kitchen; and all indications pointed to his discouragement of the eager attentions he received from both the girls, one of whom actually sent him through an intermediary a suggestion that he should propose marriage. If his master spent a week-end with friends the bearer would afterwards receive amorous postcards or letters from domestics he had been brought into contact with. The explanation no doubt is that to a cook or housemaid the day by day contact with a man-servant of another race and colour—young and well set-up withal—has in it elements of novelty and strangeness which shape themselves into romance.

But the infatuation did not end with the kitchen—where it was stolidly discouraged—and quickly extended to the nursery governess, and in this case the capture was effected. The remonstrances and threats of disownment of relatives, the warnings of master and mistress as to her miserable plight if she accompanied him, a personal servant only, to India, the persuations of some philanthropic ladies of title who took up the case—all these were fruitless. The governess was bent on marriage with the Mahomedan bearer; and he was equally set upon the match. The one thing he stipulated was that his master should give his consent. This, after frequent warnings, explanation and expostulation, my friend reluctantly gave seeing no satisfactory alternative; and now the governess, who has some private means and is a girl of education and refinement, is the chatelaine of a furnished flat, where her Moslem husband joins her after the work of the day is over. His devotion to his master, with whom he has been for half a score of years, has not waned, and neither the girl nor he show any sign of repenting the union, although almost entirely ostracised her. We have in the domestic event the foundations for a telling story at the hands of a skilful novelist; and it remains to be seen whether in real life the romance will end in tragedy.

This affair cannot be dismissed with a sneer. It is easy to comment unfavorably upon it. But we should not fail to note that an English girl in this case did not care for the "position" of the man, but was attracted by what appeared to her to be his own personal qualities. This democratic bent of mind is not to be despised.

Speaking generally, we think marriage between persons whose mother-tongue, religion, and political status (independence or subjection) are different, is undesirable. But the question is too complex and intricate to be dealt with in a note.

The Swadeshi Mela.

Considering the number and variety of the exhibits and the number of male and female visitors, the Swadeshi mela this year was a greater success than its predecessor. Last year the total number of visitors was 35,000, of whom 5,000 were ladies; this year the total number was 75,000, of whom 18,000 were ladies. Apart from the fact that the increasing interest of ladies in any public movement gives a great impetus to it, this increased attendance is an indirect proof that the idea that women should spend their lives within the four walls of the zenana is fast losing its hold. This is no doubt well-known to those who have paid even brief visits to such health resorts as Darjeeling, Giridih, Deoghar, &c.

Some useful things like Mr. J. C. Datta's Motor Oil-Engine, Banerji's well, &c., were shown by our countrymen. We should have been glad if more things like Messrs. Burn & Co.'s agricultural machines, and the Bengal Agricultural Department's implements had been exhibited by our people. We are constrained to say that many of the essences exhibited were Swadeshi only in name.

How to produce Swadeshi articles on a sufficiently large scale, how to compete with foreign products both in quality and price, how to induce wholesale and retail dealers to stock Swadeshi articles (not as a matter of patriotism but from purely commercial motives), are problems that still await

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Tripoli.

Peace has been concluded between Turkey and Italy. Italy's predatory designs have been successful. Tripoli has passed under her sway. From the point of view of revenue Turkey has lost nothing, as Tripoli was not a source of income to her. Her loss has been a loss of prestige and military reputation, and perhaps also of a prospective source of revenue under a reformed administration. The breaking out of the Balkan war is a clear proof that Italy has struck a serious blow at Turkey's military renown. For nothing else could have emboldened the small Balkan states and Greece to wage an unprovoked war with her.

At the commencement of the Tripolitan war Italy professed to have in view the liberation of the Arabs of Tripoli from Turkish subjection. Will she now be as good as her word? Or will her conduct be another proof that Christianity is both professed and lived by some individuals but that in international relations, particularly with weak or non-Christian peoples, its profession is still in most cases a mockery and a lie?

The Balkan War.

It was very plucky for a small kingdom like Montenegro with a *population* of some 300,000 souls, women and children included (just one-fourth of the *army* which Turkey is said to be able to muster), even though, as subsequent events have proved, she had the secret promise of support from her confederates, to declare war against Turkey. And allowing for all exaggeration in the reports of her successes hitherto cabled all over the world, it must be said that her pluck was not the result of shere rashness. Sparks of fire are seemingly insignificant, and heaps of straw look large; but in a conflict between the two, the chances of success are all on the side of the sparks. We do not say that Turkey is like a heap of straw; she has still a well-founded fromidable military reputation. What we mean to say is that all struggles that may seem hopeless to slothful and timid men may not be hopeless after all.

Why have the Balkan states and Greece undertaken this war? The aggressors assert that their object is the liberation of the subjects of Turkey in Macedonia and elsewhere; and with that object in view they presented a note to Turkey demanding certain reforms in Macedonia and requiring guarantees for the carrying out of the same. On behalf of Turkey it must be said that she was making an honest effort to introduce reforms all over her empire; but at the very commencement of the new regime, when Bosnia and Herzegovina were taken away from her, and later, during the Tripolitan war, she was, owing to her embarrassments, deprived of the opportunity of concentrating all her energy on internal reform. And it would ill accord with her dignity to give guarantees for reform at the point of the bayonet presented at her by some of her whilom subjects; though she said that reforms would be introduced as expeditiously as practicable. And there was no reason to doubt the sincerity of her intentions. But the confederates were spoiling for a fight. So the war began.

But to return to our question. If the object of the confederates be to liberate subject *Christian* peoples, why did they not present a note to Germany (to be followed by a declaration of war if she did not comply with their demand) demanding that Alsaco-Lorraine be given back to France? But Germany is too powerful and terrible an antagonist for them. If their object be to liberate subject peoples irrespective of religion or race, why did they not fight both Turkey and Italy and help the Arabs of Tripoli to become independent? Why did they instead try to prevent peace being concluded between Italy and Turkey, so that the latter in her embarrassment might not be a match for them? So the liberation of subject peoples in general or even of Christian subject peoples cannot be the sole or main object of the confederates. Evidently they want to pay off old scores against Turkey. They cannot forget their former galling subjection to Turkey; they cannot forget that the Turks are Asiatics and Moslems, whereas they are Europeans and Christians. So the war is a war of revenge and spoliation combined; and it is to some extent a racial and religious war too. But even if one of its objects be the liberation of Macedonia and other Ottoman dependencies, there would be

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some justification for it ; though there is no knowing whether after Turkey had been compelled to loosen her hold over Macedonia and other Turkish dependencies, the latter would be snapped up or not by Russia, Austria or Germany. For the small Balkan States, which do not hold any people in subjection, the profession of a desire to liberate subject peoples is not *prima facie* insincere, as it would be in the case of any great power of Europe unwilling to liberate any of its own dependencies.

We do not know whether the reports of Turkish reverses hitherto received are substantially true or are greatly exaggerated. If they be true, as there is abundant proof to conclude they are, it must be said that either the Turks have greatly deteriorated as soldiers or that their arms are of the old-fashioned sort or that their generalship is bad or that their defeat at the hands of Italy has greatly demoralised them. It may be that all these causes are at work. But it is too early yet to predict how the war will end.

Persia.

To deprive a country which is inhabited by only savage tribes of its independence is to inflict a grievous wrong on it and the world at large. To deprive Persia of her independence would be a far greater wrong. Her literature and her arts have been great civilisers throughout the Moslem world and in India during the period of Moslem ascendancy. The debt of Judaism, Christianity and Islam to Zoroastrianism is well-known to students of religious systems. By her Sufism Persia has contributed a valuable element to the Moslem faith. Her latest contribution to the spiritual forces of the world is Babism or Bahaism. Such a land deserves a better fate than partitioning, enslavement and exploitation. That she is incapable of managing her own affairs is a plea which may be dismissed without consideration. For she has not been given the opportunity to show her capacity.

Presidentship of the Indian National Congress.

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar has been offered and has accepted the presidentship of the Indian National Congress at the next session to be held at Bankipore. He has been a steady worker for the Congress cause, and has worked with zeal and persistency to make the Industrial Conference a success. The only thing in his public career which may be said to be a disqualification



Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudhalkar.

is that he voted for the latest fetters forged on the legislative anvil for the press. But as he shares this disqualification with many other prominent Congressmen, we are not disposed to lay too great stress on it.

Babu Moti Lal Ghosh and the Malaria Conference.

The Bengal Government has nominated Babu Moti Lal Ghosh to represent Bengal at the ensuing Malaria Conference. Among our public men, outside the circle of medical experts, perhaps there is no other man who has devoted more time to the study of the causes of malaria and its remedies.

Good Water for Bengal.

It is probable that as the result of the Water Conference recently held at Darjeel-

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ing there will be many water-works installed in mofussil municipal areas. If so, we hope, everywhere, water-works and a good system of drainage will go together. Water-works without good drainage would make the soil water-logged and breed malaria. This has been seen in many big towns in the United Provinces.

If Government be in earnest about a good water-supply, sanitation and education in rural areas, it should be made a rule for years to come that no non-official who has not done something substantial for the people in these directions will receive any honorific titles or decorations.

Indian students in Great Britain.

Some contributions and correspondence have appeared in recent numbers of "India" relating to the treatment received by Indian students in England and about the work of the Cromwell Road establishment and the Advisory Committee. There are complaints against some universities. A private letter written by a student at Edinburgh university to another at London University contains the following sentences relating to the treatment of Indian students at the former: "It is, I think, quite disgraceful. I would not advise any of my friends to come here if they can manage to stay anywhere else." It is said that some of the professors of this university openly say to Indian students, "We don't want you Indian students; why do you swarm to this place?"

No doubt it would be good for these universities, for the British Empire and for humanity, if the authorities of these universities saw fit to accord gentlemanly treatment to Indian students. But we can not compel them to be sympathetic and generous. We think the wisest observations are those which are contained in Mr. Bhagwandin Dube's letter published in "India," October 4, 1912 :—

In my humble opinion the real solution lies in having first-class and up-to-date schools and colleges for every branch of knowledge in our own land. A Vakil who passes law examinations as stiff as, if not stiffer than, those of the Council of Legal Education ought to have the same status as a barrister-at-law. It is gross injustice to our brethren in India who possess more brains than money that they should not be judged according to personal merit. The greater number of our young men come here for the Bar because it is easier to qualify for the English than the Indian Bar. Similarly, the competitive examinations for the Indian Medical Service and the Civil Service ought to be held for us in India. Then we need not come to this country and beg for admission from door to door.

When we have realised equality of treatment in our own country then, and then only, shall we be able to command respect in the lands of others. Meanwhile, let us all judge charitably of others and endeavour to cultivate friendly relations with the men and women amidst whom we live in a foreign land.

Mr. T. Palit's second Princely Donation.

Mr. Taraknath Palit has placed his countrymen under a fresh debt of gratitude by a second donation of rupees seven lakhs and eighty-nine thousand, of which Rs. 50,000 are meant for a hospital and the remainder for the promotion of education. The bestowal of education is a perpetually recurring benefit. Hence it has been said in Sanskrit that there is no gift equal to the gift of knowledge.

Compulsory Education in Mysore.

A Mysore 'Gazette Extraordinary" publishes the provisions of a Bill to be called "The Elementary Education Regulation," providing for the extension of elementary education in the State. In every area to which it shall apply it shall be the duty of the parent of every boy not under 7 and not over 11 to cause him to attend a recognised school for so many days in the year as may be prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction, unless there is reasonable excuse. Government may by notification extend the regulation to girls in suitable areas. The object of the Bill is to introduce as an experimental measure in select areas a cautious system of compulsory education. It is very encouraging that several Native States, large and small, have taken steps preliminary to the introduction of universal compulsory education.

The Late Rao Bahadur Lalshankar Umiashankar.

It is with deep regret that we have heard of the death of Rao Bahadur Lalshankar Umiashankar, the eminent social reformer and philanthropist of Bombay. Of him the *Indu Prakash* writes :—

Death has taken a very heavy toll from the Bombay Presidency—if not all India—in taking away Rao Bahadur Lalshankar Umiashankar, so well known to us all—in Gujrath and Maharashtra—at Bombay and

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Poona and Ahmedabed—as a man of pure soul and kindly heart and one devotedly attached to everything that would lead to the moral, the spiritual and alongside therewith the social, political and economical elevation and progress of his countrymen. He was one of the most conspicuous examples of a self-made man—one role of whose entire life was to struggle with difficulties—and well earned by effort the success he hardly failed to attain in his career as either a private gentleman or a worker in the public cause. Social and Moral Reform is very much the poorer on account of the death of Rao Bahadur Lalshankar, especially so in Gujarath. It will be long before the loving memories of the Rao Bahadur fade in the minds of his numerous friends and admirers, to be found all over the Presidency; and the Pandharpur Foundling Home and the Ahmedabad Orphanage will ever remain permanent memorials of a character which typifies the highest of all religions—the religion of humanity,—a religion of which Lalshankar was so true a dovotee.

Foreign Students in the United States.

Statistics compiled by the United States Bureau of Education show that there were 4,850 foreigners enrolled as regular students in the universities and colleges of the United States during the school year 1911-12. Summer students brought the total up to 5,227. These figures do not include the number of students in preparatory schools. Of this number, 3,983 were undergraduates, 249 were graduates of American colleges taking graduate work, and 624 were graduates of foreign colleges engaged in graduates work in the country.

Canada leads in the number of students pursuing courses in the United States with 898, and the West Indies rank second with 698. China and Japan together send more students to the United States than the entire continent of Europe, China sending 549 and Japan 415, while 251 come from the United Kingdom, 143 from Germany, 120 from Russia and inland, 96 from Turkey in Europe, and 313 from the rest of Europe.

The colleges and universities of the United States also draw considerable numbers from the other countries of the East, India and Ceylon sending 148, Chosen (Korea) 21, Persia 17, the Philippines 123, Turkey in Asia 73, other Asiatic countries 24, Hawaii 105, Australia 105, and New Zealand 26, Brazil sent the largest number of students from South America, 76; Argentina sent 51, Peru 28, Colombia 28, Chili 19, and the other South American countries 72, Mexico follows Japan in the number of students sent, with 294. All of Central America contributed 84 students to the total. Africa was represented by 26 from Egypt and 53 from South Africa.

The State Entry at Delhi.

On the 23rd of December next, the Viceroy will enter Delhi with due pomp and ceremony. There will be the inevitable elephants and British fireworks. We promise to be mightily pleased on that day and to be convinced that the days of the Great Moghul have come back again. We hope there will be plenty of sugarcandy and pop-guns for us all.

The Burma Defamation Case.

Mr. Arnold, Editor of the *Burma Critic*, has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment for defaming a British Magistrate named Mr. Andrew. As it has not been shown that Mr. Arnold bore any malice to Mr. Andrew, we do not see how Mr. Arnold has deserved so severe a sentence for a mere error of judgment granting that there was any. We hope the petition to the Viceroy to release him will be successful.

"Tilak Maharaj Ki Jay."

In Great Britain and Ireland Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Bonar Law and some other Unionist leaders are openly inciting people to rebel in case the Home Rule bill becomes law. Mrs. Pankhurst, a suffragette leader, has also incited her followers to rebellion. They have all done this with impunity. Here in India, however, some lads have been heavily fined for shouting "Tilak Mahārāj Ki jay" during the Ganapati festival procession at Poona! And even this charge is said to rest on concocted evidence. So there is great variety in the laws of the British Empire as they are administered, but no unity in variety.

During the early stages of the Boer War in reply to questions by a member of the House of Commons, a minister was stating how many guns, how much ammunition, how many horses, &c., had been sent to South Africa. Mr. Tim Healy, M. P., interposed with the question, "How many asses pray?," insinuating that many of the army officers were of that species. Evidently Mr. Healy has not yet become interested in the Indian administrators of the law.

Library Management.

The spread of education does not bear full fruit unless there be libraries and free libraries scattered all over the country. Baroda has taken the lead in establishing free libraries. It is fitting therefore that she should be the first to publish a periodical, *the Library Miscellany*, dealing with the details of library management and other allied matters. The classification of books and their cataloguing in such a way that a book can be at once found and that

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alphabetical order, the most expeditious method of issuing books to the public, all these have become an art in themselves. It has to be learned, it does not come naturally. *The Library Miscellanry* ought to be able to teach us all about libraries.

Rev. C. F. Andrew on Race within the Christian Church.

The East and the West for October contains a thought-provoking article by the Rev. C. F. Andrews on the question of "Race within the Christian Church." It should be read by non-Christians also. He asks:—

"Is the Christian solution of the race problem in India really practicable? Can the apostolic standard of race-equality in Christ be maintained! Can Indian Christians be treated by us in every sense as equals without detriment to our rule or loss of our prestige as the ruling race? These are the questions that are continually being debated. My whole heart cries out "Yes" to all of them, and my conscience goes with it."

Incidentally he deals with the National Movement in India and the colour bar applied to Indians by the colonies. We hope to refer to his treatment of these points in our next.

"Imperialism and Architecture"

The Builder, a British journal for the architect and for all interested in the constructive and decorative arts, contains in its issue of September 27, an article on "Imperialism and Architecture." It contains observations like the following:—

"The expression of imperial character through the medium of architecture is a policy which the Mother Country should encourage. Divergence from a course set by the parent which is unattributable to the inherent demands of climate and location means imperial disintegration. Our rule and protection extends not only over aboriginal countries and continents which have gradually become immense colonisations, as in Australasia and Canada, but also over vast countries like India, whose native populations far outnumber the purely British section; or, again, it extends over countries like South Africa, originally independent colonisations of settlers drafted from other European powers. If our imperialism is to be completely effective throughout the length and breadth of the Empire the Mother Country must see to it that her national character is expressed not only in the architecture of the cities she founds, but also in the public buildings of the cities she rules."

"The confusion consequent on the attempt to combine the characteristics of a modern European and Indian building in one and the same structure, to erect for the native that which by tradition he alone is capable of erecting for himself, is to invite not only the scorn of the Imperialist, but also the ridicule of those whose own noble architecture has been so grossly caricatured. As a compliment in political diplomacy it is shallow, and from every point of view a grave error."

"The Oriental is to-day interested and concerned in emulating the civilisation of the Western world. Our architectural schools are training students from India, China, and Japan. Indian rajahs vie with one another in building houses based on English models. *If we are to retain suzerainty in India this attitude is one to be encouraged.*"

The italics are ours.

Coolie labor and the colonies.

The Sydney Daily Telegraph contains an article on coolie labor and the colonies embodying Mr. Manilal M Doctor's experience and observations. We give an extract below.

EMIGRATION TOUTS IN INDIA.

If Mr Manilal's description of the system as it is worked in India is correct, it practically amounts to "blackbirding." It is carried out, he says, by Indian touts, with the connivance of Europeans. Thousands of pounds are paid to these touts for gathering in men. They have depots scattered through the United Provinces (in the north-west), and in Calcutta and Madras. The labour is not contract labour, though it is so called. "The Indians, who are supposed to contract with the planters in the distant colonies," says Mr Manilal, "are illiterate, ignorant, village people. They don't understand the conditions of the contract, and the recruiters give them false hopes. They paint glowing pictures of life in the colonies, so as to seduce these men from their homes. The emigration agent finds some youngster who has quarrelled with his relations, and is loafing about. He says to him, 'You want employment; I'll give it to you. You'll get good food, and only have two or three hours' work a day.'

BRIBING THE INDIAN POLICE.

The agent gives these deluded people sweets. He hires cabs for them. He drives them to the depot and the railway station, and if anyone wants to see them at the depot he is forbidden. The poor people think even greater things are in store for them; they expect to find a paradise in the colonies. Women also who have quarrelled with their husbands, they go to the depot, and are told to say they are the wives of some person to whom they are not married, and so they are sent off. I have personally seen such cases in Mauritius. The Indian police are bribed; if they were not bribed this sort of thing could not succeed. It has been admitted that such things do occur; Europeans concerned with the recruiting business admitted it in 1909 before Lord Sanderson's Committee on Indian Immigration to the Crown colonies.

"Again, in some colonies the treatment of these indentured Indians by the planters has been very harsh. On the sugar estates they are often beaten, and they themselves have sometimes turned and beaten their officers. Also, they lead very immoral lives,

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because of the paucity of women. Even now in Natal Indian women, after their indentures expire, are obliged to pay a £3 polltax unless they enter into fresh indentures. They do not want to serve any more, and so this leads to prostitution, that they may raise the money. In Mauritius at first they only enrolled men as labourers. Some women were sent out, but it was in a haphazard manner. This led to all sorts of trouble, until the Indian Government insisted that a certain proportion of women should be sent; 33 per cent. the proportion was for Mauritius, and 40 per cent. for Natal. I am not sure of the proportion for Fiji.

"ABOLISH THE SYSTEM."

Another feature of the system is that negligence or slight faults, including insubordination, are made penal offences This condition, as even those members of the Viceroy's Council who defend the system admit, is not explained to the Indians before they are engaged."

The indentured-labour system, Mr. Manilal explained, exists now only in Fiji, Trinidad, British Guiana, and the West Indies. "The leaders of Indian opinion, both in the National Congress and in the Viceroy's Council, believe that the indentured emigration of Indians to distant colonies is fraught with great hardship and demoralising to the Indian people. They believe that the system should be abolished altogether. A resolution to that effect was come to by the National Congress last December. Afterwards, in March, Mr. Gokhale, a member of the Viceroy's Council, and, as one might say, the leader of the Opposition in it, brought forward a similar motion. All the non-official Indian members, Mussulmans and Hindus together, voted for it, but the official majority threw it out. Mr. Gokhale declared that the motion would be brought forward persistently until the Government should accept it."

The Quelling of the Serpent Kaliya.

The subject of this water-colour by Molaram is a story told in the Vishnu Puran and Bhāgavat Puran. In a deep pool of the Jamuna near Brindaban lived the serpent Kāliya with a thousand mouths. The poison emitted from these thousand mouths so infected the water of the pool that the cowherds and cattle were afraid even to touch it. Krishna jumped into the pool and catching hold of the serpent began to dance on his thousand crests. Kāliya had at first thought of attacking Krishna, but was soon defeated, and begged him to show him mercy. The serpent-women, too, prayed to him for mercy. Krishna spared his life and exiled him with his family to the island of Ramanak, and thus banished all fear of the serpent from the minds of his people.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

English.

I.—Prize Essay on Loyalty to the British Crown written on the occasion of the Royal Visit in India in 1911: by Diwan Mangal Sen. 'Times' Press, Bombay.

This collection of essays begins with the following sentences: "The genesis of loyalty consists in the happiness and the contentment of the people over whose destinies the Crown holds its sway.....There have been kings who have enforced loyalty at the point of the bayonet, but the loyalty thus artificially engendered is only temporary and superficial, and whenever the people, thus forced into submission, find a loophole in the authority of the tyrant, they upset the whole machinery of the administration and consign to one common ruin the tyrant and his minions..... It is now abundantly clear that no ruler can now hold his subjects in proper submission or ensure their loyalty for a single day, if he openly flouts their opinions or desires." This is sound common sense, as everyone will admit. The pamphlet is beautifully printed and sumptuously got up, and is adorned with two excellent portraits of their Majesties.

II.—Report of the Second Punjab Hindu Conference held at Multan on the 10th and 11th October 1910. Price annas six.

Half the utility of a report of this kind lies in the promptitude with which it is published, but we are sorry to note that the report under review is two years behind time. The speeches are also distinctly inferior in quality to those of the first Conference. One significant and hopeful sign was that the Conference was presided over by a lineal descendant of Guru Nanak who said that a Hindu was a Hindu, whether he be a Sikh, or a Sanatanist, an Arya or a Brahmo. Among the resolutions of general interest were those relating to the encouragement of the Sanskrit and the Hindi languages, the wider introduction of recitation by Kathaks, the celebration of Hindu festivals, the desirability of promoting education among the masses, the mischievous effects of separate electorates, the improvement of the depressed class who, 'owing to their degenerate, illiterate, and helpless condition are easily prevailed upon to join other faiths in strikingly large numbers,' the decrease of population among the Hindus, the encouragement of the Ayurvedic system of medicine and the necessity of writing a true and accurate history of the Hindu period. One mentionable feature of the Conference was that high officials attended its sittings. The aims and objects of the Conference were set forth in our review of the report of the first conference. As we write we read of a successful session of the Conference at Delhi. Hindus all over India cannot fail to watch the movement with sympathetic and watchful interest.

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III.—Indian Snapshots: by John Law. Third Edition. Thacker Spink & Co., 1912.

The book, which in its previous editions appeared under the name of "Glimpses of Hidden India," has evidently caught on. It was elaborately reviewed in this magazine when it was first published, and only a few extracts from the chapters which have been newly added will now be given. The book is deservedly popular and is very well printed and neatly bound.

Speaking of tendency to ignore the great work done by Indians in subordinate positions, the author says: "Certainly English civilians receive credit for a great deal that is done by Indian officials who work under their direction, and would be in a sorry plight if such helpers were taken away and they were left to themselves." We recommend this for the careful consideration of Lord Islington's Commission.

The transfer of Capital to Delhi has not, in the writer's opinion, struck the imagination of Indians.

The writer is not at all enthusiastic about the reformed Councils. Speaking of her personal impression of a session of the Imperial Council in Calcutta she says: "The first thing that struck me, when I looked at the Honourable members, was the diversity of interests, religions, ambitions and aspirations that they represented...it was not possible to imagine any line of policy on which Honourable members could agree."

The book is full of wise reflections in a similar strain, which provide ample food for thought.

IV. The Indian Year Book Annual: 1912: Compiled by V. Ramanjulu Naidu. Nayudupetta.

As a first attempt the book is worthy of all praise. It is intended to be a reference book of political information for politicians and journalists. The Indian and English constitution have been described in full, detailed information has been given on the various legislative councils and the rules of Election, extracts have been given from the notable speeches of prominent Indians and Englishmen and short biographical sketches of Indian celebrities and very full information on all the native States have been added. The statistical portion is gathered from the Census tables of 1901, and also from blue books of later date. The speeches quoted are as old as 1909, and the recent administrative changes inaugurated at the Delhi Durbar have not been touched upon. The compiler however assures us that the second edition will be more complete and up-to-date. The faults of the compilation lie on the surface, but the indefatigable industry and resourcefulness displayed in collating such a mass of valuable information from quarters not easily accessible are likely to escape the person who has occasion to consult the book, which is nicely printed on thick paper and well-bound. We wish this extremely useful Annual every success and steady improvement in its successive issues.

V. Stories of Bengali Life: translated from the Bengali of Probhat Kumar Mukherji by Miriam S. Knight and the author. Chuckerverty, Chatterji & Co. 15, College Squ re, Calcutta. Price, paper, Re 1/8/0.

We welcome this volume of stories. The author is one of our most brilliant of story-tellers, and his writings abound in humorous touches and show considerable power of observation. The charm and grace of the original Bengali could not of course be reproduced in translation, but it is as good as could be expected, and by a foreigner specially the stories are bound to be appreciated, for they will afford him instructive glimpses of modern Bengali life at its best and its worst. Stories like 'His Release' and 'Swift Retribution' correctly represent some phases of the recent political history of Bengal and as such will prove specially interesting. The book is nicely got up and neatly printed.

VI. Urge Divine: by Saint Nihal Singh. Ganesh & Co, Madras. Price Re 1.

This is a collection of Essays, varied in character, relating to agricultural, industrial, educational and philanthropic subject, all having for their object the uplift of this ancient land by showing us how to profit by the experience of other countries. Some of these eassays were published in the *Modern Review*—a fact which, curiously enough, is not mentioned in the Introduction. The author is wellknown as an intelligent observer and powerful writer, and his essays are bound to prove entertaining as well as instructive.

VII.—XI. The Life and Teachings of Buddha (annas twelve): Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar (annas four): Kashinath Trimbak Telang (rupee one): Allan O. Hume (annas four): Swami Dayanand Saraswati (annas four). Natesan & Co., Madras.

These five small volumes are among the recent publications of Messrs. Nateson & Co. All of them are well-written, the life of Justice Telang and the history of his times being specially full and complete. Mr. Dharmapala writes on Buddha, and no better authority on the subject could be chosen. The biographies of Messrs. Mudholkar and Hume are very timely publications and likely to be much appreciated, as the former is the president-elect of the coming session of the Congress and the recent demise of the latter invests his life with a melancholy interest. The life of Swami Dayanand possesses a perennial interest for every social reformer. Altogether, Messrs. Nateson are to be congratulated on their Pujah output.

XII—XIV. Grav's Elegy, edited by Khirode Chandra Roy Chowdhury, M A.: Milton's L' Allegro, Il Pensoroso and Gray's Elegy, edited by H. Chatterjea, M.A: Cowper's Task, Book I. Edited by H. Chatterjea, M.A.

These editions of well-known college text-books are likely to prove useful to those for whom they are intended.

XV. The Neglected Emperor-Poet: by G. Harisarvottam Rau, M.A. Price annas eight. Madras.

This is an exhaustive critique on the Telugu poem *Amuktamalyada*. The writer tries to prove that its author is Raja Krishnadeva Raya of Vijaynagar. The spirit of research displayed by the author in the

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cause of one of the important vernacular literatures of Southern India is to be commended.

XI. The Correspondence Club: The "Modern World" Office, Madras.

The object of the Club and its rules have been discussed in this pamphlet.

POL.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

Samskrita Sandarbha, by Pandit Bidhusekhara Shastri, published from 163, Baitakhana Road, Calcutta.

It is a First Sanskrit Reader especially written and compiled for young boys. The author is a well-known Sanskrit and Pali Scholar, and this little book shows that he has devoted a good deal of time and attention to the subject of Sanskrit teaching. The Reader is excellent from all points of view, and may be safely placed in the hands of the beginners of Sanskrit. Meanings of words have been given at the head of each lesson *in English*, perhaps with a view to circulation throughout India. It would be better, however, if Bengali, Hindi, Odiya, Assamese, and Mahrata editions of the book were brought out with meanings of words in these languages. Nothing can be learnt *well* through the medium of a foreign tongue. Writers of school books should not forget this elementary truth.

"VAC."

GUJARATI.

The Jnaneshwari Bhagvadgita, translated by Ratansinh Dipsinh Parmar, and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pages 459. Price Rs. 2-0-0. 1912.

Jnaneshwar, the saint of Alandi, in the Deccan, wrote this epoch-making work (in verse) when he was only fifteen years old. It is considered to be a miracle—one amongst many others of his. There was one other translation of this commentary on the Bhagvadgita, but a cheaper one was wanted, and the society has met the want. It is a very useful book for those who want to study Vedanta and the introduction to this translation is instructive.

Shri Shankaracharya Charitra, by Manishanker Harishanker Shastri, Surat, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, cloth bound, pages 308. Second Edition. Price Re. 1-0-0. (1912).

The numerous events that have crowded into the short span of life, lived on this earth by Swami Shankaracharya, are all set out by a loving hand in this work. Of the half a dozen books and lectures existing in the Gujarati language on the subject, the writer has made a good and profitable use. All the same, the last word on Shankar and his life-work has come, from Prof. Anandshanker Dhruva, some months ago, as a contribution to the Vasanta, which still remains unmatched.

Kallolini, by Damodar Khushaldas Bobadkar, Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar, Strong cardboard cover, pp. 128. Price Re. 0-8-0. 1912.

This is a collection of several poems written by Mr. Bobadkar. They are very promising performances, many of them being full of pathos and feeling. The poem *"Ashrumati"* for instance where the Kshatriya father of Ashru, forbids her to love the Mahommedan Prince Salim, and the consequent struggle in her heart between filial love and the passionate love for her lover, is well depicted by the writer.

K. M. J.

ART.

Kartikeya, by the late Surendra Nath Gangoly, a colour reproduction issued by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, Price to non-members Rs. 3/8.

We have received a copy of this beautiful picture which originally appeared in these pages (February 1912). It has been admirably reproduced in its original colours by the Japanese process of Chromo-xylography, one of the most perfect methods of reprodution of modern times. The subject of the picture is of special interest in Bengal, in as much as the original Pauranic conception of the Commander of the Divine Army has sunk very low indeed in Bengal during recent years. In Calcutta the image of the War-God is now invariably pictured as the type of the sensual and the erotic, surprisingly imitating, in the minutest details, the typically effeminate Bengalee dandy and *petit-maitre*. Surendra Nath Gangoly's presentation of the God is therefore a distinct protest against the degenerate ideal which now governs the clay images of Bengal. In its noble heroic conception it rather recalls the images of Subramannya and the various other conceptions of the same deity which the South Indian Sculptors even now portray according to the *Lakhanas* laid down in the *Silpa Sastras*.

A copy of this colour reproduction is being issued free to all the members of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.

O. C. G.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE
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THE SPRINGHEAD OF INDIAN CIVILISATION

(*From the Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore.*)

I.

MODERN civilisation is essentially urban. Whatever is best in it, is to be found in cities.

It is, indeed, difficult to imagine any other state of things. Where many men meet together, the clashing of diverse intellects keeps the mind awake,—every man's powers are set moving by the impact received from all sides.

Thereafter when a man's powers have been roused, he naturally seeks a field where he can apply himself fruitfully. But where can such a field be found? It is where many men's many endeavours are ever busy in the diversified task of creation. That field is the TOWN.

Where the primitive man created his first city and crowded into it, he was not attracted to it by its civilisation. In most cases it was because he felt the need of a strong and convenient place for congregating, where he could easily defend himself from the enemy's attack. But whatever the original cause might have been, as soon as many men had found an occasion to meet together in one place, their individual wants and thoughts assumed a corporate shape there, and civilisation was evolved of itself.

But India has witnessed a marvel: the spring-head of her civilisation was not the city, but the FOREST. Her earliest remarkable development took place where there was no jostling of close packed humanity. There trees and creepers, rivers and ponds had plently of opportunities to associate with man. There were men and open space, too,—but no jostling. And yet this openness of space did not make the heart of India inert,—it rather lent an additional lustre to her consciousness. Nowhere else in the world has such a thing happened.

Elsewhere we only see that men who are placed by force of circumstances in woods, grow savage. They are either ferocious like tigers, or stupid like the deer.

But in ancient India we find that the loneliness of the woodland did not overpower man's mind, but rather imparted to it such a force that the stream of civilisation issuing from those sylvan homes has irrigated all India and its flow has continued unchecked to our own day.

The energy of civilisation which India thus received from the devotion of forest-dwellers, did not spring from any external impact, did not grow out of the competition of varied wants; therefore, this force has not been primarily directed to external objects. It has penetrated into the profundity of the universe by means of its meditation,—it has established harmony between Nature and the human soul. Hence it is that Indian civilisation has not manifested itself primarily in the form of material wealth. The leaders of this civilisation have been lonely men,—scantily clad hermits.

The sea-shore has given commercial prosperity to the race nourished in its bosom. The nation that has been kept hungry on the scanty milk of its desert

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mother, has become a world-conqueror. And similarly every special circumstance has directed man's powers into a special channel.

The forests of the North Indian plains gave our country a peculiar advantage. They sent the Indian mind off to explore the inmost realm of mystery of the universe. All mankind must in due time acknowledge the need of the treasure that the Indian mind has brought away from the far islands of that vast ocean (of mystery). The Hindu sages who lived lives of deep meditation amidst the forest trees which revealed, day and night, season after season, the action of the life of Nature,—had clearly perceived a delicious mystery all around themselves. Therefore could they say so easily, "All that exists has issued from the Supreme Life, and is vibrating in our souls." They did not shut themselves up in rigid brick and iron cages of their own making; where they dwelt the vast universal life had unfettered communion with their life. This very forest gave them shade, fruit and flower, fuel and sacrificial grass,— this very forest was connected by a lifelong exchange of services with their daily toils, recreation and wants. Thus it was that they could realise their own life by connecting it with the vaster life all around them. To them their environment was not vacuous, dead, or detached. The gifts of light, air, food and drink which they received through the medium of Universal Nature, they knew by a natural perception to be not the gifts of the earth, nor of the trees, nor of the vacant space, but as things springing out of a self-conscious, infinite Delight. Hence it was that they accepted breath, light, food and drink with respect and devotion. Hence the Indian method of acquisition has been the acquisition of the universal world as a close kindred of our souls, as realised by our life, consciousness, heart, and intellect.

In both the great ages of ancient India,—the Vedic age and the Buddhist age,—the forest has been the nurse of their life. Not the Vedic sages alone, but Buddha too, poured forth his teaching in many a mango-grove, many a bamboo-cluster; royal palaces were not for him,—the woodland it was that took him to its bosom.

Then, in course of time, kingdoms, empires, cities sprang up in India,—she established commercial intercourse with foreign lands,—the greedy cornfields slowly drove the shady and quiet forests further and further away; but not for a day did the strong rich and youthful India of that age feel ashamed to confess her debt to the forest. She has honoured abstract meditation (*tapasya*) above all kinds of action; the kings and emperors of India have felt themselves glorified by recognising ancient forest-dwelling hermits as their first progenitors. The memory of the primitive hermitages is twined with whatever is grand marvellous or pure, whatever is noble or adorable in the ancient story of India. ...Herein lies the peculiarity of India in the history of mankind.

The age of hermitages was a thing of the past in India, when Vikramaditya was king, Ujjaini a big city, and Kalidas a poet. We then stood amidst the full concourse of the human race—Chinamen, Huns, Scythians, Persians, Greeks, Romans had all crowded round us then. That was not the age to offer us a king like Janaka who tilled his land with his own hands and at the same time instructed in theology seekers after spiritual knowledge assembled from afar. But when we look at the treatment of hermitages in the works of the greatest poet of the time, we find that even in that latter age, flushed with the pride of wealth, though the hermitage had gone out of our sight it had not gone out of our mind.

Kalidas's pictures of hermitages alone prove him to be peculiarly the poet of India. Who else has bodied forth the ideal of hermitages with such fulness of delight?

When the curtain rises on the epic of *Raghuvamsa*, it presents to us at the very outset the tranquil sweet and pure scene of a hermitage.

(It is eventide.) The ascetics are returning to the hermitage after gathering the sacrificial grass, fuel and fruits in the neighbouring woods,—and lo! an invisible flame seems to welcome them back. There the deer are to the hermits' wives as their own children; they are browsing on the share of the paddy thrown to them and are fearlessly lying down athwart the track to the cottage-doors. The hermits' daughters are watering the trees, and, as the water rises to the brink of the earthen embank-

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ment round the roots, they are stepping aside to let the birds come and drink the water without fear. The sun is declining; the courtyard is heaped up with paddy grain; the deer are reclining chewing the cud. The air, laden with the sacrificial incense, purifies by its touch the bodies of the guests entering the hermitage. The true inwardness of this scene is the completeness of the harmony between Nature and man.

In the play of *Abhijnana-Sakuntala* is installed a hermitage which puts to shame the royal palace with its heartless lust of pleasure. Of that hermitage, too, the key-note is the pure charm of the kinship between man and all the outer world, animate and inanimate alike.

Witness also the picture of the hermitage in *Kadambari*: there the wind makes the plants and creepers bow their heads down in adoration,—the trees are strewing their leaves as in religious service,—the arena of the cottages is covered with the *shyamak* paddy spread out to dry,—there the *amalak*, *labali*, banana, *badari* and other fruits are gathered together,—the woodland resounds with the loud recitation of the Brahman lads learning their lessons,—the garrulous green parrots are repeating the sacrificial spells they have learnt by frequent hearing,—the jungle fowl are eating up the food offered at the worship of Nature-god,—from the lake hard by, the goslings have come to pick up the *nibar* paddy dedicated at the *pujah*,—the does are licking the bodies of the hermit boys with their tongues.

Here, too, the inner meaning is the same: the hermitage stands forth as the place that has done away with man's aloofness from plants and creepers, beasts and birds. This old lesson has been taught in our land over and over again.

In all the masterpieces of our country the union between Man and Universal Nature clearly asserts itself. The Nature around us is most intimately associated with all the thoughts and all the acts of man. When human habitations are filled exclusively with men, when Nature is denied entrance through their chinks,—our thoughts and deeds gradually grow impure and unhealthy and die a self-inflicted death amidst the measureless heap of rubbish created by themselves. Nature works within us incessantly, but she makes a show of standing silent and inert, as if we were the real actors and she a mere ornament. Our poets, however, knew this Nature quite well,—their works ring with that note of the eternal which Nature has mingled with all the joys and sorrows of humanity.

I am certain that Kalidas wrote *Ritu-samhara* in the days of his poetical apprenticeship. The song of youthful lovers' union which runs through it, springs up from the lowest depth of passion; it does not ascend to the sublime note of self-purification (*tapasyà*) which marks *Sakuntala* and *Kumar-sambhava*.

But our poet has harmonised this youthful passion with the varied and grand note of Nature and set it vibrating amidst the free open atmosphere. Into this poem have been worked the summer evening's moonlight resonant with the music of waterfalls, the tremour of the wind-stirred *Kadamba* branches on the skirt of the forest cooled by the first showers of the rainy season, the cooing of the ducks in early autumn when the fields took verdant with unripe paddy, and the loud murmur of the south wind of Spring making its way through the fragrant mango-blossoms.

If you plant everything in its proper place in great Nature, it loses its violence. But if you detach it thence and confine it within the narrow circle of men, it looks extremely hot and inflamed like a sick man's body. Shakespeare, like Kalidas, had written some minor poems dealing with the mutual attraction of the sexes; but in them passion is all in all, it has left no place for anything else around it,—no place for the sky, the wind, the capacious and variegated robe of sound scent and colour with which Nature covers the nudity of the universe. Hence in these poems the wildness of lust asserts itself in an intolerable degree.

In the third canto of *Kumar-sambhava*, where Kalidas describes the tremour of youthfulness set up by the sudden advent of Cupid, he has not tried in the least to paint the wildness of passion as the supreme fact by confining it within narrow limits. By placing the restless love-longing of Shiva and Parvati amidst the setting of universal Nature's outburst of youthful

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jollity at the advent of Spring, he has saved it from shame,—just as a single ray of the Sun concentrated by means of a lens on one spot sets fire to it, while the numberless solar rays diffused by Nature all over the sky emit a heat which does not burn. In Kalidas, Cupid's artifices against Shiva have been completely harmonised with the spirit of universal Nature (in that season; hence we do not see any inconsistency, any feature of glaring nakedness in them).

And not only the third canto, but the whole poem of *Kumar-sambhava* is painted on a vast universal background. The inner *motif* of the poem is a deep and eternal problem: when the demon Sin has grown strong and has suddenly and inexplicably thrown Heaven into wrack and ruin, whence can Heroism, strong enough to defeat it, be born?

This is a problem for man in all ages. It is a problem in every individual's life, and it is a problem that is ever reappearing in new forms in the lives of all races.

Kalidas's works clearly show that such a problem had become very acute in the India of that age. The simplicity and self-control that had marked primitive Hindu life, had then disappeared; the kings had forgotten the duties of their office and become self-indulgent voluptuaries, and on the other hand the Scythian invasions were bringing unending misery on the people.

To an outer observer, the Indian civilisation of that age had attained to perfection in the materials of luxury,—in poetry music and the fine arts. Kalidas's poems are not altogether free from the spirit of the copious and varied material enjoyment which marked his age. In truth, the external features of his poems are rich with the fine workmanship of the time. Thus, from one point of view, the poet was representative of his age.

But in this richly gilt pleasure-palace his Muse was sitting, full of *ennui* and languour, meditating on something else. Her heart was not there. She was only dreaming of her escape from that prison, marvellous for its variegated art-work but hard as the gems set in it.

In Kalidas's poems we notice a conflict between the outer and the inner worlds, between the real and the ideal. Nursing in his heart the pang of a vain longing, the poet, as he sat amidst the rich splendour of the royal court, was gazing afar off at the pure age of asceticism which was a thing of the past in the then India.

This heart's anguish lurks in *Raghuvansa*, a poem in which he undertook to sing of the deeds of the mythical kings of the solar line.

The Indian laws of poetics condemn the tragic conclusion of a piece. Kalidas, moreover, would have been true to the forewords of his *Raghuvansa* if he had ended his epic at the exact point where the race of Raghu attains to its climax in the reign of Ramchandra. In his poem he promises to chant the praises of the pious wise and noble kings of Raghu's line. But the epic does not *end* in a burst of panegyric. Its conclusion clearly shows what had disturbed the poet's heart.

Let us see how the founder of the glorious line of Raghu was born. It was in a hermitage that king Raghu came into the world, as the result of his parents' life of asceticism. Kalidas ever keeps telling his royal masters, in many a poem and by many a device, that it is only by means of rigorous asceticism that any great result can be achieved. Raghu, whose prowess vanquished the kings of the north and south, east and west, Raghu, whose empire embraced the whole earth,—was the fruit of his parents' life of monastic discipline. And, again, Bharat, whose mighty arm made him a suzerain, Bharat from whom India has got the glorious name of *Bharat-barsha*, was the offspring of his parents' unbridled passion. But mark how the poet has burnt this taint of sensuality in the fire of asceticism and washed it clean with the tears of penitent suffering.

The epic *Raghuvansa* opens not with the picture of the splendour of a royal court, but with the scene of King Dilip entering a hermitage with his queen Sudakshina. The sole monarch of the sea-girt earth engages himself in tending the hermits' cow with unflagging devotion and strict self-control!

The opening scene of *Raghuvansa* is laid in a hermitage amidst moral discipline and austerities; and the end of the epic is—drunken revelry and sensual orgies! In this last canto the scene is lit up with

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abundant brilliancy of description, but it is the brilliancy of the fire that burns down homesteads and plays havoc in the world. Kalidas has painted in sober and subdued colours the life of Dilip and his only wife in the hermitage, while king Agnivarna's suicidal revelries with a host of wives are described with an excess of detail and in colours of flame.

How tranquil is the Dawn,—pure like a hermit-lad with his yellow matted locks! With slow paces it descends on the dew-steeped earth, shedding a pale pearly and calm light around, and awakening the world with the message of the coming of a new life! Even so in Kalidas's epic, the commencement of the imperial line of Raghu, the regal power rightly acquired by asceticism, is bodied forth with mildness of effulgence and restraint of speech. And the Evening? Entangled amidst a mass of many-coloured clouds, it sets the western sky ablaze with its wondrous rays for a short while; but soon comes awful death, which robs the Evening of all its glories and finally extinguishes it amidst speechless, lifeless, senseless darkness. Such in the last canto of the epic is the scene of the extinction,—as of a meteor,—of Raghu's dynasty, amidst the terrible accumulation of objects of sensual delight. The contrast between the commencement and close of the epic has a deep inner meaning. The poet is silently sighing, "What was India in days of yore, and what is she now! In that early age of expansion, asceticism was the highest wealth; and now, with national decay staring us in the face, there is no end to our articles of luxury,—and the greedy flame of pleasure is shooting up with a thousand tongues and dazzling the eyes of all!"

This conflict [between the present and the past,—between the real and the lost ideal,] clearly manifests itself in most of Kalidas's works. *Kumarsambhava* shows how the problem can be solved. In this poem Kalidas teaches us that only by joining renunciation to wealth, asceticism to passion, can true Strength be born, and that Strength enables man to rise triumphant above all defeats.

In other words, perfect Power consists in the harmonising of renunciation with enjoyment. When Shiva, the type of renunciation, is plunged in lonely meditation, the kingdom of Heaven is defenceless,—and, on the other hand, when Parvati in her singleless is girt round by the joys of her father's home, the demons are triumphant.

When our passions grow violent, the harmony between renunciation and enjoyment is dissolved. When we concentrate our pride or passion within a narrow compass, we feel tempted to magnify a part at the expense of the whole. From this springs evil. Sin is this revolt against the whole, out of attachment to a part.

Hence comes the necessity of renunciation. It is needed not to strip ourselves bare, but to make ourselves complete. Rununciation means the surrender of a part for the whole, the yielding up of the temporal for the sake of the eternal, of selfishness for the sake of love for another, of pleasure for the sake of bliss. Therefore have our *Upanishads* said, त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः 'Enjoy by means of relinquishment,' not by means of addiction. See, how Parvati failed when she tried to win Shiva with the help of Cupid, but succeeded by means of renunciation when she betook herself to ascetic devotions for the same object.

Passion is addiction to a part and blindness to the whole. But Shiva (lit., the Beneficent) is for all ages and all climes; we cannot attain to him unless we banish passion from our hearts.

Enjoy by means of renunciation: this lesson of the *Upanishads* is the keynote of *Kumar-sambhava*, it was the object of devoted endeavour in our ancient hermitages: **acquire by giving up.**

JADUNATH SARKAR.

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THINKING REEDS

WHENCE come human thoughts? We do not know. Out of our minds we say, little knowing what our minds are. We know not whence our thoughts come, nor even how they come. We are only conscious of them as we think them. There are times when we are fuller of thoughts than at others,—when we meet a friend for instance, and our tongue is set free, or when we join a party going out for some pleasant excursion. Then our minds overflow with thoughts, such thoughts as suit the time and the place and the company in which we find ourselves,—thoughts about one another, what we have been doing, what we are going to do, what has taken place, what is likely to take place,—such thoughts as brim over into conversation when lively persons meet. We cannot say whence our thoughts come, and we cannot say scientifically how they come, (the word psychology is just a decent covering for our ignorance), but we can say pictorially how they come,—bubbling up at times from their sources like a spring on a hill-side. On the Yorkshire moorlands one may come across a place of stones all over-grown with mosses, and noisy with the rush of bubbling water. The water pours forth to the light of day from its underground channel, and pours on again into the darkness to continue its journey; and to the place where for a moment it shows itself come birds and horses and cattle to drink, and now and then come children to play or men and women to watch and listen. Thoughts are like these springs and wells by the wayside. We visit them, or they visit us, and we drink of them, and then *we* are gone or *they* are gone,—and thoughts, like wells of water, are a gift.

One of the Hebrew prophets, Amos by name, who was himself a well of life-giving thought, springing up as it were in a very sandy desert, gives us a very high account of where men's thoughts come from. "God declareth unto man what is his thought," says Amos, who having certain thoughts declared unto himself must needs speak them and bear the penalty which prophets have borne for being the messengers of greater thoughts than the thoughts of men around them. "God declareth unto man his thought." It has been felt in every age that reason is the sign of something divine in human nature. The reason in man is a bit of the reason in God, of the mind of God, revealed to us in natural ways, but none the less a revelation. The fountain of all knowledge and wisdom and truth is divine, and the more a man drinks of this fountain the more of the divine becomes resident in him. But the stream of thought in a man's mind is often muddy and troubled. There are thoughts that are not reasonable, and there are thoughts that are not healthy, and it is a problem how these thoughts get into the world and hold a place in our lives. The stream of thought in men however is always striving to make itself purer and clearer, to sing its own song, and to mirror the blue sky and living things round it with truer and brighter reflection. This is the character of human thought written upon every biography and every page of human history,—this character of striving and of growing clearness. There is a great task laid upon the reason of mankind, of setting free goodness and truth, bringing them forth from their deep places in the bosom of God, and establishing them in the world. It is the task of listening to the thoughts which the Eternal declares to us; and each one of us who strives *to think truly, to make his thoughts clear, to grow in wisdom and knowledge*, accomplishes some part of the task which men come into the world to perform. Our own thoughts as as we quicken them from day to day are instruments of human welfare.

Pascal, the great French thinker, said—

"Let us make it our study to think well, for this is the starting point of morals."

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This wonderful Pascal, when he was a boy, being forbidden to read books on account of his health, invented for himself a great part of the first book of Euclid. He was himself a well of thought, and he has said some of the most memorable things about thought. He said—

"Man is but a reed, weakest in nature, but a reed which thinks. It needs not that the whole universe should arm to crush him. A vapour, a drop of water is enough to kill him. But were the universe to crush him man would still be more noble than that which has slain him, because he knows that he dies, and... the universe knows nothing about this...All our dignity therefore consists in thought. By this we must raise ourselves, not by space or duration, which we cannot fill....Not from space must I seek my dignity, but from the ruling of my thought. I should have no more if I possess-d whole worlds. By space the universe encompasses and swallows me as an atom; by thought I encompass it."

These words of a thinker whose brave thoughts were clouded over and diverted from their fearlessness by the ill health which attacked his frame and caused him eventually to surrender the freedom of his mind,—these bold words setting man with his reason above Nature, are quite in keeping with a well-marked tendency of thought among men of science at the present day. Men of science to-day, a considerable number of them, seem to have rediscovered the opinion that man with his mind, all living things in fact, bring into the arena of Nature something which Nature did not bestow, although Nature may become its nurse, something of another and higher world than the natural world, something from the world of immortal spirit. It is a fact, as Pascal asserted, that man is greater than the universe as known to science (great as that is!), and that the sign of man's greatness is the reason in him.

Let us turn to some more thinkers, and watch their thoughts, and see what account we can give of them or they can give of themselves. Take, for example, a man who was a very fountain of human thought and feeling, one whose mind lived and bathed itself in music,—Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Mendelssohn, as he is called, who wrote the oratorios of Elijah and St. Paul and many other well-known works, was an "inventor" of music, as we say, and the word "inventor" far from explaining how thoughts come, simply means "finder." Mendelssohn "found" music, almost at every moment of his life, being continually a "composer", that is one who "put together" the musical thoughts that came to him. We know what character is possessed by the stream of our own thoughts, constantly flowing,—thoughts of business, of home, of care, of mirth;—Mendelssohn shared in such thoughts as these, but in addition to them there flowed music into his mind. Whereas you and I would describe things, and give an account of our meanings in speech, Mendelssohn uttered and explained himself best in music. In his "Midsummer Night's Dream," for instance, he describes by means of music the solemn silence in the glades of woodland haunted by the moonbeams, and the breaking of the silence by the tiny tripping feet of fairies, and the revelries that they hold upon the secret sward at midnight. That is only one thing that Mendelssohn did. Songs and chants, inspiring or longing airs, overtures for orchestras of many instruments, choruses for the human voice,—a river of rapture and melody pouring itself forth into all these modes of creation, expressing what no words can express, rushed through his mind and drowned his hearing. He had a well in him, springing up out of the unknown,—a well of music.

I should like to have seen him when he was a boy, eleven or twelve years old, with that bright face of his, and wonderful talent, astonishing all the world with its precocity. There are certain thoughts like music and mathematics which are often found fully born in all their glory in the minds of quite young children, as if they had never been acquired or learnt, as if they were an endowment,—as what else can they be?—direct from an invisible world. Already at the childish age of twelve, Mendelssohn had written many musical compositions, and was able to render them on the piano with the power of inspiration. Great men would come to listen to him,—kings, and greater than kings, the great Goethe himself. More like an angel than a boy to look upon,—with his curling auburn hair, bright, large, unfathomable eyes, and lips smiling with innocence and candour! A wonder-child, with a gift that adult men could not equal, for it was a thing that could not be matched by art or toil. And this young angel,

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forsaking his piano, and the great friends gathered round him, would run and leap in his father's garden and climb up the trees like a squirrel.

Mendelssohn died young,—at the age of thirty-eight. His intense mental activity made him old before his time, although he was full of work and energy to the last. He went on working until he fell at his work, and was unable to raise his head. The divine fire of thought sometimes burns up the bringer of it.

"Painting as well as Poetry and Music," said William Blake, "exists and exults in immortal thoughts." These words are very carefully chosen. William Blake believed that man's thoughts are immortal, that they come to him from "Heaven." And to say that our thoughts are immortal is to say that we are immortal, for our thoughts are expressions of our spirit, of that in us which is of higher origin than the world about us, or at least,—since all things have the same ultimate origin,—nearer from our point of view to the divine. There is an immortal spirit in us which is the trustee of gifts to humanity, and to learn about our spirits, to make the discovery of ourselves in Painting and Poetry and Music and in all the great works of reason is (as Blake says)

> To open the eternal worlds, to open the immortal eyes
> Of man inwards, into the worlds of thought,
> into eternity,
> Ever expanding in the bosom of God.

The bosom of God for us is our thought, or as Blake would say "the human imagination." And what is the English mystic saying, in his own way, but the same thing as Amos said, the shepherd prophet, "He declareth unto man what is his thought?" Blake always felt that his thoughts were not his own, whenever he was writing or designing. "I may praise it," he said of one of his poems, "since I dare not pretend to be any other than the secretary; the authors are in eternity."

Well,—one need not be either a painter, a poet, or a musician to have this feeling. One need only love the truth, as Amos loved it, to be aware that there are gifts to man from on high. One need only entertain the love of human good to know that there are thoughts that are declared to man, thoughts which it is well for a man to espouse and obey, even if they cost him the loss of friends and fortune, even if they cost him his life! When men join in a party together to bring about some social improvement, does not a thrill of religious conviction run through them? Are they not raised above themselves and inspired? And further, though few of us may be to any great extent painters or poets or musicians, have we not felt enough of the power of painting and poetry and music to have done homage to it, and to understand why the great creators in any of these ways are universally worshipped? "Man's word," as Tennyson says, "is God in man." Poetry and painting and music are words of man, social reform is a word of man, goodness and knowledge and truth are words of men; for word means thought and thought means deed. All that man does and brings to light out of the profound in him is God in man.

The character of our thoughts is very much in our own choice and keeping, although there are thoughts inaccessible to us just as there are thoughts inevitable to us. A prophet like Amos is not master of himself. A message is delivered to him, thoughts are declared to him, and he must speak, he cannot keep silence, although he brings himself into trouble by speaking. Another Hebrew prophet, Jeremiah, confessed to the same experience. He wished that he could hold his tongue and not bring opposition and persecution on himself, but he could not hold it. In the same way with Mendelssohn, in the same way with Blake, in the same way with all teachers or artists or inventors or men of action,—something is given them to say, something forces itself upon them, and they can no more help carrying the message, or doing as they are impelled to do, than a lamb can help bleating, or a stream murmuring, or the waves of the sea roaring. But there is a darker side to this presentation of the facts of life,—there are men born with evil tendencies which they must work out, and suffer for. Our will however is not without a measure of power against evil thoughts. We can welcome healthy thoughts and make a place for them in our lives, and we can discourage unhealthy thoughts and strive against them. It is true that it is our thoughts which make ourselves and not

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we who make our thoughts (and a good thing it is so!) and yet it is within our power to do a great deal on our own part to keep the stream of thought within us fresh and clear and wholesome. One of the best things we can do is to keep well, for melancholy or obnoxious thoughts cannot find much entertainment where the spirits are lively, and lively spirits are much a matter of health. We have at hand also the power of occupation, of making ourselves actively useful, of joining the company of the workers for the good of the world, and so inviting into our minds the health-giving companionship of hopes, purposes, ideals and duties. And further, we can live in the society of men and women who have done and are doing well. We can love science and art, we can love all high things like poetry and prophecy,... we can take our part in intellectual and social movements; and as we do this we shall waken the best thoughts and feelings in our breasts, and discover the oracle within us, which "declareth" not our own but "His" thought.

P. E. RICHARDS.

ADAMANT

A SHORT STORY.

(*From the Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore*).

I.

THEY met together in a ruined temple on the river bank: Mahamaya and Rajib.

In silence she cast her naturally grave look at Rajib with a tinge of reproach. It meant to say,—"How durst you call me here at this unusual hour today? You have ventured to do it only because I have so long obeyed you in all things!"

Rajib had a little awe of Mahamaya at all times, and now this look of hers thoroughly upset him: he at once gave up his fondly conceived plan of making a set speech to her. And yet he had to give quickly some reason for this interview. So, he hurriedly blurted out, "I say, let us run away from this place and marry." True, Rajib thus delivered himself of what he had had in his mind; but the preface he had silently composed was lost. His speech sounded very dry and bald,—even absurd. He himself felt confused after speaking it,—and had no power left in him to add some words to modify its effect. The fool! after calling Mahamaya to that ruined temple by river side at mid-day, he could only tell her "Come, let us marry!"

Mahamaya was a *kulin's* daughter; twenty-four years old,—in the full bloom of beauty as in the fullness of growth,—a frame of pure gold, of the hue of the early autumn sun's rays,—radiant and still as that sunshine, with a gaze free and fearless as daylight itself.

She was an orphan. Her elder brother, Bhabani Charan Chattopadhay, looked after her. The two were of the same mould—taciturn, but possessing a force of character which burnt silently like the mid-day sun. People feared Bhabani Charan without knowing why.

Rajib had come there from afar with the *Burra Sahib* of the silk factory of the place. His father had served this *Sahib*, and when he died, the *Sahib* undertook to bring up his orphan boy and took him with himself to this Bamanhati factory. In those early days such instances of sympathy were frequent among the *Sahibs*. The boy was accompanied by his loving aunt, and they lived in Bhabani Charan's neighbourhood. Mahamaya was Rajib's playmate in childhood, and was dearly loved by his aunt.

Rajib grew up to be sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, and even nineteen; and yet, in spite of his aunt's constant urging, he refused to marry. The *Sahib* was highly pleased to hear of this uncommon instance of good sense in a Bengali youth, and imagined that Rajib had taken *him* as his ideal in life. (I may here add that the *Sahib* was a bachelor.) The aunt died soon after.

For Mahamaya, too, no bridegroom of

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equal grade of blue blood (*kulin*) could be secured except for an impossible dowry. She steadily grew up in maidenhood.

The reader hardly needs be told that though the god who ties the marriage-knot had so long been ignoring this young couple, the god who forms the bond of love had not been idle all this time. While old Hymen was dozing, young Cupid was very much awake.

Cupid's influence shows itself differently in different persons. Under his inspiration Rajib constantly sought for a chance of whispering his heart's longings, but Mahamaya never gave him such an opportunity; her silent and grave look sent a chill of fear through the wild heart of Rajib.

Today he had, by a hundred solemn entreaties and conjurations, (at last) succeeded in bringing her to this ruined temple. He had planned that he would today freely tell her all that he had to say,—and thereafter there would be for him either lifelong happiness or death in life. At this crisis of his fate Rajib only said, "Come, let us go and marry", and then he stood confused and silent like a boy who had forgotten his lesson!

For a long while she replied not, as if she had never expected such a proposal from Rajib.

The noontide has many undefined plaintive notes of its own; these began to make themselves heard in the midst of that stillness: The broken door of the temple, half detached from its hinge, began at times to open and to close in the wind with a low wailing creak. The pigeon, perched on the temple window, began its deep booming. The wood-pecker kept up its monotonous noise as it sat working on the *Shimul* branch outside. The lizard darted through the heaps of dry leaves, with a rustling sound. A sudden gust of warm wind blowing from the fields passed through the trees, making all their foliage whistle. Unawares the river waters woke into ripple and lapped on the broken steps of the *ghat*. Amidst these causeless languid sounds came the rustic notes of a cow-boy's flute from a far-off tree-shade. Rajib stood reclining against the ruinous plinth of the temple like a tired dreamer, gazing at the river; he had not the spirit to look Mahamaya in the face.

After a while he turned his head and again cast a supplicating glance at Mahamaya's face. She shook her head and replied. "No. It can't be".

At once the whole fabric of his hopes was dashed down to the ground; for he knew that when Mahamaya shook her head it was through her own convictions, and nobody else in the world could bend her head to his own will. The high pride of pedigree had run in the blood of Mahamaya's family for untold generations,—could she ever consent to marry a Brahman of low pedigree like Rajib? To love is one thing, and to marry quite another. She, however, now realised that her own thoughtless conduct in the past had encouraged Rajib to hope so audaciously; and at once she prepared to leave the temple.

Rajib understood her, and quickly broke in with "I am leaving these parts tomorrow."

At first she thought of appearing indifferent to the news; but she could not. Her feet did not move, when she wanted to depart. Calmly she asked, "Why?" Rajib replied, "My *Sahib* has been transferred from here to the Sonapur factory, and he is taking me with him." Again she stood in long silence, musing thus,—"Our lives are moving in two contrary directions. I cannot hope to keep a man a prisoner of my eyes for ever." So she opened her compressed lips a little and said, "Very well." It sounded rather like a deep sigh.

With this word only she was again about to leave, when Rajib started up with the whisper, "Mr. Chattopadhyay is coming!"

She looked out and saw her brother coming towards the temple, and she knew that he had found out their assignation. Rajib, fearing to place Mahamaya in a false position, tried to escape by jumping out of a hole in the temple wall; but Mahamaya seized his arm and kept him back by main force. Bhabani Charan entered the temple,—and only cast one silent and placid glance at the pair.

Mahamaya looked at Rajib and said with an unruffled voice, "Yes, I will go to your house, Rajib. Do you wait for me."

Silently Bhabani Charan left the temple, and Mahamaya followed him as silently. And Rajib? He stood in a maze—as if he had been doomed to death.

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II.

That very night Bhabani Charan gave a crimson silk *sari* to Mahamaya and told her to put it on at once. Then he said, "Follow me." Nobody had ever disobeyed Bhabani Charan's bidding or even his hint ; Mahamaya herself was no exception to it.

That night the two walked to the burning-place on the river bank, not far from their home. There in the hut for sheltering dying men brought to the holy river's side, an old Brahman was lying in expectation of death. The two went up to his bedside. A Brahman priest was present in one corner of the room ; Bhabani Charan beckoned to him. The priest quickly got his things ready for the happy ceremony. Mahamaya realised that she was to be married to this dying man, but she did not make the least objection. In the dim room, (partly) lit up by the glare of two funeral pyres hard by, the muttered sacred texts mingled with the groans of the dying as Mahamaya's marriage was celebrated.

The day following her marriage she became a widow. But she did not feel excessively grieved at the bereavement. And Rajib, too, was not so crushed by the news of her widowhood as he had been by the unexpected tidings of her marriage. Nay, he felt rather cheered. But this feeling did not last long. A second terrible blow laid him utterly in the dust : he heard that there was a grand ceremony at the burning *ghat* that day, as Mahamaya was going to burn herself with her husband's corpse.

At first he thought of informing his *Sahib* and forcibly stopping the cruel sacrifice with his help. But then he recollected that the *Sahib* had made over charge and left for Sonapur that very day ; he had wanted to take Rajib away with him, but the youth had stayed behind on a month's leave.

Mahamaya had told him, "Do you wait for me." This request he must by no means disregard. He had at first taken a month's leave, but if need were he would take two months', then three months' leave and finally throw up the *Sahib's* service and live by begging, yet he would wait for her to his life's close.

Just when Rajib was going to rush out madly and commit suicide or some other terrible deed, a deluge of rain came down with a desolating storm at sunset. The tempest threatened to tumble his house down on his head. He gained some composure when he found the convulsion in outer Nature harmonising with the storm within his soul. It seemed to him that all Nature had taken up his cause and was going to bring to him some sort of remedy. The force he wished to apply in his own person but could not, was now being applied by Nature herself over earth and sky (in furtherance of the work of his heart).

At such a time some one pushed the door hard from the outside. Rajib hastened to open it. A woman entered the room, clad in a wet garment, with a long veil covering her entire face. Rajib at once knew her for Mahamaya.

In a heightened voice he asked, "Mahamaya, have you come away from the funeral pyre?" She replied, "Yes, I had promised to you to come to your house. Here I am, to keep my word. But, Rajib, I am not exactly the same person, I am changed altogether. I am the Mahamaya of old in my mind only. Speak now, I can yet go back to the funeral pyre. But if you swear never to draw my veil aside, never to look on my face,—then I shall live in your house."

It was enough to get her back from the hand of Death ; all other considerations vanished before it. Rajib promptly replied, "Live here in any fashion you like,—if you leave me I shall die." Mahamaya said, "Then come away at once. Let us go where your *Sahib* has gone on transfer."

Abandoning all his property in that house, Rajib sallied forth into the midst of the storm with Mahamaya. The force of the wind made it hard for them to stand erect, —the gravels driven by the wind pricked their limbs like buck shot. The two took to the open fields, lest the trees by the roadside should crash down on their heads. The violence of the wind struck them from behind, as if the tempest had torn the couple asunder from human habitations and was blowing them away on to destruction.

III.

The reader must not discredit my tale as false or supernatural. There are traditions of a few such occurrences having taken

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place in the days when the burning of widows was customary.

Mahamaya had been bound hand and foot and placed on the funeral pyre, to which fire was applied at the appointed time. The flames had shot up from the pile, when a violent storm and rain-shower began. Those who had come to conduct the cremation, quickly fled for refuge to the hut of dying men and shut the door. The rain put the funeral fire out in no time. Meantime the bands on Mahamaya's wrists had been burnt to ashes, setting her hands free. Without uttering a groan amidst the intolerable pain of burning, she sat up and untied her feet. Then wrapping round herself her partly burnt cloth, she rose half naked from the pyre, and first came to her own house. There was none there; all had gone to the burning-place. She lighted a lamp, put on a fresh cloth, and looked at her face in a glass. Dashing the mirror down on the ground, she mused for a while. Then she drew a long veil over her face and went to Rajib's house which was hard by. The reader knows what happened next.

True, Mahamaya now lived in Rajib's house, but there was no joy in his life. It was not much, but only a simple veil that parted the one from the other. And yet that veil was eternal like death, but more agonising than death itself; because despair in time deadens the pang of death's separation, while a living hope was being daily and hourly crushed by the separation which that veil caused.

For one thing there was a spirit of motionless silence in Mahamaya from of old; and now the hush from within the veil appeared doubly unbearable. She seemed to be living within a winding sheet of death. This silent death clasped the life of Rajib and daily seemed to shrivel it up. He lost the Mahamaya whom he had known of old, and at the same time this veiled figure ever sitting by his side silently prevented him from enshrining in his life the sweet memory of her as she was in her girlhood. He brooded,—"Nature has placed barrier enough between one human being and another. Mahamaya, in particular, has been born, like Pallas-Athene, clad in Nature's panoply; there is an innate fence round her being. And now she seems to have been born a second time and come to me with a second line of fences round herself. Ever by my side, she yet has become so remote as to be no longer within my reach. I am sitting outside the inviolable circle of her magic and trying, with an unsatiated thirsty soul, to penetrate this thin but unfathomable mystery,—as the stars wear out the hours night after night in the vain attempt to pierce (the mystery of) the dark Night with their sleepless winkless downcast gaze."

Long did these two companionless lonely creatures thus pass their days together.

One night, on the tenth day of the new moon, the clouds withdrew for the first time in that rainy season, and the moon showed herself. The motionless moon-lit Night seemed to be sitting in a vigil by the head of the sleeping world. That night Rajib too had quitted his bed and sat gazing out of his window. From the heat-oppressed woodland a peculiar scent and the lazy hum of the cricket were entering into his room. As he gazed, the sleeping tank by the dark rows of trees glimmered like a polished silver plate. It is hard to say whether man at such a time thinks any clearly defined thought. Only his heart rushes in a particular direction,—it sends forth an effusion of odour like the woodland, it utters a cricket-hum like the Night. What Rajib was thinking of I know not; but it seemed to him that that night all the old laws had been set aside; that day the rainy season's Night had drawn aside her veil of clouds, and this Night looked silent, beautiful and grave like the Mahamaya of those early days. All the currents of his being flowed impetuously together towards *that* Mahamaya.

Like one moving in a dream, Rajib entered Mahamaya's bed-room. She was asleep then.

He stood by her side and stooped down to gaze on her,—the moonbeams had fallen on her face. But, O the horror! where was that face known of old? The flame of the funeral pyre, with its ruthless greedy tongue had utterly licked away a beauteous piece from the left cheek of Mahamaya and left there only the trace of its hunger.

Did Rajib start? Did a muffled cry escape from his lips? Probably so. Mahamaya woke up with a start—and saw Rajib

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before her. At once she replaced her veil and stood erect, leaving her bed. Rajib knew that the thunderbolt was uplifted. He fell down before her,—he clasped her feet, crying "Forgive me!"

She answered not a word, she looked not back for a moment, as she walked out of the room. She never returned to the house of Rajib. No trace of her was found anywhere else. The silent fire of her anger at that unforgiving eternal parting left all the remaining days of Rajib's earthly life branded with a long scar.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

JERUSALEM AND ENGLAND: A COMPARISON

BEING A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS PREVAILING IN ENGLAND.

IN a previous article on "The Status of the Church in England," I stated that a new social and spiritual idealism was developing in England at the present time, but that owing to the great and growing force of materialism it was not yet possible to say in which direction the nation would eventually go; whether the new spiritual idealism, or materialism, strengthened and upheld by a successful commercialism, would prove the stronger. That your readers may realise the truth and significance of this contention, and the better understand the social and religious conditions prevailing in England, I have in the present article tried to reveal some of the deeper movements and tendencies to be observed in our English life. Moreover I have done this from the point of view of an idealist, of one, that is, who, by reason of his great ambition for the highest spiritual advancement of his country, and, indeed, of humanity as a whole, sees perhaps more vividly than those who are not possessed of such a conscious ambition, the terrible evils and dangers which stand in the way of such advancement, and what requires to be done in order that the path of true greatness may in the future be followed. The writer hopes, moreover, that his description will be educative, and not without its lessons or significance for Indian idealists.

With the object of making my meaning and contention the more clear, I have drawn a comparison between Jerusalem at the time of Christ, and England at the present time, taking my cue of moral, social and religious conditions prevailing in Jerusalem at the time of Christ from the descriptive speech of that great teacher which is given, for instance, in Ch. 23 of St. Matthew's record of the Gospel, and in which appear these memorable words: "Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets!"

Of course, I am quite well aware that the comparison will not carry in all respects, as, for instance, politically, and to some extent, socially, but it will do so, I think, morally and religiously. The Jewish Church at the time of Christ was intensely materialistic, and in a condition of moral stagnation; at the same time it was extremely religious, and deeply resented Christ's attack upon it. But precisely the same charge could be brought against the Church in England to-day; and it is this fact that I wish particularly to emphasise; for it is materialism, especially the materialism of the Church, which more than anything else threatens the future development and well-being of England.

Few words carry with them such burning pathos, or contain so much tragic significance as those of Christ which I have just quoted. They are words of reproach, but also of bitterness and despair, being the death sentence, so to speak, upon a venerable and time-honoured city, and upon a once mighty nation and great civilisation. But it is not the first instance of its kind; nor is it likely to be the last. Look at the picture! A great and proud nation exulting in the glory of its past, confident in itself, yet all the while tottering because of decay!

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A little before, a hope had come into the land: a new teacher had appeared. "Repent ye, and be converted," his heralds had proclaimed, "for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." But only three years had elapsed and that hope was shattered, that prophecy left unfulfilled; and the man who was to have immediately established the Kingdom of Heaven upon the earth, was crying out in despair: "Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets."

The picture is not an unfamiliar one: the hero defeated, although unvanquished. It is another case of the strong man, the reformer, recognising that the forces against him, of darkness, of ignorance, of tradition and custom, are too many for him; that the way of truth is hard and vicarious, and not always the way of victory. It says much for the sanity of Christ at this great crisis in his life that he was under no misapprehension as to the failure of his immediate purpose; but, there is tragedy nevertheless in the fact that three years of heroic effort, of strenuous endeavour to establish a truth and save a people, had ended in such a strikingly fruitless way.

Nor is there much satisfaction in the thought, even if it were true, that truth must always be victorious. There is not much consolation for the man who is laying down his life for his country and his friends, in the promise that in two thousand years or so, some other nation, in a far-off land, will benefit by his teaching and sacrifice. The fact is, Christ lived and died, fought and taught, first and foremost for his own countrymen, the Jews; and the plain truth is, the Jews rejected him. And we can imagine that it would be poor solace to an Englishman who happened to be giving his life for the cause of democracy to-day, to be told that democracy would be attained in five thousand years, and by an at present insignificant and unknown people, but that it would never be attained by England. The unvarnished truth is, and face it we must, however unpleasant the task may be, that truth does sometimes fail, really and utterly fail, in spite of the fact that an entire nation perish for want of it. Socrates taught his countrymen the grand truths and spirit of democracy; but where are the sons of the ancient Greek nation to-day? Seneca and Marcus Aurelius pleaded for the chaste and virtuous living which are the condition of all true national greatness and success; but Roman history came to an end. Tolstoy, and many another great and heroic Russian have fearlessly taught the truth of life, the great lesson of love, to their nation; but the red hand of persecution is quietly but effectively repressing the spirit and destroying the enthusiasm of Russia. And in England, to-day, while there are not wanting men who are endeavouring to sow the seed of a grander spiritual truth and ideal, there are also mighty forces of evil at work, forces, which, if they be not checked, are capable of destroying England, of bringing down the high pinnacles of her civilisation to the dust. The love of wealth, of luxury and of position is growing stronger and stronger, and is to be found, unhappily, as was the case in Jerusalem, in the Church quite as much as in the world at large. And we have this fact to face: that whatever Christ's ultimate objects were, whatever achievements he and his truth can now be said to have made, so far as his immediate object was concerned, he failed, and failed hopelessly. At the end of his ministry, when he ought to have been living in the glorious sunshine of victory, Christ knew that his message had been irrevocably rejected by the Church, and also knew that, in consequence, there was nothing for him but the Cross: it was thus that he cried: "Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets!"

Now what was the cause of Christ's failure to convince and convert the Jews? Was it that the Church had lost its enthusiasm for religion? Was it that the common people had left the Church? Or was it due to quite other reasons, moral reasons, say, the inability of the Church to accept a new view and interpretation of life?

In regard to the first of these reasons I do not think anyone who has carefully read the Gospels could say that Christ owed his failure to the lack of religious enthusiasm on the part of the Church, for, as a matter of fact, the Church was even more religious than Christ himself, and from first to last regarded Christ as the enemy of religion! It was the Church that Christ deliberately attracked—but not for its want of religion; it was the Church that ultimately drove

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him to the Cross. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasised or too much pondered. The Church stood for the ancient rights and customs of the Hebrew religion, many of which Christ directly opposed; and indeed it was chiefly because of this opposition that Christ came to be regarded as an imposter by the very people whose life and cause he had come to bless and inspire.

Neither was Christ's failure due to the withdrawal of the people from the Church. That large numbers of the common people had already withdrawn from the Church there is some reason to believe from the fact that wherever Christ taught, great crowds of people flocked about him and believed in his words, even while the Church held aloof from him, criticised and condemned him. Even after Christ had been openly refused the synagogues, and had begun to preach in the open air, he unflinchingly attacked the Church; and yet the people continued to follow him in large and yet larger numbers.

No, if we would account for the failure and martyrdom of Christ, we must go back to the teachings of Christ, and compare the conception of life he stood for with that which the Church, officially considered, accepted, and practised. If we carefully examine the Gospels I am convinced we shall discover that Christ's primary concern was the morals, the conduct, the conceptions of life, of the men of his time. It is true he emphasised the importance of religion, but beyond appealing for a simple faith in God as the common father of mankind, we find that he had nothing further to say upon that question. With doctrines, creeds, religious forms, the conditions of Church membership, etc., Christ never concerned himself. But what he did concern himself with was conduct, the manner in which men dealt with their fellows in their domestic, commercial and wider social relationships. The more I study Christianity the more I am convinced that the object of its founder was to break down the old barbaric assumption that in commerce it is the object of man to fight for as much wealth as he can get for himself and his family, and to regard all the rest of mankind as his competitors, his opponents and enemies. Christ was the first great teacher to preach love as the ultimate principle of life; and he preached it not only because he knew it would mean the cessation of war and petty hatred; of the lust for power, position and wealth; of the tendency to develop class feeling and artificial social distinctions, but because he knew that it was the only force that could save his nation from the ruin and thraldom it was fast sinking into, and lead it to higher altitudes of spiritual attainment. Christ's Gospel is essentially a social Gospel, the root idea underlying its teaching being that love is the great unifier of life, the condition of the highest human well-being, and that spiritual life is as capable of being realised in social relationships as in Divine relationships. But it was this very truth that the Jewish Church rebelled against, and that brought about Christ's downfall; and it is this same truth that the Church in England will not accept to-day. So far as we are able to see and judge, Christ seems to have made a profound impression upon the common people; but he was rejected by those in authority; and the fact is not without significance for England at the present moment. The inference is clear; it is, as the trend of events in Jerusalem after Christ had declared his Gospel shows, that a nation is never safe so long as those in authority, those who wield its power and possess its wealth, are materialists and are impervious to the great spiritual truths which its prophets are unfolding.

Having thus examined the condition of Jerusalem at the time of Christ, let us examine the condition of England in our own day.

Religiously considered, what I think most people would be prepared to admit, is that there is a universal lack of enthusiasm in England to-day. Not that our nation can be said to be irreligious, but simiply that it refuses to talk or be enthusiastic about religion. It is quite true that the people at large do not believe in the religious interpretation of life which nominally, at any rate, is still upheld by the Church; but for the most part there is every reason to believe that our nation is still religious at heart. For while there is manifest no enthusiasm for religion, there is neither to be found any enthusiasm for atheism, or for agnosticism. The explanation (I believe) that the people have for

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the time-being shelved the question of religion altogether, and will not be persuaded to relax in their attitude until other, and what they consider weightier, matters have been faced and settled.

Intellectually considered, our nation is in a state of tremendous unrest. As regards the bulk of the English people, the great body of workingmen, it may be said that they have only just begun to think, to come to independent conclusion on moral, religious, or even on general matters. But the intellectual development that has recently taken place among workingmen has enabled them to come to conclusions and to form convictions which a little while ago would have been regarded as startling. Owing to the spread of enlightenment our entire outlook and estimate of things, our conception of life, our theory of values, etc., are completely changing. We are indeed passing through a period of intellectual conflict such as our country has never before known. The world has witnessed many intellectual combats in the past, many occasions when the clash of ideas has been so strong and loud as to send an echo through the ages; but I doubt if in any age or country there ever was an intellectual crisis and awakening such as is at present going on in England. Resoundings of the battle that is being waged in our midst may be heard in every remote village of our land. Old ideals and conceptions of life are fast breaking down and being replaced by new ones; ancient landmarks are being swept away; the map of our life is being redrawn.

Socially and politically considered changes quite as tremendous and revolutionary are also to be noticed. Old distinctions are wearing away, old political parties and divisions vanishing. But while ancient social distinctions are passing away, we have to record the development of new ones. If the aristocracy of blood has vanished or is vanishing, an aristocracy of commerce has arisen to take its place. Consequently there is dire conflict in progress between the advocates of the rights of property and wealth, and the advocates of the rights of humanity.

But what I am most anxious to consider in this article is the moral condition of England. I have left the moral aspect until the last, not because it is the least important, but because it is the most important. And what I feel most strongly, and believe everybody who thinks at all must also feel, is that the present age is greatly lacking in moral conviction, moral initiative, vital and original conduct. To me it seems as if some great and heavy cloud were over-hanging us, depressing us, and depriving us of our liberty. In spite of many changes and reforms, we are still fashion-ridden and convention-bound to an alarming extent. Most people seem to be feeling that things have somehow got terribly wrong, and that they themselves are to some extent slaves, the victims of customs and ideas that in their heart of hearts they mortally hate; but still they do not rebel, do not arise out of the moral darkness in which they are. I think this condition is due to the fact that in regard to the bulk of our population, thinking has not yet gone quite far enough: the people have discovered the evils and errors of our present manner of life, but not the road to its improvement. In a little while they will make that discovery, and when they have done so there will be a move, England will waken up, set her house in order, and put on a new garment. As I have said, a new idealism is developing, but only a very few have grasped it in its real fulness. For the present, our countrymen are living in a condition of moral apathy, nay, even of fear. Ours is neither a moral nor an immoral, but a non-moral age. Heroic conduct can scarcely be lighted upon anywhere; but having discovered the tremendous wrongs which exist, the gigantic evils which oppress it and which will have to be removed before our life can be what it ought to be, our nation has begun to fear. Yea, in every section of our society fear in one form or another is to be met with; and it is growing.

At the bottom of society, among the working classes, those who are fighting for justice and for democracy, there is dread fear of bureaucratic government, of centralised wealth; of poverty; of crafty millionaires, and of the materialism and inhumanity which make them. It is this fear of the tyranny of great wealth, of materialism, therefore, that is the cause of Socialism; and Socialism, in the last analysis, is an indication of a strong disbelief in man, in the ability of human

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nature to overcome the unreasonable love of wealth and power. Socialism stands for the State control of industry, of all the forces of production and distribution, and belief in Socialism has grown for the very reason that materialism has become so widespread, the tyranny of great wealth so terrible and over-powering. The assumption behind Socialism is that man's love of wealth and power is too strong for him to overcome; consequently the very existence of a belief in Socialism proves the existence of a disbelief in man, and of an unquenchable fear of economically powerful individuals. Thus because Socialism is spreading we are compelled to believe that fear among workingmen is also spreading.

But at the top of society, among the aristocracy, fear is just as prevalent. As the Masses fear the Classes, so the Classes have begun to fear the Masses. The aristocracy of England talk very glibly about democracy, almost as if they wished to bring it about; but as a matter of fact they live in dire dread of the very name. To be quite frank, these so-called noble people do not know what democracy is, otherwise they would not pretend it had come: as a matter of fact they believe too strongly in Birth and Privilege to conceive of anything so ideal and spiritual as democracy; they only know that democracy involves the social and political elevation of the workingman, the extension of the right and power of Government over a wider area; and that is enough to make them dread it. Trained through long years to rule, the aristocracy of England cannot tolerate the idea of democratic government, of workingmen governing themselves. Having been brought up to believe in Caste, in Tradition, in Privilege, these noble-born people are wholly incapable of a belief in brotherhood, or of attributing to ordinary human nature the spiritual essences and qualities of mind which they associate with their own particular class. That is why the clamour of the working classes for power and for justice is to them only a sign of coming doom, of impending political chaos and social disaster, and thus a reasonable cause for fear. This fear, as well as the spiritual blindness and class feeling which are its concomitants, is conspicuous wherever the aristocracy asserts itself—in the House of Lords; in the Law Courts; on the public platform; in the Society Press.

Thus at both ends of society there is fear. Because of fear the working classes are seeking to bring about a juster state of affairs by the restriction of individual liberty and establishment of a larger measure of State control; and because of fear the aristocracy is endeavouring to maintain order and what it is pleased to call good government, by the strengthening of ancient bureaucratic institutions. At each end there is a noticeable lack of faith in human nature, the aristocracy believing that the brass and iron compound of the workingman is incapable of the highest spiritual refinement and attainment, of self-control and self-government; the working classes believing that aristocrats and plutocrats are equally incapable of democracy, of conceiving those grand and exalted spiritual truths upon which democracy is based, and thus of putting into practice those profound Christian principles whose operation would alone render Socialism unnecessary.

But what of the Middle Classes? Does fear dominate them also? Most assuredly and perhaps to a greater extent than it does the two Classes already considered, and this for the very reason that they *are* the Middle Classes, being subject to fear on both sides. At present this class is in a pitiable state of indecision, being afraid to join issues with a reactionary aristocracy on the one hand, and with a revolutionary and anarchic Demos on the other. The Middle Classes possess sympathies with the Classes on either side of them. They love and aspire to the dignity, the glory, the grand seclusion of nobility; they also possess democratic sentiments, having themselves only just risen from the ranks of the lower classes, and are not without aspirations to espouse popular causes and otherwise to take an honourable part in the world's work. This Class knows the sensation of luxury and power, and likes it; it also knows the glory and satisfaction of public life, and loves it. But because of fear, on the one hand of an unreasonable reaction, and on the other of confiscation and Socialism, the members of this class do not know which way to turn, whether to decide in favour of Aristocracy, Privilege,

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Seclusion and Reaction, or of Democracy, Humanity and Progress.

Such, briefly, is a description of the moral condition of England at the present time, and although it does not make a very attractive picture, we need not wonder at it when we think of the transition through which our country is passing, or consider what the history of England has been during the past hundred years. The cause of the fear which is at present demoralising our society is the growth of materialism and of an inhuman commercial system together with the neglect of the Church to cultivate a more vital idealism. The rampant materialism slowly but persistently developed through the nineteenth century has caused humanity to tremble, literally to revolt in disgust and fear. The continued centralisation of capital; the growth of Trusts and monopolies; the formation of the Limited Liability Company, and the creation of a millionaire class, of a body of arrant materialists, inordinate lovers of wealth, have given rise to a condition of affairs socially, politically, religiously and morally, from which every thinking man must shrink in horror if not in despair. The very thought of such enormous wealth being in the hands of so few men, and especially of ideal-less men, is an oppression, while the continued aggression of this small class in the effort to possess even more wealth and power still, is indeed almost enough to make men and women lose faith in the goodness of human nature. Hemmed about by forces infinitely greater than themselves—forces whose very greatness make them a mystery; daily confronted by the too-evident signs of vast power, by poverty, suffering, piled up social ruin, there is no wonder that workingmen have begun to despair, to live in fear, or to withdraw from the Church.

And it is significant that no nation has yet been able to withstand the evils which come with commercial success, great material prosperity. Just when they have attained the apex of their power; almost all the hitherto great nations of the earth have lost their intellectual and moral balance, their hold on spiritual reality. One after another great civilisations have ended, and once powerful nations have ceased to be, for the very reason that they could not withstand the temptations of material success. Will England, and will the other great countries of the West, be able to withstand them? That, to my mind, is the supreme question of the hour. The making and multiplication of millionaires is one of the most ominous signs of the times. It is stated that when the ancient Egyptian Empire broke up, 2% of the people owned 97% of its wealth; that when the Persian Empire decayed, 1% of the people owned all the land; that when Rome fell 1,300 men owned almost all the then known world. And who I ask own Europe, America, the enormous wealth that these two continents possess? A comparatively few men own the bulk of the wealth and the land of England. Twelve men own half Scotland. These and similar facts may mean nothing, but they are terribly significant.

I have described the social, moral and religious condition of England, but what I have said would almost equally apply to other Western nations also. With the needs of the times in relation to this condition I shall deal in a further article.

Wilfred Wellock.

INDIAN EMIGRATION—ANCIENT AND MODERN

By S. V. Ketkar, Ph.D.

TO-DAY we can say with pride that our people have migrated to every part of the world. It is not very long since when the people of India were blamed for not being migratory. Even about fifteen years ago, the question of emigration was a subject matter of academic and theoretical discussion. Today the world has ceased to censure us for non-emigration, and especially the English people are becoming anxious to induce our people to stay at home. Even in England where the Indian students are compelled to go, (on account of the iniquitous treatment of the better educated Indian lawyers, who are denied the privi-

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leges of the barristers,) and where they spend over thirty lacs of rupees every year, and help to maintain a large number of English businesses and families, our immigration does not seem to be much liked by the natives of the island. Anglo-Indians are anxious to keep the Indian peoples in awe of themselves and fear that the intimate acquaintance with the English people will take away the awe which our people feel towards their race.

Our presence is not greatly desired in Canada, in the United States, and in South Africa. In various places attempts are being made to frighten us out of the Colonies, and in many colonies the white population has taken a very hostile attitude towards our presence. With the probable exception of British Guiana and Trinidad where our presence insures the safety of the white population from Negro outbreaks, we have found very little welcome anywhere.

About twenty years ago we had quite a large number of people dwelling in Mauritius, Africa, the West Indies and South America. But we were almost entirely ignorant about their presence. Very few people had the idea that our people might possibly exist outside India. But the suffering which our people met with in South Africa has roused our national conscience and has made us feel the responsibility of seeing to the welfare of our kinsmen beyond the seas.

In fact our emigration elsewhere is not a new thing. India (since immemorial times) has been sending colonies, making conquests, and spreading civilization beyond the confines of India. Every part of the civilised world welcomed us. Rulers courted the presence of our learned men, physicians and artizans. Hindus were then the great carriers of civilization in the world. They carried their institutions, the Sanscrit literature, their astronomical system, their sciences and arts, and also philosophy. Indians were employed by various foreign states from Cambodia to Greece, in the capacity of teachers and administrators. The Indian physicians were wanted all over the world, as they were known for their wonderful knowledge and skill. What area was covered by the Hindu civilization is a fact still wrapped up in mystery. We had succeeded in creating a common civilization all over India, Ceylon, the islands in the Indian Ocean, and the greater part of Western Asia, and have seriously modified the civilization of China and Japan. It is also suspected that even the forbidden ground of Australia was visited by us.

But today the circumstances are changed. The civilization which we helped to create has been destroyed outside India. The causes of the destruction of that civilization are not yet sufficiently studied. Still the apparent reason is the rise of Mohammedanism, which, at least tried to make Arabia the centre of civilization, and the Arabs the carriers thereof. Since the time when the Mohammedan religion spread, and overthrew the older culture, the emigration continued to decrease. India itself became affected by the avalanche of Mohammedanism. The place of Indian traders was taken by the Arabs. But even after the appearance of the Mohammedans on the stage, our emigration had not ceased altogether. That the Gujarathies were keeping up commerce as far as Java and China even during the days of the Portuguese expansion is a fact stated by the Portuguese writers. Indian Bankers used to issue Hundis which were respected in China and the Straits Settlements.

The conquest of India by the Mohammedans and also that of the islands in the Indian Ocean were more or less contemporaneous. The Arabs drove the Indians from the field only to make way for the European races.

In course of time the Arabs and other Mohammedans also failed politically as well as commercially. The day of the European expansion came, the different parts of the world were haunted, and were politically occupied by the European nations. How long their dominion would last is a matter which will baffle speculation.

Foreign emigration today requires expiation after returning home. In ancient India the condition does not seem to have been different. Still this requirement does not seem to have affected free migration. When the economic opportunities came then the idea of commercial purity and pollution are flung away by individuals. The Gujarathis even though they seem to be so great believers in traditional ideas are the first people who disregard them for commercial enterprize. The pollution which is

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supposed to be attached to lands other than India, does not prevent people from going abroad. The polluted character of other peoples and lands was in fact stronger in ancient times. Still people migrated freely and washed off their taint when they came home. The attitude of a practical man was something like this. As we take vegetables from the bazar and cleanse them from ceremonial impurity, and eat them freely, so also one should do with emigration. We should go to lands which may be less holy than our own, and take penance for the impurities which we acquire during our stay abroad.

It should again be remembered that at one time, in Indian History, various parts of India were not free from reproach. Baudhayana (700 B.C.) prescribes penance for the people of the Central regions (Madhyadesha = the modern U. P.) who may migrate to Punjab, Bengal, or Deccan. Manu (227—320, A.D.) holds that the whole of Northern India was pure, and that the Aryas should dwell there, but the Mlechchas may dwell anywhere. But even this attitude disappeared later. The Deccan ceased to be an impure country later on, and even many places in the Deccan itself became sacred and were visited by pilgrims. The really important factor in the demanding penance of a person going outside India is the admission of the whole of India as a sacred spot—a fact too often ignored.

The real reason of decrease of Indian emigration abroad is not so much the fact that the Brahmins demanded penance from those who emigrated, but the lack of opportunity, which was an effect of the overthrow of Indian civilization by the Arabian expansion under the garb of religious conquest. Safety to the emigrant is necessary, and the Indian Rulers were not able to extend it to those who went abroad. When the Hindu civilization itself was extant in different parts of the world, backing from the rulers at home was unnecessary. The ideas which the Hindus made common throughout the world were enough guarantee of safety. When the rulers of different countries welcomed us so that we might carry to them higher civilization, what was the necessity of a backing from home? When the civilization is common, naturally there is less reason to make an appeal to the government of the migrators. The European people need the services of their own respective consuls and ambassadors much less when they go from one EuropeanChristian country to another than what they need when they go to China, or Turkey. The chief thing which caused a decrease if not annihilation of the Indian migration abroad was not so much Shastric prohibition, but the destruction of the Hindu civilization abroad.

The feeling that the government should protect its subjects abroad was not lacking in India. The Mohammedan emperors of Delhi, have often vindicated the cause of Mohammedans outside the Mohammedan territory. The Marathas have drawn swords in favour of Hindus, in the Mohammedan and the Portuguese territories, and have compelled even the English to respect the Hindu social customs even in English territory. But the attention of the various warring races in India was absorbed in the conquest of India and there was no leisure for outward expansion. It was destined that the English were to succeed in conquering the whole of India, and it is under the British flag, that the Indian emigration spread. The Moghul rule was destroyed by the Marathas, and the Maratha rule was destroyed by the English in 1818. Within twenty years from that date the exodus of the Indian coolie began.

The difference between the ancient Hindu or Arabic migration on the one hand and the Modern Indian Emigration on the other is this: the ancient migration helped to spread Hindu and Arabic civilizations, while the Modern Indian emigration fails to accomplish this. The Modern European emigration which started from the discovery of America and of the sea-route to India at the close of the fifteenth century is similar in great measure to the ancient Indian emigration. Very often European emigration has spread European civilization. Africa has been called the America of India. This comparison is wrong and odius. The migration of the Indian coolies, if it could be compared with that of any people, could be compared only with that of the Jews. This race after losing its political entity and unity by the conquest of Judea, has migrated to different parts of the world in search of living, and has tried to acquire equal treatment as far

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as it could. The distinctiveness of this race is kept up by their worship and some distinctive culture, which they were able to keep to a very small extent. They have a certain amount of unwillingness to be absorbed among the various nationalities, and they have not therefore intermarried with other races to any large extent. When the distinctive political entity of a community is lost, it has one of the two fates before itself. They would either be absorbed by other nationalities, or would take a second place in any country to which they may go.

Do we desire that the fate of Indians, who migrate should be like that of the Jews? If we do not wish that it should be the case, what power have we to prevent it from being so?

First of all as the bulk of the Indian people live in their own country, and the number of foreigners in the land is very small, Indian distinctiveness will therefore not be destroyed but on the contrary will be promoted, in future. The chances of making India into a nation are greater than ever. If a large number of Indians go to a foreign country like America, where their proportion to the total population would be so small, then the very small Indian minority would accept the civilization of the locality and would therefore be a loss to India. Great Britain has created Greater Britain and America, but India will not succeed in making another India on the surface of the earth, if they go to the areas occupied by Europeans. European nations are trying to build up their own colonies with their distinctive culture but Indians have no chance to do so unless the Indian people become the dominant numerical factor in a certain colony, where after becoming politically dominant also they may succeed in establishing the prestige of their own civilization. If they go and settle in countries like America, they would practically prove a loss to India. Of course if they go to other countries and make money and come back it would not be a loss to our country. We may at the same time look with favour at the migration of some of us to already occupied foreign territories because they at least help to advertise the existence of our country, a matter of no small importance. Many people in England and America do not know where India is. I had the pleasure of being asked by some people whether India is in the north or south of Germany.

Again we may not lose a great deal if a few hundred thousands from our country go and stay abroad. If they do not go away they may die of starvation and want in India, and on these humanitarian grounds foreign emigration even to countries like America is to be recommended. Still the idea of the undesirability of our people being absorbed by others should be kept constantly in view. A large number of Indians dislike their caste-fellows becoming Christians, and this hatred has some feeling at the bottom. I do not wish to give much importance to the consideration, as to whether our migration is liked by the natives of the country where we mean to go. It is a struggle for bread and for many other things. We should not shirk the struggle. The real heroism lies in going and facing the struggle and not in avoiding it. We should be prepared to meet privations if we wish to triumph. Our people have a future before themselves, and we have to contribute to the world's betterment. Do the English people who come to our country give any consideration to the question whether we like their existence in our land?

I am aware of the fact that some Indian students in America look with disfavour upon the idea of Indian labourers going to America. They say that the presence of the low-class Indian labourers who enter into competition with the Americans, helps to create bad opinion against our countrymen there and increase the prejudices about ourselves. Such ideas are simply a result of the lack of thinking on the part of those who hold the above-mentioned opinions. Most of the Indian students who express opinions opposed to Indian immigration to America, are people without ambition, and who do not know what is meant by struggle in life, and who like to be popular among people without any purpose in their lives. As far as their argument is concerned one may ask, what is the use of the good opinion or sympathy of the foreigners towards us when they cannot extend it to us when we go to their land, and if they

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do not want to help us in earning our livelihood? Another class of Indian students in America who do not like the Indian labourers in that country is this. There are some Indian students who do not have either strength or desire to work and who wish to make their living by easy but questionable ways such as fortune-telling. One of the assets which an Indian possesses in this occupation is that the foreigners who do not have any knowledge of the Indians believe that the Indians are a mystic race, and that every Indian possesses some occult powers. This belief is not uncommon in America. It is fostered by some cheap novels which deal with the supernatural and bring a Hindu to accomplish wonderful but devilish feats. This belief in the secret powers of the Hindu becomes an inducement to a pennyless but lazy student to become a fortune-teller. I have noticed in an Indian journal one denunciation of the migration of the Indian labourers from an Indian student of this class. Many of the statements which are made regarding colour prejudice in America against Indians are highly exaggerated by Indians out of this and various other motives.

Indian migration has an important effect on the attitude of the world towards us. Some gross mis-statements defaming the character of our "heathen" country made by the American missionaries are being discounted in America. An American missionary cannot now find it quite so easy to tell lies about us as he used to. Secondly some people who had the idea that we were some great mystic race, that our country was filled with Yogis and Fakirs who could hypnotize, and carry messages by mental telepathy, are now changing their idea about us. To have the idea of the latter kind about our race is of course flattering to us, but that happy misconception cannot remain, when the world knows us better. We should remember however that to be an object of curiosity is not a matter of great pride for any people. Let the world know what we are, whether good or bad. We have first of all to exact the rights and privileges of ordinary men. In the struggle therefor we must come in contact with other people, and under these circumstances a flattering superstition regarding ourselves cannot remain however we may like to keep it up. We must try to be objects of genuine fellow-feeling (not pity), of respect, and of admiration, and not of mere curiosity.

Our sense of responsibility to our kinsmen who have migrated has been happily aroused, and that spirit should always be kept up. Their sufferings are an important factor in our nation making. All people, whether Hindus, Mohammedans, or Christians, have felt the pinch, and in this matter we all unite. Even the British Government sympathises with us in our troubles, and even though they fail to do justice to us at home when we come in conflict with Englishmen, they do feel inclined to take up our cause abroad. The point of view of the Indian Government as well as that of the Indian people cannot always be the same. All that the Government may demand is that we should not be grossly injured; but we have to do more. We intend to demand treatment on terms of equality for our kinsmen abroad, a point which the Indian Government may not care to insist upon. We should remember that when our public officers begin to speak about the subject with the officers who represent the colonies as well as the United States, the former are easily silenced by the latter by asking whether the Indian Government itself treats us with equality in our own land.* This question silences our officers, and makes them feel shy to insist upon the matter further. Our Government becomes seriously handicapped in pressing our cause abroad. Unless we increase the prestige of our people in our own land we shall never be able to create better days for our people abroad.

Emigration took place without much knowledge on the part of the people of India, and when the story of the grievances of the emigrants came to our shore, that our people exist anywhere on the surface of the globe was news to a large number. I know many educated men even to-day who are ignorant of the fact that there are over

* Arguments like this rarely appear in the official literature excepting in a very closely veiled form. But such argument on the part of the colonial officers is plainly made in un-official conversation, public lectures, and in treatises on the subject. English readers can explain to us this difficulty for obvious reasons.

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two hundred thousand of our countrymen in a land as distant as South America. Poor coolies who went there have now become prosperous, and we now take pride in what they have achieved. Their glory is now our glory, their unhappiness is now our unhappiness.

Inasmuch as our sympathies with those brethren who are dwelling elsewhere happen to be a point in which Indians, irrespective of castes and creeds, are united, this factor must not be left out of sight by the politicians who wish to build up unity in the country. The Government may often be open to the reproach that it has not done all that could be desired, but what have we done. That the British Government was not entirely negligent in this matter will be evident from the fact, that some Royal Commissions were appointed in order to make inquiries regarding the ill-treatment of the Indian coolies. Even the Indian Government had sent agents to inquire after the welfare of our people in those colonies. In India we have very little information on the subject and the information is in proportion to the zeal which we possess.

At present in order to keep eye on what goes on in different parts of the world inhabited by the Indians and to inform the Indian public as to what goes on, it is necessary to keep a special agency for the purpose in which the people will have confidence. When the Indian National Congress becomes a permanent body it can appoint a special committee for the purpose, and may occasionally send some agents. Under the present circumstances all that we do is to sit quiet and pity our people and curse the English, as our Hindu widows curse Fate, when they cannot do anything to those who injure them. At present we cannot do much to remedy matters in our own land. Still the Indian newspapers should keep the condition of the emigrants constantly in view before the public. The newspapers in different places, the reports of the governments, should be carefully scrutinized; and every case of cruelty and injustice should be properly advertised. Common misery is always a bond of union, and even if we cannot help our countrymen elsewhere, their miseries will help to unite us more and more.

Whatever pride we may take in our countrymen abroad, we must not neglect to consider whether it is really necessary for the people of India to go abroad as labourers. This question deserves our special consideration because at present in many places industry is flourishing and the cry for labour is occasionally heard. One may wonder as to what care has been taken by the Government to supply labour at home and what sympathy has the Government shown in inaugurating schemes which would create more demand for labour. There are large areas in our own country which are still unoccupied. In the various native states in the Central Provinces there are very fertile tracts of land which are desolate at present but could be made populous. If we could get employment for our people in our own land the people would not be compelled to emigrate and slave for poor wages. The department of commerce and industry which the Indian Government is keeping up with fat-salaried officials does not seem to be sufficiently vigilant. It is our duty to exact good work from these men. Whatever the various Government Officials may feel on the subject it is my opinion that it is not conducted by competent men, that is, men with the zeal for promoting national welfare. If they wish to do the work well they have a large amount of scope. The department can open bureaus of information in the various cities for the use of the employers and employees.

Of course if our Government does not undertake the task we the people ought to undertake it. We can induce various municipalities to undertake such work. Later on when our Congress will be well organized with a standing office and a salaried president, it can undertake the work with profit. If the Congress does become organized and if it takes up such useful work it can attract the sympathies of the masses and will therefore be a very powerful organization. In that case, every inefficiency of the Government will be the strength of the people organized in the Congress.

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THE LAW OF CONTRACT IN CHANDRAGUPTA'S TIME

By Narendra Nath Law, M.A.

LOANS.

III.

WE shall now discuss the subject of loans. The rules regulating loans are justly recognised to be of great importance, for on them depends to a large extent the economic welfare of the country — राजन्ययोगक्षेम as Kautilya puts it.*

In those olden days, the exploitation by the grinding money-lenders of the necessities of the poor and the needy was checked by a fair rate of interest. The fair rate was determined by the state, which punished all deviations from it.

The legal rate† of interest for a money-lender was fixed by the state. Vishnu says, "the interest on it every month (XI, 3, S. B. E.) while Gautama says, "the legal interest for money lent is at the rate of 5 mashas for 20 Karshapanas per month" (XII, 29), S. B. E. On the strength of the other Sanhitas, these two passages would no doubt be taken to relate to the case of secured loans. Baudhayana however differs from all the above authorities by prescribing a different rate of interest, *viz.*, 1 p. c. per month. His rule is that "a sum of 25 Karshapanas shall bear an interest of 5 mashas per mensem"—I, 5, 10—(22)—S. B. E. He does not expressly apply it to cases of secured debts, but even if it be taken to apply to unsecured loans, the difference from the other Sanhitas does not cease. For almost all the authorities quoted above, including Vishnu and Harita, expressly mention that the creditor may take 2, 3, 4 and 5 p. c. (and not more) as monthly interest on unsecured loans according to the order of the castes, *e.g.*, a Brahman debtor has to pay 2 p. c. per month, a Kshatriya debtor 3 p. c. per month and so on. So Baudhayana is the only dissentient authority in regard to this point.

In view of the general correspondence of the Sanhitas as to the rule that 1¼ p.c. per month is the interest to be charged on a secured loan, I am inclined to take the passage in Kautilya— "सपादपणा धर्म्या मासवृद्धिः पणशतस्य" as applicable to secured loans. This view gains further support when we take into account the fact that no separate rates of interest are mentioned in connection with the rules regarding pledges, upon one kind of which, *viz.*, where the thing pledged is used by the pledgee, interests are chargeable; nor are they mentioned in regard to rules about mortgages.

The rate of interest allowed by the Sanhitas in the case of the Sudra debtors *viz.*, 5 p.c. per month corresponds with that given in the second passage of the Arthasastra (ऋणादानम् p. 174, Bk. III) — "पञ्चपणा व्यावहारिकी"; and as the Sanhitas apply the rule to unsecured loans, I am inclined to think that the passage of Kautilya mentions the maximum rate allowed in the case of unsecured loans.

Laws restricting the maximum rate of interest are found in many countries both of ancient and mediaeval times. In Greece, "the Seisachthira of Solon (B.C. 594), according to some ancient writers, included a reduction of the rate of interest, stated by Plutarch to have been about 16 p.c. per annum. In the opinion of Grote however no restriction was put by it upon interest. At Coreysa in the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C., loans on good security commanded 24 p.c. while the common rate at Athens in the time of the orators was 12 to 18 p.c....such high rates were exceedingly oppressive to agriculturists whose fortunes are always precarious" (Palgrave's Dict. of Pol. Ec.).

According to the same authority "the ancient law of Rome allowed interest which as usual in agricultural

* ऋणादानम्—p. 174, Bk. III.

† This rate of interest, *viz.*, 1¼ p. c. per month is also found in the Sanhitas. The question is whether it was charged on a secured debt or not? Vyasa is very explicit on this point. He says "Monthly interest is declared to be an eightieth part of the principal, if a pledge be given; an eighth part is added if there be only a surety and if there be neither pledge nor surety, two in the hundred may be taken from a debtor of the sacerdotal class" (see Cole's Digest I,30). Yajnavalkya also makes 1¼ p. c. per month the interest on a secured loan, for he enjoins that "on a secured loan the interest every month is one-eightieth part of the principal" (II, 38 M. N. Dutt's ed.). Manu, Vasishtha and Narada are at one on this point. "A money-lender may stipulate as an increase of his capital, for the interest, allowed by Vasishtha and take monthly the eightieth part of a hundred". Manu VIII, 140 (S. B. E.). According to the commentators Kull., Nar., Ragh., and Nand. the rule refers to a secured debt but Med. and Gov. think that the rule refers to cases where the creditor is able to live on this interest and is not compelled to take a higher rate for his living. However, the former is the view accepted on all hands, supported as it is by the parallel passages of Yajn., &c. (see also Cole.'s Dig. I, 24). Vasishtha's text runs thus—"Hear the interest for a money-lender declared by the words of Vasishtha,—5 mashas for 20 Karshapanas may be taken every month, thus the law is not violated"—II, 51, p. 16 (S. B. E.). One Karshapana being equal to 20 mashas, the rate is 1¼ p. c. per mensem. Narada also refers to Vasishtha: "Let a money-lender take in addition to the principal the interest fixed by Vasishtha, *viz.* an eightieth part of a hundred in every month"—I, 99 (S. B. E.). Brihaspati prescribes an eightieth part of the principal to be

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lender as mentioned in the Arthasastra is 1¼ p.c. per month, *i.e.*, 15 p.c. per year. For the reasons given below, it seems that this rate of interest was chargeable on secured debts, the maximum rate allowed on unsecured ones being prescribed by the next passage to be 5 p. c. per month. But the rate is allowed to increase in view of the risks to which the investment of the money lent and consequently its realization are exposed. Accordingly, the money borrowed by persons going to forests for trade is allowed to return an interest of 10 p. c. per month while on the same principle, the interest payable by the merchants who trade by sea is allowed to mount up to the maximum rate of 20 p. c. per mensem.*

A disregard of the maximum limits is punished with fines payable not only by the money-lender and the intermediary but also by the witnesses to the transaction.†

The interest on grain in seasons of good harvest shall not exceed more than half its quantity when valued in money; that on the capital contributed by the members of a commercial company shall be one-half of the profit and be payable as each year expires. In case of partners who by long absence or by maladies such as idiocy are disabled from participation in the business, they may be discharged from partnership by being paid twice the amount of their original capital.*

A person claiming interest when it is not due, or claiming as principal the sum-total of the real principal and interest shall pay a fine of 4 times the amount under dispute. False claims were punishable with fines of 4 times the amount falsified. If both the debtor and the creditor mis-state their claims, the punishment is divided between them in the proportion of 1 : 3.

Favours are shown to the following persons by allowing them an exemption from payment of interest—(1) persons engaged in long-continued sacrifices, probably in view of the general good believed to have been produced thereby; (ii) the diseased; (iii) those detained in the house of their preceptor for studies; (iv) minors; and (v) the indigent.

The repayment of debts is also subject to the following rules.* The creditor is fined 12 panas if he refuses to accept in proper time the sum due unless the refusal be founded upon some adequate grounds. Moreover, in case of refusal the sum tendered may be deposited by the debtor with some third person and no interest accrues upon it for the time subsequent to the date of deposit.

The creditor is liable to a penalty for want of diligence on his part to realize his money within 10 years next following the due date; for after this period the loan is barred by limitation. But exceptions are made in favour of (i) the senile, (ii) the diseased, (iii) the distressed, (iv) minors, (v) sojourners in other countries, (vi) persons who have forsaken their country (देशत्यागी)

communities reached an exorbitant height and popular suffering necessitated a readjustment of debts. The law of the Twelve Tables (B.C. 451-450) first, according to Tacitus, limited the rate to one twelfth part of the capital....In B.C. 347 interest was fixed at 5 p.c.: in B.C. 342 it was abolished altogether by the Lex Genucia. Although the prohibition of interest long remained law, it was found impracticable ...The Lex Unciaria of the Consuls Sulla and Rufus fixed the rate of interest at 12 p.c. per annum....By a decree of the senate in B.C. 50 this became the legal limit throughout the Roman provinces."

Diodorus the Sicilian who visited Egypt in the middle of the 1st century B.C. gives us some information about the early Egyptian law on this point: "For those that lent money by contract in writing, it was not lawful to take usury above what would double the stock, and that payment should be made only out of the debtor's goods; but his body was not to be liable in any wise to imprisonment: and those were counted the debtor's goods which he had either earned by his labour, or had been bestowed upon him by the just proprietors."

(Diodorus Vol. I, Bk. I, Ch. VI, p, 81).
Transl. by C. Booth.

"दशपणा कान्तारकाणां" Jajn. uses the word "कान्तारग" in a similar context—

कान्तारगास्तु दशकं सासुद्राविंशकं शतम्
दद्युर्व्वा स्वकृतां हद्दिं सर्व्वे सर्व्वासु जातिषु—II, 39.

† ततः परं कर्तुः कारयितुश्च पूर्व्वसाहसदण्डः। श्रोत्रियाणामेकैकं प्रत्यर्घदण्डः।

* The text is चिरप्रवासं सम्भ्रमविष्टो वामूल्यद्विगुणं दद्यात्। It seems that "भ्रमविष्टः" should be "सम्भ्रमविष्ट" In "वाचस्पत्य," "सम्भ्र" has been explained as "जड़ता" by which no doubt such maladies as insanity, idiocy, &c., are meant. One suffering from these would be सम्भ्रमविष्ट.

† *Cf* Yajn. II, 45—"If a creditor, for the multiplication of his own money, does not take it when offered back by the debtor; and if the latter deposits it with an umpire, interest ceases from that date."

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and (vii) those who were prevented from claiming their dues owing to political or other disturbances.

The sons of a deceased debtor shall repay the principal with the interest thereon. If the deceased has no sons, the debts shall be paid by those who inherit his property. Or the debt shall be paid by the surviving joint-debtors if it was contracted jointly with them.* Where there are sureties for payment, they shall be held liable.

The rules as to surety for payment of a debt are: a minor cannot stand as surety. If there be no restrictions in the contract of surety as to time or place, it shall be borne by the sons, grandsons or any persons inheriting the property of the deceased surety in case the debt be not paid by the debtor. They have also to bear the liability of the deceased person as surety in regard to (i) personal services, (ii) marriage-dowery and (iii) transactions concerning immoveable property.

When there are several debts owing by a single person to several creditors, two creditors cannot sue the debtor simultaneously except in the case of opposition by the debtor* and in the suit the order of the debts has to be proved before the court.

No suit for debt can lie between husband and wife, father and son, and brothers of undivided interests. Cultivators and government servants cannot be apprehended during working hours for debts contracted by them. The wife is not as a rule liable for the debt of her husband even if it be acknowledged by her, except in the case of debts due to herdsmen and cultivators.†

A husband is liable for the debt of his wife and if he absconds without making any provision for the debt, he shall be fined with the highest amercement. If he denies the debt, witnesses will be depended upon.‡

* प्रेतस्य पुत्राः कुसीदं दद्युः। दायादा वा रिक्थहराः-सहय हिणः प्रतिभुवो वा।

Cf. Yajn. II, 51, 52; Vishnu VI, 27, 28 *ff*; Manu VIII, 166; Narada I, 2 *ff*; Brihaspati XI, 48 *ff*.

* प्रतिर्ग्रमान—resisting (M. W.).

† The meaning of this exception is to safeguard the interests of these useful occupations for the benefit of the public.

The text has अईसीति. Yajn. uses the word अर्धसीरिन् (I, 168) in the sense of "a cultivator who takes half the crop for his labour."

‡ In the Sanhitas, *e.g.*, in Yajn. II, 47 and 49, Narada I, 18, 19, Brihaspati XI, 50, 53, Bishnu VI, 32, 37, the husband is not as a rule liable for the debt of his wife unless it be contracted for the benefit of the family. Among herdsmen, washermen, hunters, distillers of spirit, &c., the husband is invariably liable for the wife's debt, because "the income of these men depends on their wives and the household expenses are borne by them also."

ENOCH ARDEN*

IF poetry is a mighty power to move and affect the human feelings and to raise them from the dreary isolation of individualism into a divine harmony with the heart of the Universe, Enoch Arden by Lord Tennyson is a success of supreme merits. It is a poem which has called forth the highest artistic skill and the noblest powers of the poet. The sweet music of its rhythm, the natural and easy flow of its diction, its distinguished freedom from artificiality, the gentle amiability of Annie and the heroic resignation of Enoch have all contributed to make the poem a valued treasure of English literature.

The opening scene reveals pretty well the three main characters of the book. Enoch is represented as 'stronger-made' and ruling even in his boyish days by a superior will. The children played at keeping house in a cave of a long line of cliffs among 'the waste and lumber of the shore.' Enoch was host one day, Philip the next, while Annie still was mistress. But Enoch, a rough sailor's lad, would hold possession for a week and bar out Philip. Enoch who became 'the strong heroic soul' ruled even in this mimic play of life by a proud energy of will. The boy Enoch shows the strength of arm and mind by which he rose in later days to be the owner of a decent hearth

* Read at the Bolpur Santiniketan.

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and of his lovely Annie. But more of this later on. Philip, a good-natured boy full of love for Annie had to be reconciled to his hard lot when Enoch would hold possession of her for a week but this submission to his lot was not of glad assent but due partly to feebleness of body and primarily to weakness of will. Philip's good-nature had none of the charms of that magnanimous, joyous surrender of his own rights in favour of Enoch which extorts respect from all but it claims our pity when 'all flooded with the helpless wrath of tears' he shrieked out 'I hate you Enoch.' Annie, 'the little wife' of fascinating loveliness, the prettiest 'little damsel in the port' is introduced to us as a perfect image of feminine grace and gentleness. She is all sweetness and is no little disturbed when her boy-lovers fall out and she comforts them by saying that she will be wife to both—a saying which strangely comes to be realised in future by that mysterious power of circumstances which everyday humbles in the world the pride of love and the might of will.

Having made a few introductory remarks on the three principal characters of the work we shall now proceed to consider them as they appear before us in the various transactions of life. Let us look at Enoch first.

Enoch is a marvel of human imagination. His strong *muscular* way of building a fortune in the midst of utter destitution cannot but win our admiration. He has set his heart on Annie. Her lovely presence and winning disposition have worked his feelings into that stage of admiration which strengthens hand and heart. Love drives him on to the boldest efforts and 'seven happy years of health and competence and mutual love and honourable toil' roll on. It is not a wild greed of gain which starts him in on toil. We often find that persons who pass the morning of their lives in the obscurity of indigence leave no stone unturned to make the eve beam with the splendours of an affluent ease. Ambition is the spring of all their activity. The shames and humiliations of their unhappy days they seek to redeem by making or amassing that wealth the want of which once rendered them so helpless; for it is but natural to man to court the favours of society and to try to show that his right hand has not lost the power to wipe out the disgrace of indigence. Hence it is seen that ambition operates powerfully in the bosoms of persons living beneath the frigid coldnesses and the obdurate scorns of society. Enoch is born to such a state of hateful poverty, having been 'made orphan by a winter shipwreck.' But constituted of nobler stuff, he never suffers himself to be victimised by a frantic lust of power and influence. He applies the superb energies of his body and mind to the slow building up of a fortune but the genial currents of love allay the heats of such a stressful pursuit. Hence it is that the man rises from his poverty in such a silent, unobtrusive manner that the storms of the phenomenon are hidden from our view.

However, the trait of character spoken of above is by no means an uncommon one in the world. But what is it that surrounds the hero with a perpetual glory? Enoch, to my mind, is an example of pious fortitude to all those who sit darkling under the deadly shadow of some baleful calamity.

The day is hid in cloud. The winds beat hard. Life is a prey to the cruel rage of untoward, nay, crushing circumstances and the lustrous optimism of our brighter days deserts us never to return. Enoch was in such a gloomy situation of life. The misery that fell to his lot is not the ordinary portion of humanity; for how many are fated to spend long, long years in a dreary island clean of human footsteps save those of their own with a miserably slender prospect of return? 'Over his early-silvering head the sunny and rainy seasons came and went year after year' but no sail. 'A phantom made of many phantoms moved before him haunting him.' 'The beauteous hateful isle returned upon him,' but in all this the resolute faith of the man held him up. It is a glorious object—Enoch's religion. The best and brightest in Enoch was not his *love* but his *religion*. Religion was to him verily a shield and a buckler. Who ever suspected ere the man fell into his dismal situation that religion was the bedrock of his heart's strength? Was he not found mixing with the gay crowds of men and women when he lived 'seven happy years of health and competence' as one of

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them? Did anything about him smack of religion? No. Yet the man immured within the rocky bounds of a sea-girt island had no other source of strength and consolation than religion. No one finds him ever giving way to peevish unbelief. No one finds him ever yielding to emotions of despair and bitterness but

'.....had not his poor heart
Spoken with That, which being everywhere
Lets none, who speaks with Him, seem
all alone,
Surely the man had died of solitude.'

A whining, groaning, puling religion is not Enoch's but it is a religion which dwells at the very bottom of his heart and strengthens the bottom alone, without ever floating up into the surface and it is this bottom-religion which arms him with power in an overwhelmingly mightier assault of trial when he once more finds himself amidst his own and yet not his own and when loneliness becomes loneliness in the strictest sense of the word and cruelly preys upon his vital spirits. Enoch passes the bravest moment when ensconced behind the yew he sees that 'which he better might have shunned' and 'staggered and shook' and 'feared to send abroad a shrill and terrible cry which in one moment, like the blast of doom, would shatter all the happiness of the hearth.' The man is smitten down by the sight—Philip, 'the slighted suitor of old times,' now the 'lord of his rights and of his children's love' and 'reigning in his place' and Annie happy with her new home—and he prays and what a prayer it is! Religion when it is natural is a lamp unto our feet in darker days and men are not decked in it as vain women set off their persons in all the braveries of wanton ornamentation. Enoch's religion is beautiful by its naturalness and simplicity and no one has the slightest suspicion of what illumines his heart until the fateful moment comes frowning upon him in all the savage gloom of a desperate woe. Hence to contemplate Enoch's religion is to contemplate the natural beauty of a thing which brings perennial delight without ever being followed by *fatigues* of joy. Enoch Arden, we believe, with his robust religion and surprising self-denial and self-possession will ever be the happy companion of generations of readers yet unborn. The pious restraint he throws over his lower appetites is so natural to him that even in the face of approaching death when Miriam Lane with the 'current of her easy tears' craves leave to fetch 'his bairns' (children) he, in the struggles of departing breath, says :—

'Woman, disturb me not now at the last,
But let me hold my purpose till I die.
Sit down again ; mark me and understand,
While I have power to speak. I charge you now,
When you shall see her, tell her that I died
Blessing her, praying for her, loving her ;
Save for the bar between us, loving her
As when she laid her head beside my own.
And tell my daughter Annie, whom I saw
So like her mother, that my latest breath
Was spent in blessing her and praying for her.
And tell my son that I died blessing him.
And say to Philip that I blest him too ;
He never meant us anything but good.
But if my children care to see me dead,
Who hardly knew me living, let them come,
I am their father ; but she must not come,
For my dead face would vex her after-life.
.....,
.....

In brief, Enoch Arden, as we have already observed, is a marvel of human imagination not in consequence of any grotesque and out-of-the-way lineaments of character but of the very shapely and natural proportions of growth he exhibits and it is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that he will be the happy companion of readers from generation to generation.

But nothing that I have said above exhausts the beauty of Enoch's character. Enoch is attractive not only by reason of all the riches of goodness I have laid bare to readers' view but by something which surpasses the bounds of a narrow ken and dares into the brave domain of the Infinite. It is a fashion in these days to profess a love of literature. Numbers of men and women beguile their tedious hours with the enormous volumes that daily elbow their way into the world and overwhelm us like the plagues of Egypt. A Moses must intervene and save the helpless Pharoah. How admirably does the work we are discussing save us from the plagues of literature and bring us within sight of something whose potent influence reaches forward unto the very purlieus of the soul. We generally rise contented from the study of a book when the language of our hearts finds a response in it, when love is glorified, virtue rewarded, wrong righted, injustice punished.

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Had Enoch been a mere lover his claims to our allegiance though unquestionably great would have received a set-back somewhere. But it is quite otherwise. It is something other than his deep love for Annie that has made me look upon him in that strange feeling which transcends admiration. I am of opinion that the highest function of literature is to rouse in us the dormant sense of our direct affinity to the Infinite Being. Literature seeks to bring us in sight of the sublime portals of the Everlasting in many a diverse manner ; for those who create literature are men of genius and 'genius', as an eminent writer has it, 'is a promontory running out into the Infinite.' Enoch Arden is dear to us as he unlocks the mute language of our souls. He does not rest satisfied with smiting upon the tenderest chords of our hearts alone but he reveals to us the measureless dimensions of the *soul*. Superficial readers of the poem may be tempted to speak of Enoch's love as the most glorious phenomenon before their eyes. I have no doubt, profound respect for the depth of Enoch's heart but I have already observed in the course of this paper that it is Enoch's *religion* which rises superior to everything that claims our admiration and this religion is the religion of the worship of the Infinite. What comes more direct to us than the worship of the Infinite? What tells us more effectively what we are than the message that is borne off from the bosom of the Infinite ? Had Enoch's love been shut up and besieged within the close barriers of transitory affections and had it not braved the illimitable region of the Everlasting where Individuality is lost and swallowed up in Universality, Enoch would not have the face to claim any homage beyond the one the world accords to martyrs of love. But Enoch transcends the space-limit and the time-limit by speaking with the Boundless That. Enoch's religion, therefore, is not a mere 'pious restraint' over his baser appetites nor a mere glad submission to the Will above but a distinct recognition of his birthright—of his birthright as the child of the Infinite and it is this recognition of our divine birthright which surrounds us with more than twelve legions of angels against the aggressive ills of life and makes our knees strong that we may stand and faint not.

We shall bring our discourse to a close by touching briefly upon the character of Annie and that of Philip. Annie is a woman of a winning grace of disposition. She is, as we have already observed, all sweetness. Her figure, whenever it meets our eye fills us with a welling tenderness of emotion. She is the sweet interposer between the quarrelling lovers. She presides over the household of Enoch like a good angel of God. What Enoch earns by the hot sweat of his brow is made sweet by the kindly affection of Annie. By an unexpected stroke of misfortune Enoch has to leave his dear Annie. The parting-scene calls forth the deepest pathos of the heart and brings into relief the profuse charms of Annie's nature. Then the silent sorrows of Annie during her days of separation from Enoch are depicted with a telling effect. Annie pines away as a flower pines without light and air. Nevertheless, we feel sorry to see Annie, the idol of Enoch's heart, the stay of all his tender emotions, the guardian angel of his domestic peace, nay, his all-in-all in life, betraying her trust when the trial grows the sorest. From a worldly point of view, there are circumstances that palliate Annie's guilt but we are of opinion that Annie belies the highest standard of conjugal fidelity. Annie is right when she says to Philip that she cannot love twice but we are inclined to believe that what makes Annie surrender herself to Philip is not love, pure and simple, but gratitude and a fear of 'the lazy gossips of the port.' Annie, a creature of loveliness, lacks that strength of will which alone could have braced her up to hold by the ideal of wifely devotion revealed to her inner consciousness. It would have been no cruelty, no ingratitude on Annie's part to refuse to marry Philip ; for love is not gratitude and it cannot be exchanged for silver and gold nor even for generous sympathy such as Philip exhibited. Love is a mysterious feeling and its laws are yet unknown to us. To marry out of gratitude or out of any other sentiment but that inexplicable, mysterious emotion known as love—an emotion which is up in arms against all endeavours to bind it down to a dead definition—is to barter the flesh. We are firmly convinced, therefore, that Annie came down from her glorious height and got

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mixed up with the undistinguished mass of people when Philip's ring girt her finger. If we have understood aright, Annie's was not and could not be that holy sanctity of feeling which makes the twain one and though it would have added to the tragic colours of the poem to see Annie stoutly refusing Philip and pining away for yet longer years like the widow-bird piping disconsolate for her love among the forlorn foliage, yet the dark sublimity of tragedy would have been more in accord with the deeper inward whispers of the human nature than the pale and lurid glow which the poet has cast upon the lonely days of the woman. But Annie is sacrificed, the lovely flower cut off to reveal Enoch, and Annie loses as Enoch gains.

Next comes Philip and stands before the bar of wise opinion. We have not many words to say about him, but everybody will agree with us when we say that Philip's was a generous heart and that he began to help Annie and her children in their distress with a quite unselfish motive. But why he took advantage of Enoch's absence and Annie's poverty is a question left to psychology to answer. We shall close our discourse only by asking one question and it is this, 'Is not the life-long hunger which Philip bore in his heart of a deathless character? Does not hunger assail its food whenever it findeth it?' In satisfying a life-long hunger Philip acted but as all flesh is apt to act and we have no reason to be severe on him. Suffice it to say that Philip gave ample proof of a stout, manly heart when in spite of his affluent circumstances he remained faithful to his first love and bore a life-long hunger in his heart without any prospect of being ever filled for many and many a lonesome year.

CHUNILAL MUKERJI.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

A plea for re-organisation.

BY N. C. MEHTA, B A. (CANTAB.)

MORE than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the National Congress of India was founded under the leadership of an Englishman to voice the growing aspirations and hopes of the educated Indians, to further the small beginning of a system of self-government introduced by one of the greatest liberal and most loved Viceroys of India. Since then it has passed through phases of derision and indifference, suspicion and contempt and finally survived even the shock of internal strife. Now it has come to be recognised as a normal part of our political life. Friends and foes alike admit that it has succeeded in drawing the attention of the ruling power to the evils and imperfections in the existing regime, to the grievances and disabilities of the Indians.

The writer of this article is deeply conscious of the debt that the present generation of the Indians owes to the Congress and its leaders who in the initial stages of disheartening indifference and ignorant opposition of the people themselves, steered its course so successfully. It is not meant to undervalue these services, nor to deny the usefulness of the Congress, but merely to suggest some improvements in the existing organisation.

The last generation has witnessed changes of considerable magnitude in the social, economic and political conditions of the people. Schemes of industrial expansion and ambitions of political power have appeared as a result of the peace and security since the convulsions of 1857; and as a fruit of the ripening of the educational policy outlined in the Despatch of 1854. India has been moving rapidly under the momentum of Western education and has caught some of that spirit which has led to a general

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upheaval in the East. The entire East is throbbing with the pulsations of active life, and determined endeavour. The self-satisfied air of the East is swiftly giving way to a spirit of ambition; the hold of centuries of traditions and antiquated ideas is fast slipping away. The emergence of new conditions and the necessity of rapid adjustment to changing environment have been the powerful factors in the Renaissance of the East. To these have been added the commercial competition of the West and the exploitation of their resources by foreign capital and labour. Impending danger is the most powerful stimulant of activity.

Progressive forces have been operating in all directions. Governors and the governed alike have been affected by them. The policy inaugurated in the time of Lord Ripon culminated in Lord Morley's Reforms of 1909, and its future course was indicated in the Royal announcement at the last Delhi Durbar. The ideal of a self-governing India has passed from the sphere of the fanciful to the plane of practical politics; it no longer lodges in the imaginative minds of young Indians only. The ideal itself is no longer called in question; the matter of dispute or controversy is merely as to the length of time that must elapse before the realisation of the ideal.*

The fulfilment of the aims that the Congress has set itself involves as a necessary preliminary, political education of the entire people, and this cannot be secured without ceaseless endeavour and efficient organisation. Year after year the Congress has met; year after year it has criticised the events happening in the country, pointed out the faults and imperfections of the existing system of Government, suggested improvements, formulated its demands, but hitherto it has never taken any active steps either to convince the authorities of the justice of its demands or to persuade the public about the necessity of removing its grievances. The primary test of sincere conviction is unselfish and incessant endeavour.

Many things have changed within the last twenty-five years, but the Congress has stood immobile, unchanged, unresponsive to the growing requirements of our times. Presidents have come and gone; their speeches too rigidly cast in one mould have excited a momentary interest in the press, provided a kind of political diversion for the people at large, and been soon forgotten. Every year about the time of August or September people read in the papers about the election of the President, about the choice of provincial committees, about the decision of the All-India Committee. How the President is elected, by whom and on what principles—all these matters are only known to the electors themselves. How the committees are organised, how the members are chosen, perhaps elected, whether any change in the personnel of the committees has taken place since the beginning of the Congress, are matters impossible for the general public to know. The curiosity of the inquisitive few remains unsatisfied; the grumblings of the impatient outsiders remain unheeded! The critic of bureaucracy not seldom behaves himself like a bureaucrat, as was seen at the last session of the Congress. The feeling of rebellion against this unjustifiable and unmeaning autocracy seems apparently gathering force and becoming more articulate as seen from this year's disputes about the presidential election and the reluctance of the Beharis to acquiesce in the decision of the Central Committee. It is no wonder that these old invisible bodies—provincial and central—do not command the same respect, the same ready acceptance of their proposals as before. The time has come when the educated public should be in closer touch with the conduct of the Congress in order to make its voice heard, to render its demands more effective, and to give them a touch of representative character.

II.

The work of the Congress to be useful cannot now be confined only to annual

* "Nobody doubts that India ought to progress towards self-government; but nobody knows how the process is to be carried out or what the ultimate end will be," p. 623.—The Round Table, September 1912. In the same thoughtful article on "India after the Durbar," the writer says further, "to dam the tide would raise the flood which would overwhelm not only our rule but India herself in a torrent of desolation. To roll it back would be to burden ourselves for all time with the responsibility for the daily welfare of 300 million souls." p. 623.

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criticisms of Government measures, and that too not infrequently by presidents who can in no sense be regarded as persons representative of India or of any marked eminence. The strength of an organisation consists in its leaders, and unless they are chosen in the case of the Congress with due regard to their intellectual attainments, their past records, their wide reputation—if not popularity, and above all, their public services, it is hopeless to expect such an institution to achieve anything of lasting good. During the last few years our lack of public men has been strikingly shown by the difficulties attending the presidential choice. To avoid the unpleasant and ungraceful appearance of choosing the same men over again the Congress Committee has been forced to fall back on lawyers with lucrative practice, perhaps of local eminence, but without absolutely any claim of being politicians, or even having taken part in politics of this country. For a short time before the Session of the Congress they suddenly emerge into prominence, only to relapse soon after into their wonted obscurity. It is a singular fact that apart from the actual founders of the Congress not a single public man of eminence has come out from the ranks of the rising generation, and those who had the good fortune of becoming presidents have hardly attracted much notice beyond their own circle of admirers, have hardly done anything more than deliver the usual hour-and-a-half speeches set in the old form.

The intensity of public opinion in a country can be appraised by the interest that the people take in the affairs of their country; its character can be seen by the intellectual and moral qualities that its leaders possess. It is essential therefore that the presidential honour should fall only on men of recognised importance, with something more than a local or legal importance.

The ideal of self-government that the Congress has set itself, as said above, to be attained and be of lasting benefit to this country involves a long course of political enlightenment and a slow spread of a sense of civic duty. It is not a thing that can be *granted* by the Government on the demand of the Congress. To be of any real value it must be *won* by displaying competence and ability in accomplishing some thing more solid, more practical than mere verbal feats of criticism. It is not an altogether unjustifiable reproach cast at the Indians that organisation, administrative capacity and public spirit are not their particularly strong points. For twenty-five years the Congress has been working on the same lines as laid down by its founders at a time when political activity or interest in public affairs was confined to a relatively small number, when the press was in its infancy, when the people of the country were just being initiated in the art of municipal self-government. Since then many reforms have been effected—some of them no doubt owing to the efforts of the Congress and the representatives—if not of the entire, at least of a section of the non-official public have been given a more or less direct share in the determinations of Government councils. In face of all this the Congress appears to be quite satisfied with its old and now ineffectual method of political organisation. The wonder is how in spite of so many defects in the organisation the Congress regularly meets at all.

I think everybody would be agreed as to the desirability of having some sort of permanent political organisation not merely to criticise the doings of the Government, but actively to co-operate with it wherever feasible, and to give expression to the wishes of the people. Its activities should not be limited to the last fortnight of the year only, but extended throughout the year. A central body with provincial branches should act as a centre of information about the country, as a channel of distributing suitable literature on the political and economic problems of India among the masses at large and at a later stage, financial resources being adequate, to send missionaries for the purpose to the villages and districts still in the splendid isolation of ignorance. The provincial bodies should be composed of influential and well-known persons chosen on some basis of franchise and should act mainly in contributing a certain proportion of the expenditure of the central committee and reserving the rest of their collections to themselves for local activities. It is essential that popular attention should be directed to the activities of the associa-

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tion and the public given a larger and more direct share in its control. It is fundamentally important for the success of the organisation that the present practically co-optive system of election, or still worse nomination by influence in the central as well as provincial committees should be abolished. Once the efficiency of provincial bodies is improved, the standard of presidentship of the Congress would naturally go up, and the present undesirable state of personal considerations and individual jealousies playing part in the election would be avoided. The annual meetings of the association would continue as at present. But its influence would be more extensive and far-reaching.

The Congress has hitherto neglected altogether an integral part of the Indian Empire and failed to take any notice of the political development of the native states which rule over more than 70,000,000 souls. It is very important that the Indians should show some indisputable proof of their administrative capacity and political genius in governing the states where they are not hampered by the interference of the Indian Government, where they have a *carte blanche* for the good and evil of the people; where they are at liberty to try political experiments and evolve a form of government suitable to the genius and requirements of the sons of the soil. It is but natural that an alien government should carefully watch and draw conclusions from the kind of capacity shown by us in our own land; and one can by no means with satisfaction see the immensely inferior rule of our native princes with but a few noble exceptions, their thoughtless extravagance, their ignorant and autocratic sway—in short, all the evils attending personal and despotic rule and these acquiesced in by the people. As long as the government of a country—good or bad, depends on its individual sovereign, there can be no permanent security of law and justice, no proper basis of progress. How many citizens of our numerous native states can boast of greater civic freedom, greater autonomy, greater security under their own native rule? Is not the lasting inferiority of most of these states in efficiency and justice, liberty and security to what we enjoy under an alien rule a serious obstacle to the political development of India? Does not our education for greater political freedom lose its raison d'etre in face of this apparent incapacity to evolve a satisfactory constitution suited to our requirements, answering our ambitions, even when we are left to rule ourselves with a minimum of outside interference except in cases of grave injustice and chronic anarchy?

These and many other of our own imperfections the Congress has to take into account and try to eradicate them in course of time by means of education, discipline and developing a sense of civic duty. Causes underlying the surface and vitally affecting our development—causes more profound than prominent, it has to consider. Little good can be wrought by feats of verbal eloquence exhibited once a year. The tasks it has to accomplish are of considerable magnitude; above all, time and energy are necessary to fulfil them. The goal of self-government can only be reached by efficient organisation, incessant endeavour and correct focussing of enlightened public opinion.

The suggestions here made are not new, and the object of this article will be fulfilled if it induces those who are responsible as the leaders of the Congress and have power to improve and expand its machinery to make a thorough examination of the existing organisation and endeavour to meet the growing requirements of the country without delay and without the traditional slowness of our people.

WHO ARE THE ASVINS?

FROM the time of the Brāhmans to our own days the question has been asked 'Who are the As'vins?' and various answers have been given. Let me give the various facts connected with the As'vins and find out the answer for ourselves.

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1. They are twins and inseparable.
2. They are the twin children of Vivasvat (R.-V. 10, 17, 2).
3. Their mother is Heaven (1, 182, 1), Ocean (Sindhu, 1, 46, 2), Saranyū (10, 17, 2).
4. Their mother disappeared at the time of their birth (10, 17, 2).
5. They dwell with Vivasvat (1, 46, 13).
6. They are the Performers of Sacrifice with the season (1, 15, 11)—Ritunā Yajna-vāhasā.
7. "Of all the gods they are most closely connected with honey." (Macdonell) They are said to be fond of honey (madhū-yu, mādhvi) or the drinkers of it (madhupā).
8. They give honey to the bee (1, 112, 21).
9. Only the car of the Asvins is honey-hued (madhu-varna 5, 77, 3) or honey-bearing (madhu-vāhana (1, 157, 3, &c.)
10. "The attribute *rudravartani* (8, 22, 14 &c.) 'having a red path' is peculiar to them and they are the only gods called golden-pathed, hiranya-vartani, (1, 92, 18, &c.), an epithet otherwise only used (twice) of the rivers."
11. When Sūryā, the daughter of the Sun, ascends their car (1, 116, 17. &c.), shining rays of the Sun spread around them (5, 73, 5).
12. The Asvins are red (rudrā) and bright (s'ubhra).
13. They dispel darkness (6, 62, 1, &c.)
14. Only the car of the Asvins is triangular in shape (tribrit) and has three seats (tribandhura).
15. The car is generally said to have three wheels (trichakra).
16. Sometimes it is said to have two wheels, one of which is placed on the neck of the bull (ny-aghnyasya mūrdhani, 1, 30, 19).
17. One is fixed and the other moves (5, 73, 3).
18. It is without horse (1, 120, 10, &c.)
19. It is sometimes said to be drawn by horses (1, 117, 2, &c.), birds (6, 63, 6; 10, 143, 5), swans (4, 45, 4), eagles (1, 118, 4), bird steeds (16, 63, 7) or eagle steeds (8, 5, 7).
20. It is sometimes said to be drawn by a buffalo or buffaloes (Kakuha, 5, 73, 7, &c.) or a single ass (Rāsabha, 8, 74, 7, &c.).
21. It is also said to be drawn by a bull (Vrisabha) and a Gangetic porpoise (Simsumāra) (1, 116, 18).
22. It is golden (4, 44, 4, &c.).
23. It is covered with the rays of the Sun (Sūryatvach, 8, 8, 2.)
24. It traverses heaven and earth in a single day (3, 58, 8).
25. It is called parijman 'going round' (4, 45, 1, &c.). It goes round the heaven (1, 180, 1).
26. It appears at early dawn (10, 39, 12, &c.)
27. It is seen at the lower part of the heaven (divah sānavi, 4, 45 1.).
28. It is water-sprinkling (ghritasnu, 5, 77, 3, vrisana, 1, 157, 2, &c.).
29. The Asvins live in heaven.
30. They go near the Sun (Sūryam pariyātheh, 1, 112, 13).
31. Their exact locality is unknown (5, 74, 2-3; 1, 47, 7, &c.).
32. They are invoked to give rain by men heated by the sun 8, 73, 3; 1 180, 8).
33. They rescued Bhujyu from the ocean (Samudra) or the water-cloud (udamegha) in a ship which floats in the atmosphere (antariksa-prud, 1, 116, 3) and carried him to his distant house (1, 119, 4) in the dry shore of the watery ocean (1, 116, 4).
34. They are divine physicians (8, 18, 8).
35. They renewed the youth of Chyavana (1, 116, 10, &c.,) and Kali (10, 39, 8, &c.).
36. They bestow fertility on the barren woman (1, 116, 13, &c.) and also on the barren cow (1, 116, 22, &c.) (6, 62, 7).
37. They restored the eyesight of Rejrāsva (1, 116, 16, &c.), Parāvrij (1, 112, 8, &c.) and Kanva (1, 117, 8, &c.).
38. They give old maids husbands (1, 117, 7, and 10, 39, 3, &c.) and young men wives (1, 112, 19, &c.)
39. They restored to the light of the Sun the sages Rebha (10, 39, 9, &c.), Vandana (10, 39, 8) and Atri Saptavadhri (6, 50, 10), who had been thrown into dark pits or wells.
40. They rescued a quail from the jaws of a wolf (1, 116, 14, &c.).
41. They fill rivers with water (1, 112, 12).
42. They gave water to drink to the thirsty Gotama (1, 116, 9) and the merchant Dirghasravas (1, 112, 11) and Sara (1, 116, 22).

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43. They rescued from water Rebha, Vandana, Antak, and Bhujyu (1, 112, 5-6).

44. They sow early corn (pūrvyam yavam,) for men (mānave) (8, 22, 6).

45. 'That golden-pathed river having a white flow (svetayāvari) flows nearest to them of all the rivers' (8, 26, 19).

46. Their car is at the fording place of the river (tirthe sindhūnām rathah, 1, 46, 8). It approaches from the ocean (4, 43, 5).

47. They come on the paths which gods have travelled (pathibhir devayānaih, 3, 58, 5).

48. They are invoked morning and evening (8, 22, 4; 10, 39, 1; 10, 40, 4). This is peculiar to them.

49. They are lords of food (vajinivat, 1, 20, 10, &c.), and are invoked to bestow food.

50. They gave a hundred jars of honey from a horse's hoof (1, 116, 7).

Now, let us see what we can gather from these facts.

From 3, 5, 13, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, we may suppose that the Asvins are some heavenly body.

From 1, we may take them to be twin stars.

We can explain 2, 4, 5, 30 only by assuming that the sun (Vivasvat) was in conjunction with the twin stars, so that the part of the heaven where they were became invisible.

Now as their car appeared at early dawn (26), it must have been west of the twin stars and consequently several degrees west of the sun in conjunction with them. The car would be first visible and then after some time the sun.

Now, what are the twin stars?

(i) In R.-V. 10, 17, 2 the Asvins have been called mithuna (twin). In Indian Astronomy Castor and Pollux form the zodiacal sign *Mithuna*. (ii) In Indian Astronomy Aditya (the sun) is the presiding deity of the two stars. In R.-V. the sun is their father. (iii) In Greek mythology Castor and Pollux are the Dioscouri (=the Asvins who are called in R.-V. 1, 182, 1 &c., the sons of heaven which is also the meaning of the word Dioscouri). (iv) The only other remarkable twin stars in the ecliptic (so that the sun may be in conjunction with them) are the two stars forming the Libra. They are never called mithuna. They are called Visākhe (=Dvisākhe, two branches).

Considering these points and those that follow, we may be sure that Castor and Pollux are the As'vins.

Suryā (11) must also be a star near Castor and Pollux. I identify Suryā with Sirius which being the brightest star and being near the sun at the time of the conjunction will naturally be called the sun's daughter. This also explains the passage of the Rig-Veda 10, 61, 5-7, where we are told that the father had sexual intercourse with his own daughter.

Now, the car of the Asvins which appears at early dawn and goes round the earth and heaven in a single day (24) must also be a constellation to the west of Castor and Pollux. What may this be?

Looking at the heavens we find the constellation Auriga occupying such a position. Now Auriga means the charioteer. Where is the chariot? The Auriga is composed of five stars, and the Milky Way passes through them so that there are three stars on the side of Castor and Pollux and two on the other side. These three form the triangular (trivrit) and three-wheeled (trichakra) car of the Asvins. Three other stars forming a little triangle near it called the Kid are its three seats (vandhura) (14, 15). There is no constellation named the horse near it; hence it is said to be horseless (18). But as the car goes round heaven and earth in a day, some swift animals like horses, birds and swans have been poetically called its drawers (19). Indeed the car has also been called 'manojava' having the swiftness of mind.

Now how to explain the buffalo (Kakuha) which is not a swift animal? It should be noted that Sāyana never takes the word Kakuha to mean the buffalo (20).

Now what of the ass (rāsabha)? First, the stars called the Kid may be the ass of the A'svins. Secondly, rāsabha may mean the bull. Indeed in 1, 116, 18, the Asvins are said to have yoked the bull and the porpoise (2).

The bull is the zodiacal sign Taurus, the bull and the porpoise (Simsumāra) is the constellation Little Bear. The Bhāgavat says "Sisumārascha yah proktah sa dhruvo yatra tisthati" (V. 23.) That is

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called the porpoise where the pole star remains.

Now Taurus and the Little Bear being on the two sides of the Auriga, they have been called the drawers of the car of the Asvins (21).

Sometimes the car is described as having two wheels. This is when the seer imagined the wheels to be separate from the three stars which form the body of the car (16, 17). One of the two wheels is said to be placed on the head of the bull (16). Here the bull is the Heavenly Bull, the Taurus.

'That golden-pathed river having a white flow' is the Milky Way which is near Castor and Pollux (45). This also explains 46, 47 and 10.

I have said before that the sun was in conjunction with Castor and Pollux. This was the case when the Hindus, Persians, Greeks and Lithuanians were still undivided, as they have similar legends as to the origin of the Twins. In the Avesta, Naonhaithya (=Nasatya) is the son of Vivanhant (=Vivasvat). The Greek legend of the Dioscouri connects the Twins with a sister. The Lithuanian legend also associates them with 'the daughter of the sun' who ascends their car. In the Rig-Veda we also see that the Twins are associated with Sūryā, the daughter of the sun. We have seen before the meaning of this connexion of Sūryā with the Twins.

In the time of the Rig-Veda, the sun was not exactly in conjunction with the Twins. It was between the Twins and the Auriga, so that whereas the Auriga appeared in the east at early dawn, the Twins were also dimly visible in the west at evening. Hence it is that they were invoked also at evening which was rather peculiar with the Vedic seers (48). This also makes us understand the passage that the Asvins go near or round the sun (sūryam pariyāthah) (30).

Now the conjunction of the sun must have been a remarkable conjunction, so as to draw the notice of the Vedic bards who were also moderate astronomers like the priests of other ancient peoples. There are four remarkable conjunctions of the sun with the stars on or near the ecliptic, *viz.*, those at the times of vernal equinox, summer solstice, autumnal equinox, and winter solstice. Considering the facts 7, 8, 9, 32, 44, it appears that the particular conjunction was at the time of vernal equinox. Indeed the Asvins have been called 'the performers of the sacrifice with the season' (Ritunā yajnavāhasā). The particular season may be the spring season, as from the Vedānga Jyotisa we find that sacrifices began at the time of spring season : Vasante vasante jyotisām yajeta. This is also clear from the Taittiriya Brāhmana (when vernal equinox was in the pleiades).

Krittikāsv āgnim ādadhita—mukham vā etan naksatrānām yat krittikā—mukham vā etad ritūnām yad vasantah.

Sacrificial fire should be placed at the Krittikā. This Krittikā is the first of the naksatras. This spring is the first of the seasons.

Considering the conservatism of the Hindus, we are sure that at the time of the Rig-Veda also sacrifices began at vernal equinox as in the time of the Brāhmanas. Hence the particular conjunction of the sun was especially noticed. This was not only the case at the time of the Rig-Veda, but may also have been even at the time of the undivided Indo-Europeans who, as we know, were a sacrificing people. The tradition may have been handed down to the time of the Rig-veda and later.

In R.-V. 3, 58, 5, they have been asked to come by devayāna ways (47). If we take the latter day explanation of the devayāna as the time when the sun moves to and from the north of the equator, we find that devayāna began with the vernal equinox. Hence the Asvins have been properly called to come by devayāna ways (47).

As all nature becomes revived in the Spring and as the Asvins are connected with that season, they came to be regarded as divine physicians (34). Hence also the stories of their renewing the youth of old and worn out persons (35). Hence also the stories of their restoring the eyesight of the blind (37). Spring being a blossoming and germinating season, they have been connected with the stories of giving sons to the barren and of making barren cows milch cows (36). In spring birds pair ; hence the Asvins have been associated with lucky marriages. They have been praised as giving husbands to old maids and giving youthful wives to their psalmists (38).

In the Spring also sudden gusts of wind arise and endanger the lives of men in

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water. So any miraculous rescue from the waters would be attributed to the Asvins, who are beneficent in so many other ways. This explains 39 and 43.

Lastly, when the Asvins came to be regarded as divine physicians owing to these causes, every kind of cure such as of the maimed was attributed to them. When we find comets, shooting stars and the like heavenly bodies are connected with human affairs even in our own days by the less cultured, the connexion of the Asvins with the cure of human diseases and distresses would be a very natural one in primitive societies.

As it is sometimes very hot after the vernal equinox and as there is occasional rain-fall, the Asvins have been said to give water to drink to the thirsty (42) and have also been invoked to give rain by men scorched with the sun (32). The giving of water from horse's hoof may be explained as giving rain from a rain-cloud.

About their filling rivers with water, it may be said that it occurs only in one passage (1, 112, 12) where the word rasā may also mean the lower world and has been so used elsewhere. This is also the view of many Vedic scholars.

As to the rescuing of the quail (vartikā) from the jaws of a wolf (vrika), Yāska's explanation which has also been adopted by some European scholars is quite inadequate. For if we make the quail = the dawn, and the wolf = the Sun, we do not find the rescuing of the quail from the wolf, we rather see the death of the quail, because the dawn disappears with the rising of the Sun. We may explain this in the following way. Vartikā (the quail) is the proper name of a female sage, a protege of the Asvins, whom they saved from a wolf or from sin. Indeed in R.-V. 1, 118, 8 the Asvins are said to have saved Vartikā from sin (amhas). In R.-V. 1, 120, 7, the sage Kaksivat himself says to the Asvins, "Save us, ye, from the evil vrika," (pātām no vrikād aghāyoh). In R.-V. 1, 183, 4, the sage Agastya prays 'Let not the he-wolf, let not the she-wolf attack us.' (Mā vām vriko mā vrikir ā dadharsit) :—In R.-V. 2, 28, 10, the sage Gritsamada also prays in this way.

The saving of Bhujyu may also be explained as an astronomical myth. The constellation Argo is the ship of the Asvins, 'which floats in the atmosphere.' As it never rises high in the sky, but is only visible a little above the horizon, the Asvins have been said to have carried Bhujyu to this distant house in the dry shore of the watery ocean. It is well-known that in the Vedas Samudra means the atmosphere as well.

From the fact that the vernal equinox was in Castor and Pollux at the time when the Hindus, Greeks, Persians and Lithuanians lived together, and when the Asvin myth arose, we may find that time.

The longitude of Castor and Pollux is 112°.

The equinox recedes 1° in 72 years. The equinox in Castor and Pollux was, therefore, 112 × 72 or 8064 years from our time or 6153 B. C.

The time of the Asvin hymns of the Rig-Veda may also be found from the datum that the car of the Asvins was visible at early dawn and the Asvins were dimly visible at evening.

Capella, the brightest star in the Auriga, has the longitude of 80°. The sun should be 15° east of this *i.e.*, 95° long., in order that the car of the Asvins may be visible one hour before sun-rise.

Now the time when the sun was in 95° at the time of the vernal equinox is 95×72 or 6840 years from our own time or 6840 — 1911, *i.e.*, 4929 B. C.

We know that the undivided Indo-Germans had named several stars like the Great Bear (Sans. Riksa, Latin Ursa, Greek, Arktos) and they measured the months by the moon. It is not, therefore, at all strange that they should notice the conjunction of the Sun with Castor and Pollux and Sirius at the time of the vernal equinox and should worship them as gods and personify them or rather deify them and give the story an anthromorphical colour. Considering the high antiquity at which astronomy was known to the Egyptians, Accadians and the Chinese, to claim a moderate and practical acquaintance of astronomy for our Aryan forefathers at 6153 B. C. is not certainly too much, especially when the different Aryan languages give unmistakeable evidence of their civilization.

Lastly, I take Yama and Yami to be the same as the Asvins, looked at from another point of view. Their parents are the same.

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The word Yama has also the meaning of twin. Two dogs guard the path of Yama (X. 14, 10–12). These are the Canis Major and the Canis Minor which are on the two sides of the Milky Way, which is the way of Yama.

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH.

HINDU GIRLS' SCHOOL AT CONJEEVERAM

THE IDEAL.

THE future of our race is to be the handiwork of our mothers and sisters, and the education that can make them worthy of the trust is yet far from being even partially imparted to them. The ideal of women's education—the ideal of Indian womanhood—is yet in the far-off distant future clothed in the mist of doubt, surrounded by the halo of hope. There stands the mother of new India in that dim future girding herself for the work of nation-making.

"When the women see themselves in their true place, as related to the soil, on which they live, as related to the past out of which they have sprung; when they become aware of the needs of their own people; when the mother-heart has once awakened in them to beat for land and people, instead of family, village, and homestead alone, and when the mind is set to explore facts in the service of the heart—then and then alone shall the future of Indian womanhood dawn upon the race in its actual greatness; then shall worthy education be realised; and then shall the true national ideal stand revealed."

This is the ideal of Indian women's education as outlined by the late Sister Nivedita in her 'Web of Indian Life.' Let us ponder what our existing institutions are doing for the realisation of this ideal. Of the National Schools for Hindu girls that I have yet been able to see for myself two come uppermost in my mind—the Kanyā Mahāvidyālay of Jalandhar in the Punjab and the Hindu Girls' School at Conjeeveram, in the Madras Presidency. Before I had the opportunity of seeing the School at Conjeeveram I was of opinion that the Kanyā Mahāvidyālay is a superb institution, unsurpassed by others of its kind, but thanks to Mr. Myron H. Phelps that he spoke to me of "a remarkable institution, which astonished as well interested him a great deal" and at last I found myself one morning last June, (1912) in the *national hall* of the institution which is training two hundred future mothers of India. I was hard pressed for time. So I could spend only two days in this institution. Having carefully seen it in all its details I came to the conclusion that the "*Hindu Girls' School at Conjeeveram*" is by far the best institution for the education of Hindu girls in our country. It is really an ideal institution. Therefore I give here a brief history and description of this unique institution so that our people may know what earnest and selfless workers can do, and what sort of schools can give the best education to our girls. True, my aim is also to win sympathy and help for this institution. This institution is a nursery of Hindu culture. It selects teachers with great caution and very carefully; the Superintendent of the School, Mr. Ramanatha Sharma is of opinion:—

"Christian teachers are undesirable, they are not only indifferent, which would be most disastrous, but are opposed to national sentiments and what we regard as a pious life; and by talk and example they lead children astray."

Therefore he said:—

"What we want is Hindu women of high principles, religious feeling, who are impelled by a sense of duty towards helping the community by teaching. The public spirit which will lead family women to take up this course of life must come from training under approved influence."

In the Head Mistress of this institution he has got an ideal teacher "a well trained Hindu lady of a pious family, in whom all the virtues of a Hindu woman had been developed" and who, above all, is a truly loving mother to her pupils. The founder of this *national nursery* has great hopes. "With her (*i.e.*, Head Mistress') assistance," he said to Mr. Phelps,—

"We hope in the near future to fill our staff completely with mistresses selected from our former pupils who had a careful intellectual and moral

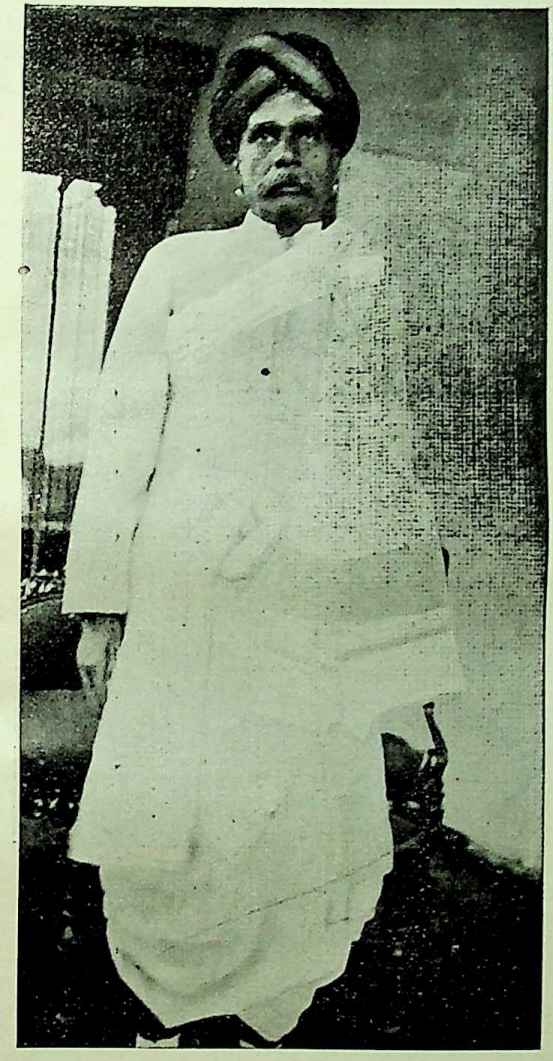
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training and are at the same time imbued with public spirit and share their ambition to cover the country with as many institutions of this kind as there are towns and villages. We look forward to the time when every home in the country may be a seminary for secular and spiritual education, calculated to revive all the robust culture, philosophy and religion of the days of our ancient rishis."

Sowing the Seed.

It was eight years ago that one evening "two friends on their walks through the



Dewan Bahadur Somasundar Sastri, the President of the Hindu Girls' School, Conjeeveram. (Photograph specially taken for this article by Mr. Myron H. Phelps.)

streets of Conjeeveram noticed the alarming increase of [illegible] and demoralisation in the appearance and manners of Hindu girls—their blank faces devoid of religious marks, their *quasi*-European mode of dressing the hair, their habit of wearing a hybrid uniform introduced by the Missioneries, and their addiction to anti-Hindu songs, due to the same beneficent source." Sincere and unostentatious patriots as they were, they pondered over these alarming signs of denationalisation; they resolved to seek a remedy, reflecting—"Our women are the very fortress and citadel of our religion. Every house is the shrine of the woman; therein she represents the divinity of the Hindu home. We must therefore strengthen our women and so fortify our society by education."

And the result of this soliloquy is the tender plant of 8 years of age planted by Dewan Bahadur Somasundara Sastri, the President and Sjt. M. K. Ramanatha Sharma, the Suprintendent, watered by the charity of its patrons and nursed by Parvati Devi, the head-mistress with her colleagues, the teachers, in which they teach Hindu girls from the age of 5 to 13 – the course covering only five years, that is, one beginning at 5 could finish it at 10 and after that she would remain there as a post-graduate, the general average age of the girls in School being 7 to 12—Tamil and Telugu literature, General Geography, History of India, Civics, Arithmetic, Hygiene, Sanitation, House-management (Domestic Science), Music and Drawing. They pay a great deal of attention to physical exercise, now and then outdoor excursions and picnic parties are arranged in which the girls are taught botany and zoology by direct observation of the Flora and Fauna. They have dramatic performances also from Sanskrit dramas.

How the School opens.

The School was closed for the Summer vacation. It was to open on the 19th of June, (1912). But I arrived in the School premises on the morning of the 18th. Having been informed beforehand of my accidental visit, the Suprintendent kindly called the pupils one day earlier; and I found only 15 pupils absent out of 200. These 15 were such as lived outside Kanchi in other towns. In deference to this circumstance

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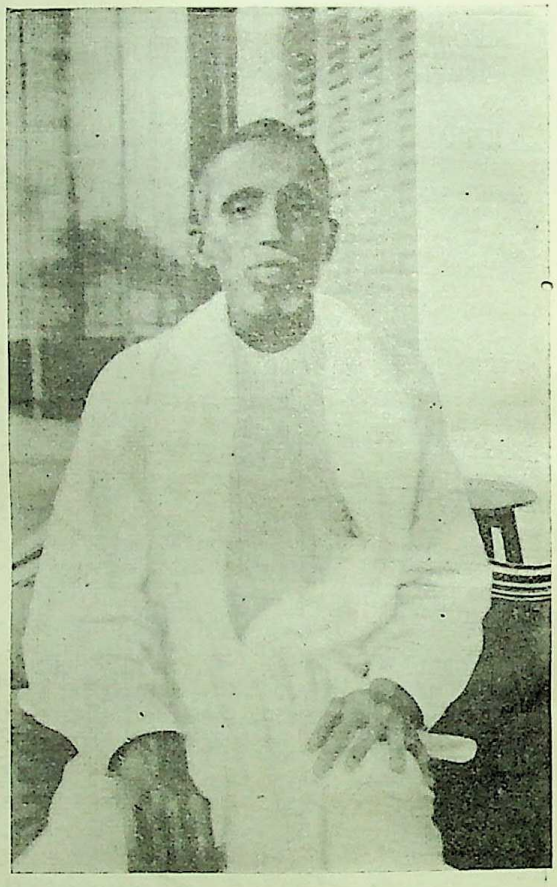
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to bring out two points: I met the students after two months' vacation when they were likely to forget good many things, but to my great astonishment I found them as ready in every thing as if they were specially coached and prepared for the occasion. The second point is this that the staff remain always in such close touch with the pupils that they can collect them at a moment's notice and that girls are more eager to come to School than to stay at home. This day I met girls already assembled in their respective classes. So I shall begin from the next day when I was able to watch them come to the School from the balcony of the School-building.

It was yet quite early; the girls approached the School so joyfully in twos and fours, all walking (I mention this fact, *walking*, for in the Madras Presidency the pernicious and injurious *Parda* custom is not in vogue; therefore closed carriages are not among the necessary paraphernalia of Girls' Schools there). Only a few had to be reminded that they had to go to School, otherwise they all like and love the School so much that they do not wish to spend even a moment after dawn at home.

As they assembled in the School hall, I saw some girls coming out of it. I was afraid that they might have been turned out. But I was told that their loving mother, the Head Mistress, had found that some of them had not yet washed. So they had been sent to wash. When I reached the hall I saw the girls standing in 5 rows. It was a new spectacle to me. I saw, that for each row one girl had a small dish with *kumkum* and sandal-paste (*chandan*) in it, and she was putting this auspicious mark on the forehead of those who had none. This preliminary discipline over, the girls sang prayer-songs. In the meanwhile the teachers survey their pupils to find out if the general health of individual students is good. They also find out who are absent. They know them so well that they can at once detect who is not present.

The girls disperse in groups to their respective classes. In the meantime the names of absentees reach the Head Mistress from each class. She prepares a list and appoints certain teachers to visit them. Then she goes round the classes and talks to the absentees of previous days enquiring if they were ill and were properly looked after by their guardians and if the teacher had visited them. She attends to all complaints of both pupils and teachers. Then like other teachers she takes her class. Thus begins the work of the day, which continues for nearly 3½ hours in the fore-noon. And then informal special classes and English and advanced Sanskrit classes meet in the noon again in the School premises.



Sjt. M. K. Ramnatha Sarma, the Superintendent and Manager of the Hindu Girls' School, Conjeeveram. (Photograph specially taken by Mr. Myron H. Phelps, for this article.)

How they teach.

The most striking feature of this school is the method of teaching. Strictly speaking they have no textbooks, yet they impart so much knowledge to the girls within 5 years as is hardly given to their brothers in other schools and colleges within 10 years. In the vernacular, they teach in their highest standard nearly those things which

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are taught to boys and girls in Government institutions in the Intermediate Classes. They have six classes, at present, and profess to teach only in the mother-tongue of the pupils, Tamil and Telugu. They have extra classes out of school hours for teaching English to such girls as are anxious to learn it.

Let me begin with the lowest class and with the teaching of how to read and write one's mother-tongue. In Tamil, I was told, there are more than 300 letters including compound ones. Moreover, their shape and form are so intricate and complicated that ordinarily it takes children one and a half year to learn only these letters of the alphabet. But they have their own method of teaching by means of which girls can pick up the letters within two or three months. Five *curves* (parts of Tamil characters) are common to all. They have been given names of domestic articles the girls are familiar with. For instance one curve resembles a broad hook which they call *kolhach* in Tamil and it has been given that name—Kolhach. They ask the girls to write on the black board these curves in a particular order for each letter and then in this interesting way girls learn to read and write the letters. They enjoy this process very much, as it has been turned into a sort of game to them.

Arithmetic is a most dry and uninteresting thing. But in this school they have made it a matter of joy to learn mental Arithmetic. They rightly presume that every child unconsciously has learnt 1 to 4 or 5 figures. The teacher would ask a girl in the class: 'Have you got any friends here in the class.'—'Yes I have.' 'Then pick them up and ask them to stand aside.' 'Now how many are they?' 'Five'. 'Now separate them in two groups.' 'What is the number in each group?'.....The teacher with this group of five friends makes the girl learn not only counting figures but also addition, subtraction and multiplication, in a moment, in this way. And as the result of this practice I was struck to see a girl of six adding up a sum which yielded 73 before I could even see how many figures the teacher had put on the board. And this they do without counting on the fingers even, as is generally the practice even with college students. Teachers are not allowed to use any text book in arithmetic. They are required to prepare questions and problems themselves. Then they submit these calculations and methods for approval to the Superintendent and the Head Mistress and then use them next day in the class.

The teaching of literature is most efficient. And the method of making selections of texts and preparing of notes is unique. As I have said, they have no printed or fixed text books. For each year and each class they make a special selection of extracts for texts. They divide the year into two unequal parts. During the first quarter they teach from some selected text books that are common in ordinary schools. From these school text books also they pick up special portions and particular lessons.

Having made a choice from the text books they ask the teachers to supplement those lessons with their own notes and commentaries from original sources, according to the capacity and need of the pupils they have to deal with.

For the other 3 quarters of the year special elaborate preparations are made. The text book committee of the school meets to ransack all the possible sources of Tamil and Telugu literature—Ramayan, Mahabharat, Puranas, and Lives of saints, poets and heroes and other modern standard works. For each class according to its capacity and need they select stories or portions of stories or extracts from the above-mentioned books. Then these selections or extracts are arranged in order, with a view to suit the pupils at different periods of the year, during their progress. These collections are entrusted to teachers, and they are required to prepare supplementary and explanatory notes for each lesson. While preparing notes they have to take into consideration the intellectual and moral development of the particular class for which the lessons are meant. As during different years pupils of different capacities come, so the same notes cannot serve the purpose for the next year. Separate notes have to be prepared for each class each year according to the needs of the students. Then the notes are submitted to the Head Mistress and the Manager of the school for their approval and examination, which they

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A Group of some of the pupils of the Hindu Girls' Schools, Conjeeveram, with the Head Mistress Parvati Devi in the centre. (Photograph specially taken for this article by Mr. Myron Phelps).

pass after making additions or alterations if necessary.

The pupils are taught these texts and then they are asked to reproduce in their own words the substance of what they hear from the teacher and what they read in the text. The substance reproduced by girls is carefully corrected and supplemented by teachers. And the fair copy of this serves the purpose of a text-book for the student for her own use.

I followed closely the Head Mistress teaching the students of the 5th standard, which is second to the highest. The subject for that day was a particular Tamil poet. She, on the board, pointed out his characteristics as a poet, the difference between his style and that of other poets, why he is great, his grammar, his weak points, his place in literature and his message and mission. This lesson on literature was not to be thrown away as water on sand. The next day the pupils had to reproduce what they had been told adding their own views on the poet.

Literary Compositions.

As soon as the girls learn how to form words they are asked to write in their own broken sentences, on slates, what they see on their way home while going from school, what they do at home, etc. They bring it to their respective teachers, who correct their mistakes. As they advance into higher and higher classes the slate is changed for paper, bold hand for fine hand, disconnected sentences changed into connected well-balanced sentences, and stray sentences into a complete diary of the day. This diary which each student of this school is required to keep serves two purposes: it makes them learn how to express their thoughts and informs the teachers how their pupils spend their time at home.

The writing of a diary—which is never dispensed with—leads to composition on various subjects. The subjects which these little girl pupils--none of whom is more than thirteen years of age—write about range from purely literary to strictly historical and topographical subjects. To illustrate this point I shall give here a list of subjects taken from only three copy-books, which I picked up from a heap of note-books that I had the pleasure to see:

1. Victoria the good. 2. Rama. 3. Buddha, 4. Asoka. 5. Vikramaditya. 6. Sri Shankar. 7. Ramanuja. 8. Akbar. 9. Conjeeveram, the city. 10. Mahabalipuram. 11. Madura. 12. Tanjore. 13. Humpi. 14. Delhi, etc.

I have got with me outlines of all of the above-mentioned subjects, rendered into

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English for me by Mr. Sharma. The essay on Vikramaditya is outlined thus:

1. The great Hindu king, renowned in Hindu tradition.
2. Character of his rule:
(a) Personal solicitude for his subjects' welfare, going about in disguise to acquaint himself with the condition of his subjects.
(b) His ideal of justice.
3. Patron of learning—the nine gems of his court,—Kalidasa and Amarsinha.
4. His age, an age of prosperity and literary activity.

On Asoka—The outline:

1. Accession to the throne, extension of Empire.
2. The spread of Buddhism in his reign.
3. The Asokan pillars, edicts and inscriptions.
4. Asoka—a pious king.
(1) His moral teachings:
a. Mercy to all living beings.
b. Obedience to parents and preceptors.
c. Respect for servants and masters.
d. Mutual love and sympathy.
(2) His charitable and good works:
a. Hospitals for both men and animals.
b. Rest-houses for travellers.
c. Digging of wells and planting of trees on the road-side.
5. The death of Asoka—The fall of the Maurya dynasty.

I have also with me, rendered into English, at my request, by the same gentleman, the substance of some particular portions of some of these essays. In the Essay on Madura under the 6th section—Tamil learning under the Pandyas—one girl essayist gives the following brief note:—

The Tamil Academy.—The Pandyan kings of Madura were great patrons of learning and literature. There was a Tamil Academy composed of reputed authors and professors of Tamil literature. New works were submitted to it. The authors of original works were made members of this academy and received their rewards. The works approved of by the academy used to be patronised by the public.

Tiruvalluvar was once the leading professor of this academy. He was a *Pariah* by caste and his admision was first disputed.

Another girl in her essay on Akbar under the section 5th, dealing with his policy writes:

The Policy of Consolidation—he consolidated his Empire by bringing together the fragments of the Empire by the strong but trustful and winning hand.

The Policy of Conciliation—he reconciled his conquered subjects the Hindus by concessions and giving them high posts in the management, administration and defence of the Empire. He abolished the jaziya and encouraged inter-marriages between the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

The Policy of Toleration—he tolerated all faiths and religions among his subjects, and gave them full freedom to follow their own customs and religion.

It was this broadmindedness and farsightedness of Akbar that laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire. He seems to have really cared much for the welfare of the subjects.

Another girl writing about Rama, in conclusion writes on "what lessons we derive from Rama's life".

(*a*) In his early youth Rama gave up the pleasure of home and palace to go with Visvamitra in the forest to protect him from the disturbing elements of the forest.

(*b*) His readiness to go into exile so that his father may be able to keep the promise he had made so thoughtlessly.

(*c*) Bharat's sacrifice for and devotion to brother Rama. He renounced the throne which had so legitimately come to him and kept the sandals of Rama on the throne for 12 years; and again handed over the charge of the kingdom to Rama.

(*d*) The selfless devotion of Lakshman and the service he rendered to Rama and Sita in the forest is the higher kind of brotherly love and devotion.

(*e*) Sita is an ideal wife. Her devotion and love to Rama. Her going with Rama to the forest under those hardships and sufferings.

(*f*) The ideal friendship of Hanuman and Sugriva.

The story of Rama is a typical example of kingly duty. Rama's love and solicitude for his subjects. His care to protect public morals. His greatest sacrifice—the sacrificing of Sita to recover whom he suffered so much—only that he may not set a bad example before the public. He did it painfully to save people from moral degeneration by misunderstanding the character of Rama and Sita.

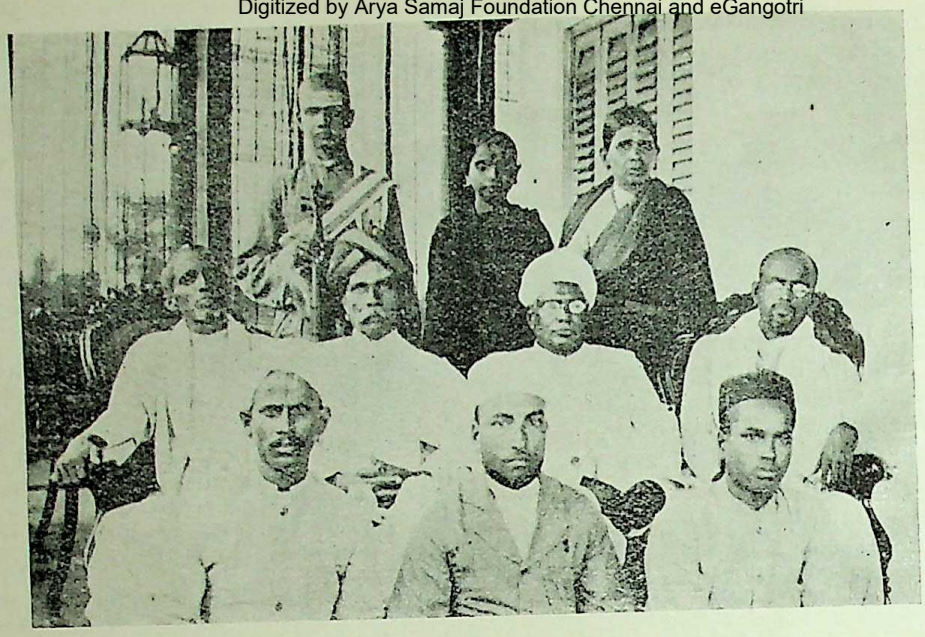
I have given above the extracts only to show what a girl of hardly 12 years of age can do in her mother-tongue if she is properly trained to express her thoughts, which is the chief aim of literary education and which unfortunately is never attended to or developed in ordinary schools to which children are sent.

How they teach History.

I have said above they have to finish their courses within 5 years, as the most pernicious custom of early marriage is so strictly observed in the Madras Presidency that invariably Brahman and higher caste girls are married before or at 12 years of age. Therefore they have fixed their courses so that they can impart the maximum amount of education to girls within this minimum period of five years. Therefore the public should not expect that they can teach history in the academical way, histories of countries or kings or dynasties. But they

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The Staff of the Hindu Girls' School, Conjeeveram. (Photograph specially taken for this article by Mr. Myron Phelps).

have a very useful and interesting way of imparting historical knowledge.

They select some characteristic reigns from different periods and different dynasties of ancient, mediæval and Modern India with a view to impress the pupils with the condition, civilisation and prosperity of the people, and with the causes responsible for their progress or deterioration. (And what else is the practical lesson and purpose of history? It is enough if one knows so much about his or her country). They have practically no text books on this subject also. However they refer to one of the history books prescribed for schools. They are contemplating to have their own special Indian History Readers which will impart adequate knowledge, to their pupils, of Indian History, which they will never forget in life and by which they will benefit a good deal; unlike those children who are made to memorise text books in Government schools only to forget them.

About the Staff of Teachers.

The present working staff of the school consists of Srimati Parvati Devi, the Head Mistress, Srijut Ramanathan Sharma, the manager, one lady teacher and six male teachers. There was a time when the whole of the family of the Manager, Mr. Sharma, were working as honorary workers; his wife and daughter who used to teach there have now left it, but besides his whole time and property being at the disposal of the school, his two sons-in-law (both of them graduates; one, the elder, being a distinguished graduate of the Madras Presidency and a very good scholar of English and history) and his son are still teaching in the school. All the teachers have joined the institution not merely for the sake of remuneration but for love's sake. Nevertheless the admission into this labour of love is not so easy. Each teacher is kept under training on probation for three years. They have their own model classes for training the teachers, on every Saturday. They teach them *how to teach*. Even Government trained teachers are sometimes found unfit for this school, and have to undergo a special training. In the staff at present there are four trained teachers besides the head mistress and the manager, who have passed the test and have been found worthy of the institution.

The teachers are almost whole-time men. For after school-hours also they come to the school-building to help such pupils as come there again after school-hours to get help from teachers. Specially those weak in the classes or backward in studies are advised to come to make up their deficiencies

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in this extra time. And also those desirous of learning English come after school-hours. Besides this teaching work in the school and preparing notes or arithmetical problems for the following day, the teachers have to go to see their pupils in their homes and mark their progress and their health and talk with their parents as to how the pupils behave and work.

The most arduous task is that of the manager, who is the moving spirit of the institution. His duties are as follows:

Before school work begins he goes over the notes that the teachers had left with him on the previous night and which they will use on the next day after approval and correction or additions. After the pupils have settled in their classes he goes round to check the attendance, the aim of this survey being to look after the absentees. He examines or looks after two classes each day. He sits with the pupils and goes on seeing how the teacher teaches. His defects are pointed to him in private after school.

Having done these usual duties, he surveys the pupils of each class to see if they are clean and in health or if they have to speak to him about anything pertaining to school or home.

The duties and work of the head mistress which are arduous and important have been mentioned briefly before. She is a wonderful lady—a great educationist and a power among the women of Conjeeveram.

MUKANDI LAL.

INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA: A FEW HASTY IMPRESSIONS

BY MANILAL M. DOCTOR, M.A., LL.B., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

VERY few people knew that some of our countrymen have settled in this new continent, before a report appeared over a year ago, in our leading papers, that a deputation had waited in vain upon the Australian Government to obtain some concessions as citizens of the British Empire; and on my way to Fiji, I availed myself of the opportunity of knowing something more about the conditions prevalent in this giant colony. Even those few, whose attention may have been drawn to Australia, know very little beyond the fact that Australia like South Africa is against the entry of Asiatics and in particular against the *influx* of Indians; and naturally one pictures the oppression, persecution, insults and hardships, that our countrymen have been undergoing in South Africa, before and after the advent of Mr. Gandhi (under his leadership), as the necessary state of existence in Australia. But it is not so—let this be said at once to the credit of Australia. Australia is indeed as Anti-Asiatic as the Transvaal: nay more, she is even uncompromising unlike South Africa. But she does not persecute, insult or annoy those Indians who are already in the colony. The so-called "education-test" was invented by Natal and the Cape Colony, before the patent was copied by Australia, from whose borrowed lustre the Transvaal got "light" to draft and redraft her Anti-Asiatic legislation over hundreds of anxious midnights. It is true that Natal and the Cape Colony do not work the "education-test" to exclude all Indians without distinction; it is also true that even the Transvaal has come to terms with Mr. Gandhi and a limited number of Indians do enter that rich but troublesome colony—and so far Australia seems to be the worst, as she works her "education-test" in such a way as to exclude every Indian, no matter what his education, rank, social or pecuniary status may be. But about a couple of thousand of Indians have already settled in Australia, that is to say, before the Anti-Asiatic or "education-test" legislation was passed in 1905; and these men dispersed in that vast island continent, enjoy the same privileges as Europeans, for all practical purposes; however there are

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certain disabilities which will be pointed out later on.

But before I proceed further with the condition of our countrymen in Australia, it may relieve the curiosity of the reader, if I say that a temporary permit to reside in Australia can easily be obtained by Asiatic merchants, tourists, health-recruiters and so on, by application to the Secretary of the Department for External Affairs in Melbourne. A deposit of £100 or a security to that amount given by those who are resident in Australia may be insisted on in some cases; but in the case of persons whose respectability is beyond doubt, previous permission from the above Department will suffice. However it will be always safe to err on the right side and be prepared with £100 at any time.

Turning to the main subject, I must say I have not stopped more than four or five days (at each place) in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney; and it is quite possible that some of my impressions will want correction before being accepted as right. I however describe them for the benefit of the reader, for what they are worth, craving his indulgence for my short-comings in this self-imposed task.

At Adelaide our countrymen live near Little Gilbert Street—they are Punjabees and Kabulis, Sikhs and Pathans. You can always find about a dozen of Pathans at or near the Mosque (for our Mahomedan brethren are always ahead of their Hindu brethren in such matters) and about the same number of Sikhs at or near the house of a rather well-to-do Sikh near No. 200 Hindly Street—near the park. On the day on which I landed (the 16th of August) the Mahomedan fast of Ramjan was referred to and described by the local papers; so it can be seen that in a foreign land a handful of Mussalmans still cling fast to the faith of their fathers: nay, I must say they have kept their eyes and ears open to the call of Turkey and subscribed good sums of money for "the cause." The Sikhs, however, like other Hindus in other colonies have done nothing in the way of organising public institutions for furthering their spiritual or educational welfare. But the number given above does not represent the total Indian colony in South Australia—it only represents the number of those who are to be found in the capital of that state, by turns, coming from remote villages to the headquarters. The majority of Sikhs are growers of wheat on distant farms, as the majority of Pathans or Afghans are camel-drivers, camel-trainers, camel-keepers and camel-dealers. I should say that about five hundred of our countrymen are thus dispersed in that sparsely-peopled State of Australia. Now and then they come to Adelaide on business, stop a few days and go back into the interior. Before the advent of our Mohamedan countrymen none in Australia knew the use of camels; but now the Europeans have learnt the trade and they no more desire their past masters to stay in the country. I was told that some of our men had contracts to carry mails from one part of the country to another and the Pathans practically had the monopoly in some places. But now the Europeans get the contracts to carry mails on camels and our countrymen have to shift for their livelihood otherwise. Of course, it would be understood at once, that Australia is not yet oversupplied with railways. Our countrymen here are not at all educated men; but they are not treated with contempt as our suffering brethren in South Africa are. They own houses or lands like white people, they have municipal and political rights, they have access to public institutions and even hotels, like any other people, and they obtain equal justice and fair play from the police as well as the magistracy. There is no distinction drawn at all by Europeans transacting business with them in the ordinary way. I can say for myself that the officers of customs and others, who had to execute the laws relating to non-Europeans, were nothing but kindness and courtesy, as compared with the rude and sometimes brutal officers in South Africa, I mean those connected with restriction on Indian Immigration. Some low-class whites, had, indeed, in the beginning, tried to insult or annoy these Sikhs and Pathans—but a lesson or two from the big sticks of these strong people, coupled with impartial justice by magistrates, has created the general impression on Australian whites that the *Indians* (not simply Sikhs or Pathans) are an easily excitable people and it is dangerous to trifle with them. So

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now, not even those that may really belong to races or castes physically inferior to our northern men. The contrast is certainly worth remarking between the treatment of our countrymen in those colonies where our inferior castes have gone as abject and servile coolies weak, helpness and fragile before the kicks of white overseers—and the treatment of our people in Australia. "Passive Resistance" does not seem to have occurred to our stalwart men in Australia, as the disease did not create or



A Sad Parting.

Indians of Mauritius presenting a farewell address in a sandal-wood box to Mr. Manilal M. Doctor, who worked in their midst for four years, persecuted by the white planters, discouraged by the authorities and misunderstood by judges and magistrates. In 1909 the Council of Government had passed against him a banishment ordinance which was disallowed by His late Majesty King Edward VII.

call forth that great remedy: a few strokes with the stick solved their difficulty immediately and they have, therefore, had no opportunities of developing those moral qualities, which are commonly attributed to the heroes of passive resistance in South Africa.

Coming to Melbourne, I found that the firm of Mr. Wassiamull Assoomull was well-known and respected by the Australians. This is the only decent Indian shop in Bourke Street, dealing in Indian curios and little articles of dress and ornament, for ladies especially. The firm is doing good business and has an appointment to supply oriental goods to the Governor of Victoria (the province of which Melbourne is the capital). But the majority of our countrymen are to be found in and about, Exhibition Street, where some of them are doing well as shirt-manufacturers, and others hawk shirts, piece-goods, etc., in the country and come to the city for fresh supplies. A good few are owners of farms and engaged in growing wheat. Here also our Mahomedan brethren have got a mosque and they were observing their Ramjan fast. I was told by a few intelligent men that our countrymen in Australia did not settle down or marry white women from choice—on the contrary most of them desired to be allowed to bring their wives from India (for white wives are too expensive)—but the Government would not have it and so they were helpless.

In Sydney again, we have a branch of the well-known firm of Wassiamull Assoomul at No. 106 King Street and this is the only Indian shop worthy of the name. Our poorer brethren live in a place called Redfern (Elizabeth Street, etc.) and here as in Melbourne many shirt-manufacturers and pedlars from the country districts are to be found. There are a few Konkani Mussalmans, a Memon (from Bombay), a Bhatia (from Kathiawad), and three or four men from the United Provinces or thereabouts, among many Sikhs and Pathans. As can be seen from the name, the firm of Wassiamull Assoomull is from Sindh—their headquarters are in Kurrachi.

I have mentioned in passing that our countrymen have largely married white women and that it is the Australian Government which is to blame for this (if any blame be due at all) and not the Pathans. I say Pathans because Islam has made it possible for its followers to marry women born in Christianity; whilst the Sikhs and other Hindus do not find it easy to marry white women;

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their morals, therefore, in regard to drink and women have naturally deteriorated. But as I said before, the Government of Australia could have prevented this by allowing Indian wives to join their husbands in Australia, as South Africa has done. On the contrary the Government thinks that if Indians earn their living in Australia they must spend their income in the country, by marrying Australian women and leaving Australian families behind them. This is one of the disabilities of our countrymen in Australia. Then, I was informed in Sydney by one who spoke authoritatively on the subject, that when certain lots of lands were at the disposal of Government, Europeans had precedence over Indians in the ballot. And there are possibly a few minor grievances—but, on the whole, Australia does not make an Indian (settled there) feel the difference of his colour from the white man, any more than England or France. Again I am glad to mention that there are not wanting thoughtful Australians who keenly feel the injustice done to Asiatics, particularly to Indians who are British subjects, by the party (the labour party) in power by their Anti-Asiatic legislation, and frequently advocate the cause of equality and justice as between the different races constituting the British Empire, as will be seen from the following extract:—

'Recent applications of the "White Australia" policy', says the Rev. Henry Worrall in his article headed "A Racial Riddle" in "Life" (September number) published in Melbourne, 'have been such as to cover us with shame for our country. In the city of Ojeelong we are so applying it that all the force of a civilised Government is being set in motion to drive a little Chinese wife, with her puny babe, from a comfortable home and an honest and industrious husband, back into a heathen country, into which we send missionaries to teach the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man! In Sydney we detained for inspection and consideration the wife of a Briton, and the daughter of a Briton, who with her husband, was on a journey to Japan, because, forsooth, she had the discolouration of Polynesian blood in her veins! And against these vicious political imbecilities how few voices have been raised in indignation!"

It has been my good fortune to meet with several good Australians on my way to Fiji, who sympathize as above and without being unfair to others I must mention the name of Mr. Thomas Jessep, J. P., one of the leading public men in Sydney, who of his own accord came to me and fastened on me the tie of friendship by showing how much help he had given to the Chinese in their struggle against the injustice of the Australian Government. There is thus a very wide difference between the Australian whites and the South Africans in their treatment of and attitude towards Indians and other Asiatics.

Note 1.—Whilst in the Transvaal the law makes the marriage of a white woman with a dark man illegal, Australia asks Indians to marry white women in preference to Indian women. It can, however, be easily understood, that our countrymen have not married white women of a higher class—but it, at any rate, shows that Australians do not cherish colour prejudice like South Africans though their government dreads the industrial and commercial possibilities of Asiatics if the doors of the colony were to be thrown open to their invasion.

Note 2.—The neighbouring colony of New Zealand, unlike Australia, does permit Indians to land, if they can read, write and speak English fairly. To earn good wages, many tailors, labourers, washermen and shoemakers from Surat have gone there recently.

DIFFERENCES IN RELIGION

By Ramanugraha N. Sinha, M.A., B.L.

WE are often told that differences in religion constitute an insurmountable obstacle in the path of national progress. But mature deliberation will convince us that this is only one of the many propositions that gain currency after inaccurate observation and raw judgment. No doubt religious fanaticism is sometimes fanned to intolerable bigotry through the instrumentality of unthinking people, and

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this leads to a chasm between the followers of two different religions which is with difficulty bridged over. But this does not mean that religious differences do not essentially admit of being made up.

2. The fact is that there is a good deal of difference between religion and bigotry. Religion consists of some general principles of faith which are sought to be inculcated with the sanction of divine law. To those who dive deep in the matter, different religions have for their bases the same principles; because religion invariably lays down general principles and the particularities that are found in it are simply an after-growth. If these minor things are sought to be observed, there can be no end to differences, for in fact no two men can have the same identical sets of opinions. The later commentators of a religion often differ in their opinions and this gives rise to *sub-sects* of religions. The general principles are the things which claim our observance, while the individual opinions either held independently or followed slavishly, should never be made matters for quarrel.

3. Again, every religion is liable to change with the advance of ages. This will be evident to every one who for a moment banishes bigotry from his mind. Can we say that even the most orthodox and pure form of Hinduism is now what it was in the days of the Vedas or the Puranas? Change is a universal law and it characterises psychological things no less than physical things. Hence religion and religious opinions are no exceptions to this universal law.

4. But several extraneous circumstances serve to bring about changes in some religions more rapidly than in others, and consequently there are often abnormally wide differences in religions which might in their origin, have been quite akin to one another. The physical features of a country and consequent habits of life as well as social and political events are responsible for alterations in religions. Thus it is not something accidental that a Hindu in his warm, genial and watery country lays so much stress upon ablutions; while a Russian or an Icelander finds these inconvenient. The different branches of human conduct are so interconnected that pure ceremonials and precautions for health are found to form parts of religion.

5. However it may be safely said that the two great factors of religious differences are, first, the essential constitution of the mind which necessitates diversity of opinions, and second, changes brought about by the progress of time.

6. Under the first head will come that factor which causes the same thing to be viewed differently by different people, on amount of its being viewed from varying standpoints and with varying aspects. To such people the advice of the chamelion (which, being seen by two Arabs to be of blue and green colours respectively, gave rise to a heated discussion between them, ending in blows, but which, on being seen by both of them later on was found to be white) is pertinent—

> You all are right and all are wrong:
> When next you talk of what you view,
> Think others see as well as you;
> Nor wonder, if you find that none
> Prefers your eyesight to his own.
> —*James Merrick.*

7. In short, these are the causes which give rise to differences in religion and every person who exercises the least judgment, will see what importance to attach to them. We take the concrete example of India. Here Hindus and Musalmans fight over things, which though petty, have in their eyes vast importance. The cow-killing question is at the root of most of the quarrels and the pity is that many educated Mahomedans do not realize the necessity of facing the question. In some cases, they go so far as to countenance the illiterate peasantry in their rash acts. Does an educated Mahomedan honestly think that cow-killing is one of the essentials of his religion and can it ever really be so? Even if there are verses in the Koran which interpreted in one way, make cow-killing something convenient to Mahomedans, is it not in the interests of humanity and nationality, that inconvenience should be preferred to friction? [It is said that the sacrifice of one cow is equally meritorious with the sacrifice of a number of goats or sheep and hence it is more economical and convenient.] I have been told by some Mahomedans that the verse in the Koran which is said to set forth this view admits of another inter-

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pretation, according to which there cannot be the least occasion for friction between the Hindus and Musalmans.* Let all educated Mahomedans take up the cause of the abolition of cow-killing as a few have actually done; and the result will be sweet peace and harmony. This is one of the instances how religious differences can be made up. There are Mahomedans who in their short-sightedness revel over quarrels between Hindus and Mahomedans and try to fan them by painful and tedious means. They strive to organise a distinct Mahomedan feeling. But a short calm deliberation will convince them that such things are not only fruitless but ruinous.

8. Those who think that differences between Hindus and Mahomedans are irreconcilable have got an exaggerating imagination. These peoples, in their frenzy and obstinate opinionativeness, create the very differences which they think incapable of settlement. They cling tenaciously to their opinion, but never pause to think whether this opinion is erroneous or not. In fact, only ordinary endeavours directed in proper lines can bring about perfect amity between the Hindus and Musalmans.

9. Indeed the differences arising out of the colour question are more poignant than religious differences and though we hope that in remote futurity this question may be solved and more humane considerations may prevail, yet at this time it presents a much more rigid and knotty face. The Negro Christian or even the native Indian Christian is looked down upon by his brother white Christians and the Christian religion with all its catholicism is impotent to prevent this. If a Buddhist Japanese and a Christian Japanese can live together and exert together, equally so can a Hindu and a Musalman. If in China, Chinese Musalmans are absorbed in the whole mass of the Chinese professing various shades of Buddhism, there is no earthly reason why a different state of things should prevail in India. The Hindus may and should relax a rigid adherence to the rules of "touch", which may sometimes be based on sanitary principles; and if a Mahomedan lives more cleanly than many Hindus, it is reasonable that his touch should be better than that of the latter. Even now there are villages in which, with all the so-called differences, Hindus and Mahomedans live like brethren and help one another like the members of a joint Hindu family.

10. If differences in religious matters assume such importance in the eyes of some, they should see whether differences in matters of caste are less strong among the Hindus. There are organisations on foot for making up the latter differences, and we can be no less sure of success in seeing a Hindu and Mahomedan together than in seeing a proud Rajput and an ordinary Bunyan together. If there are minor points in which Hinduism and Mahomedanism differ, there are others and more important ones in which they agree. It can be safely said that an educated Hindu and an educated Mahomedan can read both the Koran and the Vedas with feelings of deep admiration; and if such is the case they ought both to see that these sacred books should no longer be held responsible for friction and heart-burning.

* As Mr. Sinha appeals to reason, a Musalman may ask him to persuade his orthodox Hindu brethren to give due weight to the fact that to non-Hindus the killing of a cow is the same as the killing of a goat. As Musalmans should have regard for the feelings of Hindus, so Hindus should take into consideration the inability of non-Hindus to fully realise their veneration for the cow. Musalmans may have their full share of fanaticism, but illiterate Hindus are not without their share of this fruitful cause of strife. It is as unpatriotic to insist on killing cows, as it is to get excited when they are killed. What can orthodox Hindus do to prevent the killing of cows for the supply of beef for European soldiers and others? They can do nothing, and they are therefore right in not getting excited at the slaughter of thousands of cows for the supply of beef for Christians and Musalmans. Why then get excited when cows are killed as a "sacrifice"? If the killing of cows be, on any occasion, meant to provoke Hindus, is it not foolish on their part to fall into the trap and get excited? Editor, M. R.

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THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA

By Dr. Ram Lal Sarkar, an Eye-witness.

The Revolution in the Yunan Province.

So far as could be ascertained the Revolution was confined to the cities mentioned above and nothing remarkable happened in any of about the 70 other cities and towns. The news that the revolutoinaries had seized Yunanfu, Telifu and Tengyueh and other places terrified the officials in the other cities, and as soon as messages from these places reached the other cities and towns, the troops drove out the government officials, proclaimed the Republic and planted the Republican flag. There was very little of the horrible and treacherous murders in these places. Peace is now reigning in the Yunan province.

2. The Revolution in the Szechuen Province.

This province is situated on the north-west of the Chinese Empire. To the north-west of this province is Thibet and on the south-west is situated the province of Yunan.

It is by far the largest of all the provinces, its area being 218,480 square miles, while its population reaches the magnificent total of 68,724,890. The highway leading from China to Thibet passes through the important cities of Bhagilu and Batat in this province. The north-western extremity of this province touches Assam.

The majority of the people in this province are poor. The palanquin bearers that one comes across on the Tengyueh side and at Bhamo are people from this province.

The Causes which led to the Revolution.

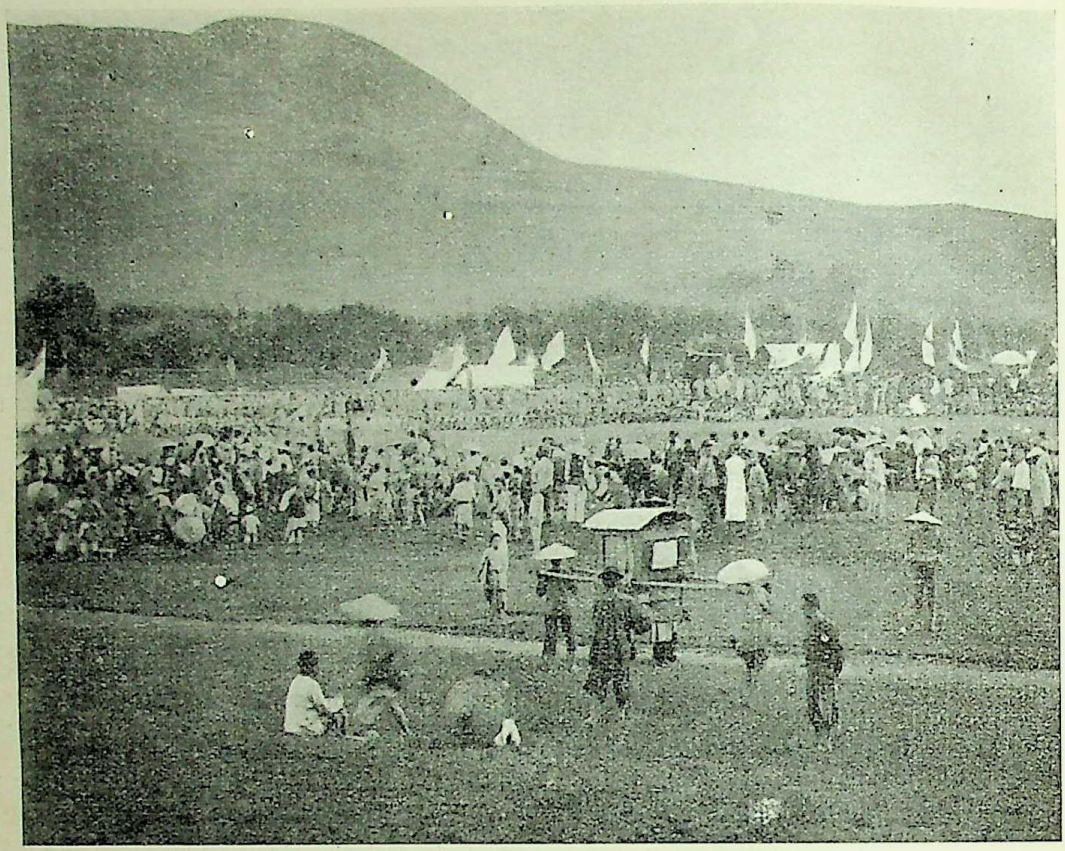
The merchants of the Szechuen province raised money by subscription and by selling shares for the construction of railroads. A committee was formed and work was commenced. Of course this huge undertaking had enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of the local officials. When the construction had well advanced the Chinese government wanted to take the work of construction in their own hands.

To meet the expenditure they were reported to have stipulated for a loan of 15 crores of rupees with the British government. The railway committee and people in general were enraged at this news and the seed of discontent was scattered broadcast by their agitation. People were so terrified that they thought that the raising of this loan would be tantamount to selling the line to foreigners. For they would exercise their authority and control over this line till the money was repaid and thus the country itself would pass into foreign hands. The sepoys at Tengyueh used to argue like this before the Revolution.

It can be easily seen that this anxiety of the Chinese people is not baseless. The huge railway which traverses Siberia connects Calais with Seol or Peking. It is one of the great achievements of Russia. The English now aspire to construct a railway which will connect Calais with Shanghai and run through Persia, Afganistan, Beluchistan, and possibly through Karachi or run through Peshawar to Assam to join the Szechuen railway there which leads up to Shanghai. This would facilitate a journey from Australia or New Zealand to England and vice versa. People would not then suffer from sea-sickness and would not be called upon to face a stormy sea. I read this suggestion in an English newspaper sometime ago and I think that the troubles in Persia are due to an attempt to convert that idea into practice. The troubles in China might also have arisen from a similar attempt.

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Revolutionary parade of the Chinese School-girls and boys.

THE COMING STORM.

The city of Chang-Tho assumed an aspect of solemn stillness similar to that which pervades the skies before a storm, when there are occasional flashes from the N. E. or the S. W. which make people anxious (about the coming storm). Meetings were held in cities and hamlets, openly and in secret, and the waves of the great movement invaded the schools and roused the students. About eighty per cent. of the girls and boys attending schools, left their schools and preached in the villages about the impending danger to the country: and roused a feeling of enmity in the minds of the people towards the Government. An ingenious device called "The River Telegram" was invented in order to rouse the people living in distant villages down the banks of the river Yang Tse. Chips of wood were floated down the river with the following inscription on them —"The Government officials at Chang-Tho have been killed. Troops from Peking are coming to slaughter the poor people inhabiting the Szechuen province. Take up arms to defend yourselves."

The local press also grew more active. Articles were published in the various newspapers maligning and attacking the Peking Government and its officers. Cartoons were published in the "Eye-Opener," "Wisdom-Opener," "Western Observer" and other papers. In one of them foreign troops were represented as shooting the Chinese soldiers in Piamen Ma, near Michina in the North-Eastern corner of Burmah; in another Sain Suan Whai, one of the principal officers of Government, was represented as being dragged out for execution and his house was represented as being set on fire; a third represented the women as being taken away by foreigners with the policemen standing by and doing nothing, and so forth.

ANTI-FOREIGN FEELING.

The Chinese have been very careful this time not to attack foreigners, lest they be

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compelled to pay compensation afterwards, though they have a strong anti-foreign feeling in them. So far as could be ascertained the revolutionaries did not attack any one or rob any one in the Szechuen province. There was only one incident worth noting. As Rev. Manly was walking in the streets of Ji-Chao one day, the little children began abusing him in filthy language. Grown up people soon joined the children in their mischievous prank.

The crowd thus swelled in number and breaking into the church began its work of spoliation. Rev. Manly, who had already taken refuge there, effected his flight through one of the neighbours' houses by effecting a breach in the earthen wall behind the church. The Chinese have a notion that the presence of foreigners in their country is the root of all mischief. The construction of railways by foreigners is, according to them, only preliminary to the country being divided by them.

The beginning of the storm.

Prince Ching, the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Pekin, became the butt of this agitation. He was denounced in all the public meetings, for people thought that he was reponsible for selling the new railway to foreigners. Mr. Ming Po, the President of the Provincial Association, took the lead in the agitation against this new railway. The wrath of the ministry therefore fell on him. Prince Ching therefore issued telegraphic orders to the Governor General of Cheng-Tho to arrest Po and other leaders of the agitation.

On the seventh of September Governor General Chao-Ard-Fang ordered the gates of the walled city of Cheng-Tho to be shut. 180 foreigners were living in the city at the time. They were ordered to retire into the Canadian Mission buildings. The British Consul General and others went to live in the Canadian Mission buildings.

The Governor General ordered the troops to be in readiness, on a pretext of danger. In a moment the streets were crowded with soldiers. In the meantime the news spread, that Mr. Lo, the leader of the Ry. Association, and Mr. Po, the President of the National Association, and others had been taken prisoners. According to telegraphic instructions from Pekin, the Governor-General had sent for the leaders of the agitation, in accordance with the custom prevalent in China, to consider a telegram about the new railway which, he gave out, he had received from Pekin. The leaders arrived at the Yamin and after a short discussion he ordered that they should be taken prisoners. Troops were waiting in readiness and they immediately surrounded the Yamin.

But the people raised a clamorous protest against the conduct of the Viceroy and insisted on the release of their leaders. Angry crowds gathered around the Yamin and in the city, shouting and threatening. The crowd behind pressed forward and tried to force the men in front, into the Yamin. The Governor-General Chao-Ard-Fang then ordered the troops to fire. Volleys were fired in quick succession and thousands of the unarmed crowd were shot down in a moment. The wounded lay yelling and shouting and the rest fled.

Immediately after this, the troops proclaimed by ringing of bells that people who had closed their shops should send the heads of their respective firms to meet at the Yamin. The yellow signs in honour of the Enperor Koang Sir were pulled down from the shops, and the furniture in the literary societies and other associations were broken and spoiled.

This act of indiscretion on the part of Chao-Ard-Fang forced many people to join in the rebellion. The agitation was no longer confined to the Railway problem but was converted into a Revolution.

The Revolutionaries proclaimed that foreigners should be protected but the Manchus and their officials should be driven away. The more the people were repressed by Government the more was the popular wrath excited. Many were executed to strike terror into the minds of men, but like the *Rakta Bij* (corresponding to the Greek Hydra) of Hindu mythology the people only raised its hydra-head to protest and devise remedies against these cruel acts.

The Manchu throne felt the huge strength of the people and was shaken.

A terrible fear seized the people in the Szechuen province. Perceiving that the government was weak, the hooligans began to loot the people in mofussil towns and villages and the blame of it was laid on the

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shoulders of the revolutionaries. But to speak the truth, the revolutionaries acted with magnanimity at the time. They aided the weak and punished the wicked and thus acted with justice.

Skirmishes were fought in various places within 10 miles of Cheng Tho. The royal troops lost in almost every engagement and in some places they threw their lots with the revolutionaries. These latter hollowed out the trunks of many trees and stuffed them with gunpowder and pieces of iron, etc, and kept this connected with batteries by hidden wires. So that when the royal troops came near those trees, the connection was restored and the whole thing burst and blew away many. Bands of men from the villages poured in towards the city.

Governor-General Chao-Ard-Fang was dumb-driven at the strength exhibited by the people and was at a loss to make out what to do. He could not rely on his own troops and therefore had sent for troops from Dajilu, on the distant frontiers of Thibet when he received the first inklings of the Revolution. He felt secure when three thousand troops arrived from those places.

On the 11th he again ordered the gates of the city to be closed. In a moment the streets were crowded with soldiers. The other leaders of the agitation, editors of newspapers and the foremost among the student agitators were ordered to be arrested. The offices of the "Eye-Opener" and the "Wisdom-Opener" were locked and sealed.

The leaders who were imprisoned.

Lo Len, the leader of the agitation against the new Railway; Mr. Theusiao Ko—a very outspoken man; Mr. Nian, the leader of the University Students; the Japan-returned student Tian; Mr. Chang Lan, the Vice-President of Railways; Pu Theonjun and Wang the Vice-Presidents of the Provincial Association; Mr. Mung the sexagenarian educationist; were the most prominent among those who were imprisoned. Many people feared that they would be executed.

The Viceroy issued proclamation after proclamation but people paid no heed to them.

One of these proclamations purported to say that the agitators were trying to incite the people to rebel by preaching lies and that innocent people were being slaughtered like sheep and goats in consequence.

Another proclamation declared that the agitation against the railway had nothing improper about it and that the government would never punish the agitators. But the people, it went on, were reported to be misbehaving themselves in the four following ways.

First—That while the agitators had persuaded the people not to pay taxes to government, they were trying to realise the taxes themselves.

Secondly—That they were collecting and drilling troops.

Thirdly—That the agitators were collecting rifles and guns and had begun to manufacture them.

Fourthly—They have declared that the supporters of the government would be arrested and punished.

Condition of the Foreigners.

All communications with Cheng-Tho were cut off. Postal and telegraphic communications were also cut off and foreigners were living like prisoners in their own houses.

Chung-Kin is a famous port on the Tang Tse, below Cheng-Tho. It takes 40 days to reach Cheng-Tho from Cheng-Kin. Many Europeans and Americans live in Cheng-Tho. The foreigners of this place used to send letters, etc., through coolies returning from the place and thus preserved their communication with the world outside. Neither was this an easy task. The revolutionaries carefully searched the persons of all men and if any letters were found in their possession, they were confiscated. The British Consul-General writing to a friend at Chung-Kin about the state of things at Cheng-Tho, asked him to send all the letters and telegrams addressed to the former, in biscuit and jam boxes through coolies. The revolutionaries would not suspect anything wrong in these boxes and would let them pass. He also directed his friend to keep a record of all telegrams thus sent.

Dangers soon came to a head. The families of the Viceroy and other high

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officials were sent to live in forts for safety. People from the mofussil towns and villages took refuge in jungles and mountains, with their families. Meanwhile skirmishes continued to be fought.

Cruelty of the revolutionaries.

Some 17 or 18 soldiers in government employ were one day out on a journey from Mia-Niang-Char, a place 30 miles from Cheng-Tho. A certain man approached them on the way and pretending friendship advised them not to proceed by the highway as they were likely to come across revolutionaries on the public road. These soldiers readily believed in the protestations of their adviser and he led them by a narrow way. When they had arrived on a wooden bridge the bridge gave way by the previous arrangement of the intriguers. When the soldiers dropped down, the rebels came out of their hiding places, disarmed their victims and after decapitating them, hung up their heads in a temple.

The Proclamation of Tuang Fang.

The attention of the Ministry at Pekin was concentrated on the Szechuen province. Thoughts of the future bewilderd them. They appointed Tuang-Fang as the Director-General of the railway and deputed him to suppress the rising. When he came near the Szechuen Province he issued the following proclamation :—

"I have been appointed by the Emperor to declare his good wishes to the people of the Szechuen province. The troops which have accompanied me, are solely meant for the suppression of robbery.

"The Government intends to undertake the construction of the Szechuen Railway for the reason that it is strategically important and because its construction from private funds would be a difficult task. Its construction would take from 10 to 20 years. The construction of this line would be a great burden on the poor people of the Szechuen province, the people would be further impoverished by this additional burden. Out of pity for its subjects the Government have undertaken the construction of this line at its own cost. People would no longer be forced to subscribe and buy shares for the railway. The people of Szechuen should therefore be grateful to and pleased with the Government. Instead of this, some agitators are spreading the news that the Government is wringing money out of the people and borrowing from foreigners, which means that the railway would pass into the hands of foreigners and with it the country itself. They should know that Railways in Northern China and the Pekin-Hangkaow Railway have been built with foreign capital which bring considerable profit to the Government and have not destroyed the freedom of the country. Besides this new loan has been arranged on very favourable terms.

"Without giving their full consideration to these matters people are creating difficulties by joining the agitation. Schools and colleges have been closed and the wholesale closing of the shops too have done great injury to business. All this indicates disloyalty in the people. The real rebels are about to ruin the subjects, by these cunning tricks. Your children will be slaughtered as a result of these tricks. The Government will never forgive the rebels and the robbers.

"The harmful literature which has been published about the Railway Association must be burnt down. The railway, though owned by the Government, is yet the property of the people. I therefore request the people not to agitate on the matter any longer. Let the schools and colleges be re-opened and let business thrive as before and let peace be established in the country. Let the subjects also pay the revenue regularly. The railway would thus be built and the Government be conciliated. The people would thus thrive in prosperity and peace."

The proclamation fell flat on the people. At this stage some of the ministers advised the emperor to reduce taxes in the Szechuen province. The people would appreciate the royal favour and become loyal. A secret order was sent to Viceroy Chao-Ard-Fang to submit a report in consultation with Chhen-Choun-Suang and Tuang Fang, about the feasibility of this proposal. The ministry issued further instructions to the Secretary for War to depute four officers of the army to the Szechuen Province to enquire into the condition of the people and the root cause of the rebellion.

On reaching the city of Uchang, Suang sent a despatch to Pekin about the rebellion in the Szechuen province. Among other things he mentioned "that the rebellion in Szechuen is not due to a disloyal or revolutionary spirit in the people. It is concerned solely with the railway affairs. Under these circumstances an armed expedition into this province would inflict immense injury on the people and would increase the popular unrest." Mr. Chhen made the following four suggestions in his despatch: (1) That the foreign capital of the Szechuen Railway be returned to the subscribers. (2) That for the pacification of the people Mr. Lee Tee Sun, the Director of the Ichang Railway, be discharged. (3) That Tuang Fang be ordered that three million Taels (about 75 lacs of rupees) which was borrowed from the Szechuen railway fund be returned. (4) That the troops

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which had been sent from Yunan to Sechuan, should have the arrears in their pay paid off.

But Mr. Chhen was grieved and disappointed when he saw that the ministers paid no heed to his suggestions. Viceroy Chao-Ard-Fang sent a telegram to Pekin which purported as follows:—

"The rebellion is gradually assuming terrible proportions and Chhen-Choun-Suang is afraid to suppress it. His actions should be approved and he should be given greater powers to suppress the rebellion. Delay would multiply difficulties. Tuang Fang is incapable of coping with the rebels and he should be given charge of the railway alone."

The rebels had in their possession a book called "Self-preserving Advices." The Governor-General suspected that the book was printed and published by Mr. Pu Lu and six other members of the National Association and consequently they were thrown into prison. The officials at Pekin in charge of the affairs of Szechuen protested against this act and said that as the book was not printed and published by these men they should be released. Large bodies of troops from Hoope and Canton were concentrated in the Szechuen province and more were ordered from Sence.

The descendants of the Huns.

The Chinese call their own people "Hunians" and the Manchus "Manjen" in their language. The Chinese are descended from the Huns, and they are as much proud of their descent as we Hindus are proud of our Aryan ancestors. They hate the Non-Hunians just as the Aryans hate the Non-Aryans. The Munchus are hated for the identical reason. About this time the revolutionaries issued a proclamation which ran as follows:—

"Be it known to all our Hun brothers that the present revolution aims at the good of the people and the chastisement of the guilty. The present Manchu Government is oppressive, cruel, mad and devoid of sense. They have imposed heavy taxes on the people which are grinding the people to death. They consider the "Hunians" as mere dirt and treat them with contempt and do not care to know the misery and sorrows of the people. They do not even relieve the famine-stricken.

"They build palaces and parks with the money wrung out of the people. People all the world over are aware of these facts and the story of our misery rends the hearts of men. Remember how the Manchus slaughtered our people, without any distinction of age or sex when they first entered our land. Such inhuman cruelty is unheard of in the annals of history, ancient or modern. If we cannot avenge the cruelties to which our ancestors were subjected we should be extremely ashamed of ourselves. Our brothers should therefore know their duty and should stake their lives in the cause of the revolution so that these Manchus may be exterminated. It is a duty incumbent on us as if God Himself had set it; and we should set ourselves in all haste to the extermination of the evil-doers.

"We are faced with this task at the bidding of God and if we let this opportunity go, it will never return again.

"Long live the revolutionaries!"

Translated by

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BAJI RAO, A STUDY

By Satya Vrata Mukerjea, B.A. (Oxon).

IT is the purpose of this paper to select from the romance of Maratha history the life and work of one of that galaxy of warrior kings and statesmen whose combined energy and patriotism contributed to the intensity and the early success of the Maratha movement.

Baji Rao the First was the heir to a strong and organised military commonwealth, with a well-filled treasury and an army which was the finest fighting unit in the peninsula. One is tempted to compare him—though such comparisons are to be made with caution—with Frederik the Great of Prussia. Like his European prototype, he had the good fortune of succeeding to a state which had been left by his predecessor in a high degree of efficiency and organisation. Like Frederik again, he had an army, the creation of former statesmen, which was already with his aggressive schemes of conquest. The way was already

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prepared for him by the patient toil and the consecrated energies of a succession of distinguished men from Sivaji to Balaji Vishwanath: and while Frederik in his attempt to break down the power of feudal Austria had to face a serious coalition, Baji Rao as soon as he started on his career of conquest was confronted with a formidable opposition not only from the Moghul partisans, but also from an independent power in the Deccan, the Nizam, and even from rival factions amongst his own people.

The times were indeed opportune for an ambitious man to strike for a bold bid for sovereignty and power. With the death of Aurangzib began the breakdown of the Imperial system. The air was thick with rumours of court-intrigues and palace-revolutions. The Great Moghul was practically under the control of a powerful family of Saiads. He suffered moreover a large diminution in his territory and prestige. His Viceroys, everywhere, especially in Bengal and the Deccan, freed themselves from his control, collected revenues, raised armies, issued firmans and made treaties as if they were independent sovereigns. Lawlessness and confusion in the empire attested to the weakness of the Moghul authority; and round about the paled splendours of the Delhi throne, raged and fought innumerable factions which scrambled for its possession. When the Delhi dynasty was passing through this critical phase, Baji Rao succeeded his father as Peshwa; and the Maratha forthwith entered into this fierce contest for Imperial dominion as a serious and dangerous competitor.

At this stage, it will not be out of place for us to describe the peculiar features of that military system—the legacy of Sivaji—with which our hero started his career. "Never did a historical community", to quote a well-known author, "more strictly owe both its separate existence and its permanent character to the creative and moulding force of a master-mind." It is therefore necessary to grasp the essential elements of Sivaji's political system. The peculiar significance of his personality and his careful adaptation of the material at his disposal to the great ends of his policy help us to an insight of what we may call the paradox of "Sivajism". One ought at the very outset to understand the essentially anarchic basis of Sivaji's political system. He lived in a turbulent age when subversive forces were asserting themselves everywhere; and yet like the mighty Titan who could

"Ride the whirlwind and direct the storm,"—

he utilised these disturbing forces of turmoil and chaos for his own purposes and devoted them to the evolution of a new political order and the preservation of "regulated liberty". "He compelled", says Sidney Owen, "chaotic and explosive forces to do prescribed task-work, to operate with full intensity, but only in obedience to his will and in the direction that suited his purpose. He opened the flood-gates of anarchy and let in the full tide of cupidity and military licence. Yet he was not overwhelmed or even embarassed by it." The history of the Maratha military system shows a marvellous evolution of ordered discipline from the few raw 'mountain rovers' whose hardiness and 'wild Maratha battle' first enabled Sivaji to capture fortress after fortress on the borders of the Ghats, to the disciplined battalions of Daulat Rao Sindhia with his magnificent pack of artillery, whose dashing valour threatened to overwhelm Wellington at Assaye and 'to change the history of the world'. When one considers that such perfection was reached by an army which was originally composed of very unpromising materials, one is lost in admiration at the military genius of Sivaji. His military reforms were mainly based on the twin principle of method and economy. He generally recruited his infantry from the Hindu agriculturists, although latterly he admitted a few mercenary Afghans. Artillery he seldom used. The infantry were always very lightly clad. The two principal recruiting centres were the Ghats, which supplied the Mawalis, and the Konkans where the Hetkaris, Sivaji's famous marksmen, were recruited. They were armed with swords and matchlocks and in a few regiments the firelock just then invented was introduced, but their characteristic weapon was the long spear. In the infantry the officers had commands of Ten, Fifty, a Hundred, a Thousand and Five Thousand. All these were directly subordinate to the commander-in-chief of the Sarnowat. The cavalry for which the Maratha army was famous, were composed partly of Bargis, who were under regular pay, and partly of

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Silledars, who were of a higher social rank and who supplied and equipped their own horse at their own cost. The smallest unit of cavalry command consisted of 25 troopers under a Havildar. Five such divisions were called a Juma under a Jamadar; five Jumas were grouped under a Subedar. Ten of these again formed a cavalry division which ranged generally from 5000 to 6250, its full complement. This division was under the command of an officer who was immediately under orders from the Sarnowat. It was a strict principle with Sivaji that officers and men were regularly paid, but this salutary custom was later abandoned by his successors. Each division had its staff of Brahman agents, Karkuns, newswriters and secret-service spies. Sivaji was strictly economical and visited with punishment any one who was inclined to extravagance. "The strictness of his discipline", it is said, "may be inferred from his visiting with death the offence of taking the field accompanied by a *chere amie* He was equally exact in reward and punishment." Sivaji's most distinctive military institution was the fort-system. Each stronghold was carefully selected from the point of view of strategic advantages and remained an important feature in later Maratha warfare. When the conquerors pounced upon new territory they invariably left a fort behind as a point of defence as well as of offence. Moreover these forts were a source of protection for the conquered population and afforded an ample justification, for these rude times, for exacting the Maratha Danegeld—Chauth and Sardesmukhi – as a price of such protection. Each stronghold had its organised staff of Marathas, Brahmans, Kamoses and others and was carefully defended. "Orders," says Grant Duff, "in respect of ingress and egress, rounds, watches and patrols, care of water, grains, stores and ammunition were most minute; and the officer of each department was furnished with distinct rules for his guidance, from which no deviation was permitted. A rigid economy characterised all Sivaji's institutions regarding expenditure."

It was with an army based on such principles and organised and disciplined with such minuteness and care that Baji Rao started on his career of glory. At the outset, a few words are necessary to explain his position in the councils of the Maratha commonwealth.

The office of the Peshwa, which he held, was as old as the early years of Sivaji's rule. Several distinguished men such as Shamraj Pant, had held it, before Balaji Vishwanath made the office hereditary in his family; a line of rulers was thus set up, who were *de facto*, if not *de jure*, heads of the Maratha state. One is tempted to draw a parallel between the influence of Walpole and the rise of the Cabinet in England, and the power of Balaji and the consequent predominance of the office which he and his successors held in the Maratha political system. In both cases, the sovereign was entirely in the hands of his chief minister. George I. was a rather dull-witted foreigner, ignorant of the language, and apparently heedless of the interests of the country he was called upon to rule. He therefore let Walpole have pretty much his own way. Similarly, Raja Shahu, was a *roi faineant* of the Merovingian type, an amiable and acquiescent prince who was entirely under the influence of his able minister. Baji Rao, therefore, on his accession in 1720, found himself placed in the supreme position of affairs in the Maratha state.

The confused and desperate condition of the moribund Moghal; the resulting scramble for dominion; and the aggressive character of Maratha imperialism—all combine to impart a bewildering variety to the events of the period with which we are dealing. But out of this welter of intrigues and faction-fights—typical of the political life of those troubled times—two personalities stand out in bold prominence, namely, Nizam Ali, the founder of the modern state of Hyderabad, and Baji Rao, the subject of our memoir.

At the accession of the Peshwa in 1720, all the outstanding Maratha claims were settled by the intervention of the Delhi court. One of the first acts of Mahammad Shah on his accession to the Moghul throne was the issuing of patents guaranteeing Chauth and Sardesmukhi to the Marathas. For the first time in the history of the Marathas, their national claims were officially recognised by the great Moghal. In the meantime, troubles were brewing which were ultimately to overwhelm the

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empire. Insurrections in Kashmir and other places, and above all, the ambitions of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was just appointed Governor of Malwa, showed the direction in which the wind was blowing, Under the Nizam's vigorous administration, the whole of Malwa was tranquilised. That done, the Nizam proceeded to the Deccan to carve out a kingdom for himself. The imperial forces sent out against him by the Saiad brothers were twice defeated. A subsequent palace-revolution enabled Mahammad Shah to get rid of the domineering Saiads, and afterwards to appoint the Nizam in their place. About this time, Balaji dies, and is succeeded by Baji Rao. Nizam Ali's vigorous policy met with opposition at the Delhi court. His austere manners, his honest attempts to wean the emperor from his debasing vices brought about his own downfall. He was thereupon permitted to retire to his Deccani Viceroyalty, on October 21st, 1723. Thus began that long duel between Nizam and Baji Rao which only ended with the latter's death.

Baji Rao had in the meantime secured the support of the Maratha Council of Ministers, for his ambitious policy of humbling the Great Moghul and conquering Hindustan. At first, he met with opposition from the Pratinidhi, the cautious and prudent Sripat Rao. Grant Duff gives a dramatic account of the proceedings of the Council-chamber. How Baji's bold proposals were at first sceptically received; how Sripat Rao, who was at heart jealous of the power of his daring rival, led the opposition, and how at length the great Peshwa's eloquent words, for he was an orator, carried the day: all this is narrated in vivid language by the historian. Baji Rao concluded his long speech with eloquent words of exhortation. "Now is our time", said he, "to drive away the stranger from our loved land and to acquire immortal renown; by directing our efforts to Hindustan, we will have the Maratha flag flying from the Kistna to the Attock." "You shall do it," said the Raja, who was visibly impressed, "you are indeed a noble son of a worthy father."

Having thus secured his sovereign's support, Baji Rao spread Maratha influence far and wide. On his behalf, Pilaji Gaekwad, the ancestor of the present family at Baroda, levied Chauth from Gujerat. Meanwhile, Nizam pursued his favorite policy of sowing dissension in the Maratha camp. His intrigues for payment of a fixed sum, instead of the indefinite claims of Chauth, which had been successful while Baji Rao was away in the north, was completely foiled on his return. In 1729, he definitely allied himself with one of the Maratha factions. Tarabai, one of those warrior women whom we occasionally come across in Maratha history, had opposed the accession of Shahu. She acted on behalf of Sambhaji, the son of Raja Ram by his youngest wife, with varying success until she was made captive and interned in a fortress. Sambhaji's party was called the Kolhapur faction, from the name of the place he resided in; while the Satara faction clustered round Shahu, who had his capital at Satara. The whole policy of Nizam Ali was to perpetuate the existing strife: "his plans were calculated", to quote Grant Duff,

> "to preserve his rank at court and his power in the Deccan, to keep alive the old, and to create new dissensions, among the Marathas; to preserve a connexion with that nation, in case it should ultimately be useful to direct their attacks from his own to the Imperial territories: and however inconsistent some of these designs may seem in this system of political artifice, through the remainder of a long life, Nizam-ul-Mulk not only persevered, but generally prospered."

On this occasion, however, his partisanship of Sambhaji's cause brought him disaster. The Peshwa retaliated by pressing on his claims to Gujerat and harassing Nizam Ali so much in the field that the latter at length was obliged to come to terms. In the meantime, the Pretender was signally defeated by Shahu, and forced to resign his claims to the Maratha throne. In 1730, Trimbakrao Dhabare was incited by Nizam to oppose the Peshwa in Malwa and Gujerat. But before he could advance and effect a junction with the forces of Nizam Ali, Dhabare was defeated and killed at the great battle of Baroda (April 1st, 1731). Baji Rao became therefore without rival the Chief Minister of the Raja. As a result of this compaign, Nizam and Baji Rao came to an agreement among themselves not to interfere with, or oppose the legitimate ambitions of either. About this time, we trace the rise of several of the important Maratha families, the Holkar, the Powar, the Sindhia and the Gaekwad.

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These received allotments from the national collections in various parts of Malwa and Gujerat. Maratha influence was first extended beyond the Narmada.

The agreement concluded, Baji Rao thereupon turned to Gujerat and Malwa. In the former province, Raja Abhani Sinh,—a degenerate Rajput—who had succeeded Sarbuland Khan as Governor, shocked popular sentiment by treacherously murdering Pilaji Rao Gaekwad. The Imperial Viceroy, Mahammad Khan Bangash, was about this time sent to Malwa to check Maratha advance. Baji Rao acting with vigour and dispatch, defeated the Moghal army in detail, and re-occupied Gujerat and Malwa. Through the intercession of Raja Jai Sinh, who superseded Bangash, the Emperor reluctantly granted the executive government of Malwa to Baji Rao. The Peshwa, having gained this signal success, took further advantage of the weakness of the Delhi Court, by pressing on his claims with more vigour than ever, and directing the Holkar to continue ravaging the Imperial territory. The Maratha horse advanced as far as Agra and committed fearful depredations. On his return to the Deccan, Baji Rao found great preparations among the Moghals for a final effort to crush his power. The Grand Army was fitted out for the compaign. Rajput contingents and local Mahomedan levies made the coalition really serious. To crown all, Nizam Ali, breaking his plighted word, took the command. The Army marched into Malwa at a slow rate towards the end of 1737. In the meantime Baji Rao had created a diversion by marching upon Delhi at the wonderful rate of 40 miles a day and threatening the approaches to the capital. 8000 Moghal cavalry sent to check his progress, were routed with great slaughter. The main army advanced however, and won a few initial successes. A great part of Malwa and the Bundela country was regained by the Moghals, who entrenched themselves in a strong position near Bhopal. Their dilatory tactics gave Baji Rao, however, time to make great preparations. By a swift flanking movement, he returned from Delhi, and avoiding the intervening enemy was back again in Maharashtra. He assembled an army of eighty-thousand men, chiefly cavalry, and rapidly recrossing the Narmada, suddenly attacked the Moghals. By skilful manoeuvring he surrounded his enemy, and after a fierce struggle the battle resulted in a rout and disastrous retreat of Nizam. The defeated Moghal veteran purchased exemption from further molestation by entering into the convention of Seronje with the Peshwa (11th February, 1738). The whole of Malwa and the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal were ceded in perpetual sovereignty to the Marathas and a sum of 50 lacs of Rupees were paid by way of indemnity. This disastrous campaign was followed in May, 1739, by another more imminent and more terrible to the Moghal than the Maratha successes,—the invasion of Nadir Shah. Into the harrowing details of that event, it is not the purpose of this paper to enter. Suffice it to say here that Baji Rao took immediate advantage of the parlous condition of the Delhi dynasty. He made alliances with the Hindu princes of Rajputana and the Bundela country and put down insurrections among his own immediate following. He also attacked Nasir Jung—Nizam Ali's son,—but the result of his campaign being indecisive, he concluded a permanent peace with his great rival. Baji Rao was now in the zenith of his fame. From Gujerat, Malwa, and the Bundela country in the North, the greater part of the Deccan, excepting, of course, the territories under Nizam Ali, but including the whole of Maharashtra from the Narmada to the Kistna was under the direct rule of the Peshwa. The Nagpur territory under the Bhonsla Rajas, comprising most of what now forms the Central Provinces, besides numerous Hindu principalities, which arose out of the ruins of the ancient empire of Vijayanagar, as far down as, and including, the Rajaship of Tanjore in the South, obeyed the indirect sway of the Maratha sovereign. "The robes of Empire", as Mr. Keene has justly said, "hung not ungracefully on the limbs of a Hindu." The tide of Maratha imperialism had reached its highest watermark, but as soon as it did so, the tide began to recede, for though under Baji Rao's successor, Balaji Baji Rao, the boundaries of the empire were extended so as even to include an indirect control over the province of Bengal,

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disruptive forces had already begun their work and dominion was never so profound as under Baji Rao. But his vigorous wars of aggression had plunged his country into serious debt, and he set out for further conquests to reimburse his revenues. Baji Rao was proceeding on a new campaign in Hindustan, when he died in his camp on the banks of the Narmada (April 28th, 1740).

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages to sketch a brief and inadequate narrative of these crowded years. The aim has been to present at once a biography and an argument—a biography, of necessity very brief, which is presented as argument in illustration of that ethos in our national development of which Baji Rao was so brilliant an exponent, namely the ethos of empire. Great names have stood out in the records of our authentic history—Asoka, Samudra Gupta, Harsha Vardhan; Akbar, Aurangzib, Madhoji Rao Sindhia,—names remaining amidst the floods of our historic ages as far-shining landmarks and embodying in themselves this ethos of empire. To the last named may be added the subject of our memoir as the two exponents of Maratha imperialism. But there is this difference between them that while the former's life was one splendid failure, the latter achieved a considerable measure of success. We know how Sivaji, the founder of the Maratha movement, had to deal, at the outset of his career, with two great dangers. The first was the danger from the Brahman hierarchy. No Hindu polity worth its name had hitherto been able to ignore its claims. The second peril came from the Great Moghal himself. Under Aurangzebe, Sivaji's contemporary, the Moghal Empire attained its highest extent. The essential element in Sivaji's policy therefore was to conciliate these forces. On the one hand, Sivaji turned his kingdom into a military theocracy, and on the other, he was content to remain a feudatory Mansabdar of the Great Moghal. The strength of Baji Rao's position lay in this that he was able to dispense with either of these elements. In his time, the Great Moghal was only "great" by courtesy, and as we have seen, he could openly defy the Delhi dynasty. Further, being a Brahman himself, he kept the priesthood to their place. In fine, militant Hinduism, which had started as a religious movement was now territorialised: a wide dominion, renown in arms, unity of authority, splendour of personality—all the paraphernalia of the modern conception of empire were now for the first time anticipated in Maratha history.

And yet we ask ourselves how is it that this power which had such a phenomenal rise should suffer so dramatic a fall? Baji Rao died in 1740. Only a year after his death, there happened the first of that long series of internal dissensions which have stamped Maratha history with an indelible stigma. In 1741, the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur first took up arms against the Peshwa. In 1762, the disaster of Panipat sounded the death-knell to the power of the Marathas in Northern India. On the 17th May, 1782, at the historic village of Salbai, a treaty was signed which gave to the English the first firm foothold in western India. 1794 saw the death of Madhoji Sindhia, the last of the Maratha heroes. And in 1800, with the death of Nana Farnavis, the last vestige of Maratha greatness was destroyed.

To this question, only one answer seems possible. Reference has been made above to the ethos of empire. But this Imperialism, in order to be successful, needs always to be reinforced by what may be termed the national emotion. The whole mass of the people has to be surcharged with the same energising impulse, if an empire is to succeed. There is such a thing as a tide in the affairs of men, which if taken at the flood leads on to glory and to fortune. Such a tide in the destinies of Maharashtra needed to be taken at the flood, and when the supreme moment arrived, her sons failed her. Baji Rao had the constructive genius and the force of personality requisite for this work, but his death in the prime of life removed him from the sphere of usefulness. But there was no lack of ability amongst the Marathas after his death. There were plenty of able men—good soldiers, masterful men who knew how to fight for their own hand, Balaji Baji Rao, Raghoba, Sadashiv Rao Bhao, Madhu Rao Narayen and others; and when constructive genius appeared again, the disruptive forces were already too powerful for it to entertain any grandiose schemes

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of empire. The cloud of foreign domination which was as yet no bigger than a man's hand in the life time of Baji Rao, had already enveloped the political sky when Nana Farnavis and Madhoji Sindhia appeared on the scene. It needed all the statesmanship, all the prowess of Sindhia; it needed all the acumen, all the political artifice of Farnavis to stem the tide of English conquest in the peninsula; and on their death, the inevitable crash came. Such is the strange Nemesis of History.

It is idle to speculate what the course of Indian History would have been, had Baji Rao been spared to live. But certain it is that the hand of death in 1740 cut short a career which promised the very highest things to the Maratha Empire. Bold and heroic to a fault, eloquent and with a simple directnees of speech that appealed with a tremendous force to his hearers, with single-minded devotion to the interests and the expansion of his race, without the slightest trace of self-love and personal aggrandisement, frank and straightforward, outspoken in his loyalty and devotion to the sovereign from whom he derived his power, Baji Rao is one of the most pleasing characters in Maratha history. If Sivaji be called the refulgent dawn of the Maratha spirit, and if Nana Farnavis and Madhoji Sindhia represent the radiant hues of its sunset, the gleam before the gloom, certainly Baji Rao may well be termed its bright, meridian glory.

PATNA

PATALIPUTRA, the *Palibothra* of the Greeks, derives its name from the village of Pātali, which stood on the bank of the Ganges. Here a fortress was erected by King Ajātasatru (*circ* 500-475 B. C.) of the Saisunaga dynasty of Magadha to keep in check the Lichchhavis of Vaisāli whom he had recently conquered. Buddha is said to have visited this fortified village a few months before his death and foretold its future greatness. Later on, under Udaya (*circ* 450-417 B. C.), the grandson of Ajātasatru, a spendid city, "nestling under the shelter of the fortress," sprang into existence. Under the Mauryas Pātaliputra became the capital not only of Magadha, but of India. It was also called *Kusumapura* and *Pushpapura*.

Pātaliputra was already the royal residence of Chandragupta Maurya when Megasthenes visited it. At the time it stood on the confluence of the Ganges and the Sōn, the latter river being the *Eronnaboas* of the Greeks, (Sanskrit, *Hiranyavahu*, gold-bearing.) "On the ancient site now stand the large native city of Patna and the English civil station of Bankipore, but the rivers changed their course many centuries ago, and the confluence is at present near the cantonment of Dinapore,"* about twelve miles west of Patna. The ancient city was "like a long, narrow parallelogram," nine miles long and a mile and a half broad, with a population of 400,000 souls. Megasthenes found it girt round with a wooden palisade, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It was crowned with 570 towers and had 64 gates. It was "protected externally by a broad and deep moat, filled from the waters of the Sōn," which also received the sewage of the city.

It was Asoka who first made it his permanent capital, and built a wall round the city. Asoka beautified it with numerous stone buildings decorated with elegant carving and inlaid work.

PATALIPUTRA AS SEEN BY THE CHINESE PILGRIMS.—In the time of Fa Hien (406-411 A. D.) Asoka's royal palace and the halls in the midst and the lofty walls and gates existed in full splendour as of old. He was so much struck with the exquisite and delicate workmanship displayed in the carvings, &c., that he attributed them to superhuman builders. Fa Hien mentions a "stupa" said to have been built by Asoka

* V. A. Smith, Early History of India.

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in the midst of the city for his younger brother who was a *Sannyasi* fond of solitary life. Close to this stupa he found two grand monasteries containing about 600 or 700 monks. These monasteries were very famous as seats of learning and students from distant places flocked to them. He witnessed several processions in which four-wheeled cars, sometimes five storeys high, containing the images of Buddha, were dragged through the streets. He noticed here rest-houses and hospitals for "the poor, the destitute, the cripples and the diseased." South of the city there was a grand monastery containing the foot-print of Buddha, about 18 inches long and 6 inches broad. Close to it stood a stone pillar, 30 cubits high, containing an inscription of Asoka "stating that he bestowed the world as a gift on the Buddhist Church thrice and bought it back thrice with his jewels and treasures."

Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) who came to India in 630 A.D. found no trace of the palace mentioned by Fa Hien. The foundation walls alone were there to testify to the departed glory of the city. All that was left of the ancient city was a cluster of 1000 houses to the north of the old palace and bordering on the Ganges. Both Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang mention what they call Asoka's *Narak* (Hell) for punishing wicked men. It was north of the palace, and a stone pillar "several tens of feet high" marked its site. The Chinese accounts indicate it as a place of rigorous imprisonment, which afterwards,—and without the knowledge of Asoka,—was converted into a place of wanton torture. South of the Hell was a 'Stupa' in a leaning condition, built by Asoka and believed to contain some relics of Buddha. South-west of the old palace stood a low mountain containing caves excavated for Upagupta, Asoka's *guru*, and other monks. South-west of this mountain, again, was a collection of five 'Stupas,' probably the *Panch Pahari* of the present day, but now in ruins. Yuan Chwang mentions the *Kukkuta-Aram* monastery built by Asoka soon after his conversion and the Amalaka 'Stupa.' In his time, "the monasteries, Hindu temples and Buddhist Stupas, which lie in ruins, may be counted by hundreds, and only two or three remain entire." (*Beal*).

Excavations at Patna.—The result of excavations carried on under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell between the years 1892 and 1899 shows that the ancient imperial city stood on a long strip of high-lying land about half a mile to the north of the village of Kumrāpār, which stretches from Bankipore on the west to beyond Patna city on the east, covering a distance of 8 miles, bounded by the Ganges on the north and by deep moats on the other three sides. "The moat on the south side averaging about 200 yards in width and still retaining water for the greater part of the year is an old channel of the Sōn," the eastern portion of which was utilised by the Muhammadans as the southern moat of the fortifications of Patna. According to Waddell the village of Pātali stood at the high south-west corner of the oblong tract demarcated above.

Asoka's palace stretched from Chota Pāhāri to Kumrāhār. At Kumrāhār a colossal pillar (uninscribed) of Asoka's time was found, and other remains show that a greater portion of Asoka's palace is buried at a depth of 20 feet beneath the village. To the east is a place called *Maharaj Khanda* or the Emperor's moats, while the well *Agam Kua* in the neighbourhood is imagined to mark the site of Asoka's 'hell.' The *Chota Pahari* is about one mile south-east of Kumrāhār, and Waddell has identified it with the hermitage hill of Upagupta. About half a mile east of Chota Pāhāri, Waddell discovered a group of enormous beam palisades and large stones marking apparently the position of a tower. A little to the south of Chota Pāhāri is the Bara Pāhāri or *Pánch Páhári* identified by Waddell with the five relic 'Stupas' built by Asoka.

To the north-west of Kumrāhār, at a distance of a mile and a half is *Bhikná Pahari*, an artificial hill about twenty feet high and about a quarter of a mile in circuit. It has been identified with the hermitage hill built by Asoka for his brother Mahendra. A rude image (over six feet high) which stands in the neighbourhood is still worshipped as the "*Bhiknu Kunwar*" or "the Mendicant Prince," and the adjoining ward of the city is called *Mahendra*.

Pataliputra under the Guptas.

After the death of Asoka Pātaliputra

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declined, and there is reason to believe that the Lichchhavis of Vaisali captured it. Early in the fourth century A. D. Chandra Gupta I of the Gupta dynasty married Kumāra Devi of the Lichchhavi clan and was, by means of this alliance, able to raise himself from the position of a petty chief to the dignity of a Mahārājā. The extensive conquests of his son and successor Samudra Gupta (326-375 A. D.), the Napoleon of India, necessitated the selection of a more central position like Ayodhyā or Kausambi for the metropolis, and Pātaliputra ceased to be the royal residence of the Guptas. But it continued to be the great eastern city of the empire, a picture of which from the pen of Fa Hien has already been given. Thereafter Pātaliputra lost its political importance, though its strategic importance remained. Some copper-plate grants of the Pāla emperors of Bengal and Bihar were issued when the royal camp (*jaya-skandhabar*) was pitched here, evidently during a campaign or tour. But the city of Bihar was the capital of the fragmentary kingdom of the later Pālas (12th century A. D.)

Patna under the Muhammadans.

Muhammad, the son of Bukhtiyar Khalj, sacked Bihar city and conquered Magadha in 1198 and thus the province passed under Muhammadan rule, but Patna continued in obscurity for more than three centuries. Its second period of glory began under Sher Shah. In 1541 this great Afghan king came to Patna, "then a small town dependent on Bihar, the seat of the local government. He was struck with the potential greatness of Patna and ordered a fort to be built on the bank of the Ganges. The fort cost five lakhs and was considered exceedingly strong. The city of Bihar began to decline, while Patna emerged from obscurity, and soon became a centre of commerce and busy population.

Daud Khan, the last Afghan King of Bengal, made Patna and the fortress of Hajipur his headquarters in 1573. Here he held out against Munim Khan, the Delhi general. In 1574 Akbar marched in person against the rebel Afghan chief, captured Hajipur and took up his position on the Panch Pahari. Daud fled and Patna was captured. It now became the headquarters of the Mughal Governors who ruled the province of Bihar. Under the Mughals "Patna once more became a centre of political life," but only as a provincial capital. During this period the city witnessed the proclamation of two Mughal Emperors; it had, more than once, for its *Subahdar* or governor a prince of the royal blood. In 1622 it was taken by Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) during his rebellion against his father. In 1626 Prince Parwiz, another son of Jahangir, signalised his rule by building the stone-mosque or *Patthar-ka-Masjid*. But it was during the viceroyalty of Aurangzib's grandson Azim-us-shan that Patna attained the zenith of its glory and prosperity. Azim improved the defences and called it *Azimabad*, a name which still survives among the Muhammadans.* He assigned separate wards of the town to the different classes of the people. Thus there was *Kaiwan Shukoh*, "the Splendid palace," (now *Khawa Koh*), for the nobles; *Diwan Mahalla* for clerks of the revenue department; *Mughal Pura* for the Mughals and *Lodi Katra* for the Afghan Lodis. But that prince was drowned in 1712, and Patna sank into comparative obscurity for some time.

Under Aurangzib the *Subah* of Bihar included eight *Sarkars*, Bihar (Patna) being one. The area of measured land in the *Sarkar* of Bihar was over 60 lakhs of *bighas*. Most of the houses in the city of Patna were roofed with tile as in Akbar's time and continued to be the case till only ten years ago, when brick mansions began to multiply rapidly.

Patna as described by early European travellers.

Account of Patna in the second half of the seventeenth century have been preserved in the travels of Bernier, Tavernier, and Manucci. Tavernier, along with Bernier, visited it in 1666. He found it one of the largest cities of India, not less than two *coss* in length. The houses were roofed with thatch or bamboo. He noticed a Dutch settlement here which had been established mainly for trading in saltpetre. The Holland Company refined its saltpetre at the village of Chapra, on the right bank of the Ganges, ten *coss* above Patna. He met

* The *farman* in which Emperor Aurangzib grants permission for changing the name of the city thus, has

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Khan Bahadur Khuda Bakhsh, C.I.E. (on the left, stick in hand).

here Armenian merchants from Dantzic and traders from Tipperah. Tibetans brought musk to Patna for sale, and Tavernier himself bought Rs. 26,000 worth of this commodity. There was a brisk trade between Tibet and Patna in coral, amber and tortoise-shell bracelets which were much sought after by the Tibetans.

Manucci noticed here two factories, one of the Dutch and the other of the English. He mentions fine white cloth, fine silk cloth and saltpetre (which was sent in very large quantities to Europe by European merchants) as the chief articles of trade. He also says, "Bottles are also made, and cups of clay, finer than glass, lighter than paper and highly scented; and these are exquisite, are carried all over the world." (*Storia do Mogor*).

Buchanan Hamilton has given some very interesting details about Patna city and its inhabitants, and their dress, manners, food, education, &c., in 1810. According to his estimate Patna contained 312,000 souls and 18000 houses mostly built of mud and roofed over with thatch. The city covered an area of 20 square miles, and the value of its landed produce was fixed at 193,152 *Sicca* rupees. The total value of its exports and imports was 97,70,104 *Sicca* rupees.

European Settlements in Patna.

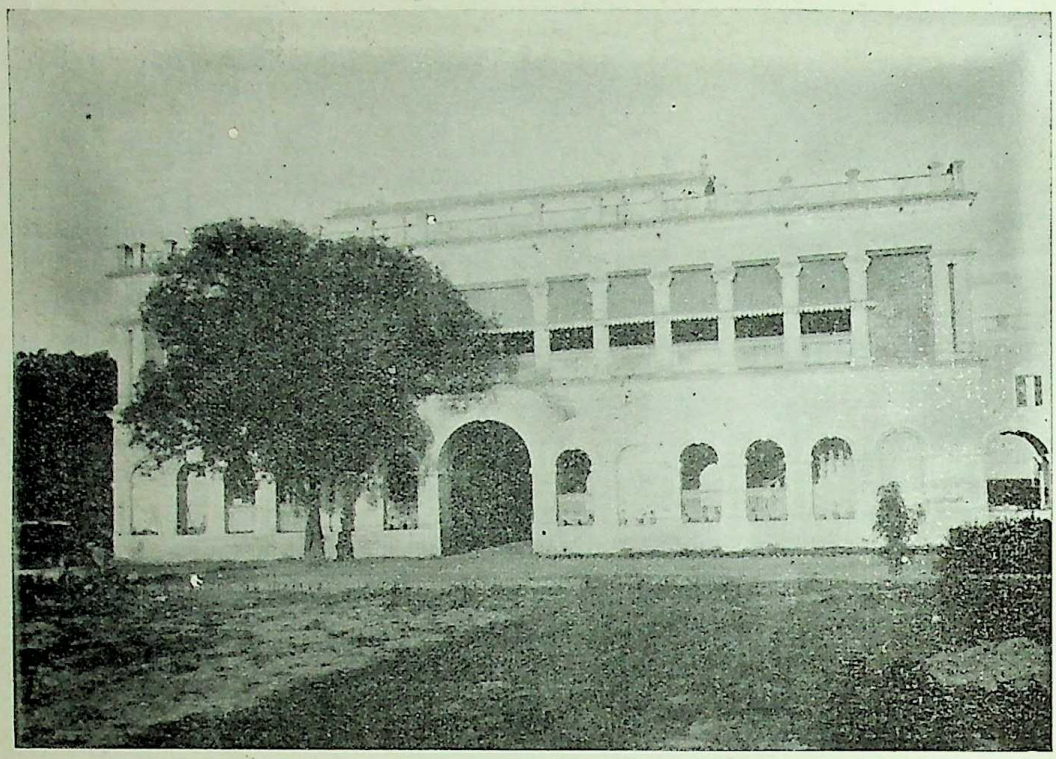
The great commerce of Patna had early attracted the attention of European traders. Portuguese merchants were noticed in Patna as early as 1620. But the first English factory was erected between 1650 and 1657 "on the other side of the Ganges at Singna" in the neighbourhood of the saltpetre grounds, but at a distance from the exactions of the Moghul Viceroy. The chief articles of commerce were saltpetre, for which the Court of Directors were never weary of asking, opium, lac, taffeties, &c. Under Job Charnock, chief of the factory from 1664—1680, the English trade greatly developed, "and fleets of Patna boats laden with saltpetre were a common sight along the Ganges." After Job Charnock's departure the Company's trade was shackled by the exactions of Shaista Khan, the Mughal Viceroy. Duties were imposed on all the Company's goods, the English were seized and their goods confiscated (1702). This state of things continued till 1715 when it was decided to abandon the factory; but in 1718 it was re-established with a proper staff of officers.

Battles in and around Patna.

In 1757 Mir Jafar, Nawab of Bengal, came to Patna, escorted by a small force under Clive. But Mir Jafar soon disgusted

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The Oriental Public Library, Bankipur.

the nobles of Behar with his feasting and rioting, and some of them opened negotiations with Prince Ali Gauhar, afterwards known as the Emperor Shah Alam II, who invaded Behar to enforce his claims to the province. Shah Alam besieged Patna, but hearing that Clive was advancing to its relief he raised the siege and marched towards Allahabad, which had treacherously been seized by Shuja-ud-daulah, Nawab of Oudh. But he returned soon after and defeated Ram Narayan, Deputy Governor of Behar, and Captain Cochrane in a battle near Fatua (Moshinpur?). He, however, failed to follow up his victory by seizing Patna, and was defeated in a battle near Barh and fled to Burdwan. "Thence he again doubled back to Patna", where he met Monsieur Law, a French adventurer, and vigorously attacked the fort, but Patna was saved by Major Knox who drove out the assailants. In 1761 Major Carnal defeated the Emperor and Monsieur Law near Gaya. The Emperor now came to terms and was escorted to Patna. The English factory was converted into a hall of audience and Shah Alam was proclaimed Emperor of India, and he formally conferred the Nawabship of Bengal, Behar and Orissa on Mir Qasim.

But quarrels soon broke out between Mir Qasim and the English. In 1763 news reached Patna that Mir Qasim's troops were marching on Patna. Mr. Ellis, chief of the factory, at once seized the city with the exception of the fort and palace. But the English left the city almost in a defenceless state and the Nawab's troops overpowered the guards at the east gate. The English defended themselves in the factory for a day and a half. They then left the city and reached Manjhi in Saran. Here they were surrounded by the *Faujdar*, and after a feeble defence surrendered. They were taken to Monghyr and then brought back to Patna and kept as prisoners, some in the house of Haji Ahmad and some in Chahalsatun (hall of forty pillars). In the meantime the English defeated Mir Qasim in three successive battles at Katwa, Gheria and Udhna Nullah. The Nawab left Monghyr and came to Patna. Here he heard the news of the surrender of the fort of Monghyr to the English, and in a fit of

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Interior of the Oriental Public Library.

anger ordered the English prisoners to be massacred and entrusted this nefarious work to the Swiss renegade Reinhardt, better known as Somru. It is said that the native officers refused to kill unarmed prisoners. According to the *Sair-ul-Mutaqherin* the number of Englishmen massacred was 198.

An avenging force under Major Adams besieged Patna and with the help of Knox the fort was captured after a spirited defence by the garrison (1763). Mir Qasim took refuge with Shujah-ud-daulah of Oudh and returned with him and besieged Patna (1764). An attack on it was repulsed, and the siege was then raised. The defeat of the allies at Buxar terminated the compaign and the English became the virtual masters of Bengal.

The Patna Massacre Memorial.

The site of the massacre of the English prisoners by Somru is marked by an obelisk with a monumental tablet. This is about half a mile west of the Chauk, in a corner of the City Dispensary, and is said to be built over the well into which the corpses of the prisoners were thrown. The Dispensary itself probably occupied part of the site of the house of Haji Ahmad. The *Chahalsatun*, "the hall of forty pillars", where also some English prisoners were murdered, stood behind the Madrasa mosque. It was erected by Prince Azim-ush-Shan and was the palace of the Mughal Subahdars. There is no trace of it now.

Patna during the Mutiny.*

The Mutiny at Patna was mainly the work of the Wahabees, a sect of fanatical Muhammadans. Fortunately for Patna William Tayler, the Commissioner, saved the situation by his wonderful foresight and tact. The estates of the wealthy indigo planters and the well-stored opium godowns were enough to tempt the avarice of the enemies of order. Besides Patna was "a hotbed of Mahometan intrigue." What Tayler feared most was that in case of the first symptoms of revolt, Patna would be converted into the "head-centre of disloyalty." In case of emergency he could count upon the help of the 12th Irregular Cavalry under Major James Holmes. But he had not a single European soldier in

* From Lt.-Col. E. Holmes's History of the Indian Mutiny.

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Patna, and the native police could not be trusted. So he took early measures to secure the lives of the people, and the Government property.

On the evening of 7th June he was informed that the Sepoy Regiments at Dinapore intended to rise that night. Tayler at once collected all the local Europeans at his house, the *Chajju Bagh*, now the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar and Orissa. The same evening Tayler was shown two letters from the Sepoys at Dinapore calling upon the police to seize the treasury at Patna. As the letters were delivered to wrong persons, the rising was delayed. The Europeans passed a very anxious night at Chajju Bagh. The next morning a body of Sikhs under Colonel Rattray arrived in Patna. Tayler sent a report of the situation at Patna to F. Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but the latter would not believe that Patna was in danger. Tayler believed that he could hold Patna in check so long as the Dinapore sepoys remained quiet. He therefore strongly urged General Lloyd to disarm them. But Lloyd was an old man, he lacked the nerve to do it.

Tayler now made a very diplomatic move. He invited three *Maulavis* who were the leaders of the Wahabees and some leading citizens of Patna to a conference (19th June). After discussing the situation all were allowed to depart except the three 'Maulavis' who were made over to the custody of Rattray as hostages for the good behaviour of their followers. Next day he ordered the citizens to surrender their arms and remain indoors after 9 P.M. The order was obeyed.

"On the 23rd of June Waris Ali, a native police-officer, was arrested, and found to be in possession of letters which convicted Ali Karim, a wealthy Mahometan who lived near Patna, of treasonable intentions". An attempt to trace Ali Kareem proved futile. On 3rd July a riot broke out in Patna. It was quickly suppressed by the Sikhs, and the ringleaders were seized. In the house of Pir Ali, a Muhammadan bookseller, was found number of letters proving the existence of a widespread conspiracy. Pir Ali, Waris Ali and twenty-one of their followers were hanged. But Tayler would not have succeeded so far if he had not been helped by three loyal Indians—Syed Wilayat Ali Khan, Moula Buksh, the Deputy Magistrate, and Hidayat Ali, the Subahdar of the Sikh corps.

The Dinapore Sepoys, however, continued to be a menace to the safety of Patna; but Lloyd would not disarm them. Even Lord Canning could not be induced to interfere with Lloyd's decision. On 25th July Lloyd summoned enough courage to take away the percussion caps of the sepoys. As the British soldiers were drawn up close at hand the Sepoys could not give full vent to their feelings. At noon a parade of the Sepoys was held, and they were asked to empty their pouches containing the caps, but they refused and fired upon their officers. In the meantime Lloyd was secure on board a steamer in the river. Some of the mutineers tried to cross the Ganges in boats, but they were destroyed by the guns of the steamer, or drowned. Others fled in the direction of the Son and finally reached Arrah where they joined Kumar Singh. The 12th Irregular Cavalry caught the infection of the Dinapore sepoys and killed Major Holmes.

On August 4th Tayler was dismissed by Halliday from the Commissionership. His successor Samuells was given 200 British soldiers and 2 guns to protect the city. This small force was strong enough to maintain peace, though there were slight disturbances in the outlying parts of the district.

Sights in and around Patna and Bankipore.

The walls of Patna have disappeared, but four high mounds of brick and earth are still pointed out as marking the four corners of the fortifications. These four corners contained the shrines of four local *pirs* or saints called Mansur, Maruf, Mahdi and Jafar. The quarters Mansurganj, Marufganj, Mahdiganj and Jafarganj, derive their names from these saints. The eastern and western gates of the old city are now marked by blocks of black stone beautifully carved. The Patna *Chauk* (or Market Square) presents a very pretty view. The remains of the old fort overlooking the river still exist, and close by are the fine mosque and *madrasa* built by Saif Khan. Not far from this place is the *Mangal Talao* named after Mr. Mangles, the Collector who had the

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tank excavated in 1875. Jhauganj (west of the Chauk) contains some building belonging to Jhau Lal, a minister of Asaf-ud-daulah, Nawab of Oudh. *Shikarpur*, another quarter, contains Sher Shah's mosque, the oldest monument in modern Patna. It is a massive building of brick, "crowned by a large dome in the centre, with four smaller domes at each corner. *Begampore*, near the Patna Railway station, contains the tomb of Hiabat Jang, the viceroy of Behar, who was murdered by the Afghans in 1748. It is the handsomest tomb in Patna.

The only Hindu temples which deserve notice are those of the *Bara Patan Devi* and the *Chota Patan Devi*. The former is in Maharajganj, and it is said that the image rose out of the ground.

Another very interesting temple is the *Har Mandir* or the Sikh temple. It was built by Ranjit Singh. In the centre of the spacious courtyard stands a high flagstaff of *Sal* wood presented by Jung Bahadur of Nepal. The *Granth Saheb*, the holy book of the Sikhs, is preserved in the temple. It is said that it was presented by Guru Govind Singh, who was born in Patna, with his name written on it by himself with an arrow. The temple is an object of pilgrimage to Sikhs all over India.

The Roman Catholic Church called *Padri Haveli* by the people stands opposite the cemetery. It contains a large bell presented by Bahadur Shah of Nepal in 1782. The Latin inscription on the bell bears out this fact. The Opium Factory is supposed to occupy the site of the old Dutch Factory. The factory was seized by the English in 1781 on the outbreak of war with Holland. In 1784 it was restored to the Dutch, who ceded it to the English in 1824. Below the Opium Factory is the *Ollandaz Pushta* or the Dutch revetment of the river bank.

In Bankipore the Golā or *Golghar* is "the most prominent and the most curious building." It is 96 feet high, with a beehive shape and two spiral staircases on the outside leading to the top, which is closed by a large slab of stone. There is a tradition that Jung Bahadur of Nepal ascended it on horseback. The echo inside is remarkable. It bears the following inscription on the outside :—

"No. 1.—In part of a general plan ordered by the Governor General and Council, 20th January 1784, for the perpetual prevention of Famine in these Provinces, this Granary was erected by Captain John Garstin, Engineer. Completed the 20th of July 1786. First filled and publicly closed by—?"

The blank in the inscription shows that it has *never* been utilised for the purpose for which it was erected !!! Hence it has been rightly nicknamed 'Garstin's Folly.' From the top a fine view can be had of the Ganges on the north and the surrounding *bustees* and fields.

Another interesting monument is that erected in honour of "the truly gallant Ranfurlie Knox" located in the Civil Court compound. Knox conducted the siege operations when Patna was captured by the English in 1763.

The Government *Agricultural Farm*, a few yards to the south of the Bankipore Railway Station, deserves a visit. It was started in 1906. All the principal crops are grown here ; and there is an experimental farm attached to it. In connection with the farm there is an Agricultural Association of which Rai Purnendu Narayan Sinha Bahadur is an active member. Babu Sivadas Banerjee who had undergone training for 8 years at Pusa is the present Superintendent of the farm.

Existing Institutions.

The number of High English Schools in Bankipore is six, five for boys and one for girls. Of these the Patna Collegiate School is a Government institution, and the Behar National Collegiate School was founded by Babu Biseswar Singh. The Ram Mohan Roy Seminary, which is a Government-aided institution was founded by a band of Bengalee Brahmo missionaries. The T. K. Ghosh's Academy and the Anglo-Sanskrit School were started by Bengalees who have been domiciled in Behar, and who have acted as the pioneers of education and progress in this province as in others of India. The Anglo-Sanskrit School was founded and is still maintained by Rai Purnendu Narayn Sinha Bahadur, the leader of the local Bengalees, whose many-sided activity in all that makes for public good and progress is well-known and has been appreciated

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by Government with a Rai Bahadurship and a Kaisar-i-Hind gold medal. The Female High English School was established in 1867, chiefly through the exertions of the late Babu Guru Prosad Sen, another Bengalee leader. It receives a Government grant. The students here were at first entirely Bengalees, but Bihari girls are now joining in numbers, though they leave it too early. In Patna City there are the City School (a Government institution), the Muhammadan Anglo-Arabic School, the Diamond Jubilee School and the Badshah Razvi Female Training College, with a European Lady Principal and a Bengalee Lady graduate on its staff. Dinapore Cantonments and Dinapur Railway Station (popularly called Khagole) are two very large suburbs west of Bankipore. Each of them has one H. E. School, in receipt of aid from Government.

There are two first grade colleges in Bankipore; the *Behar National College* and the Patna College. The former was founded by Babu Biseswar Singh, a pleader of Patna. It has brought high education in English within the reach of thousands of poor students. In recent years much improvement and addition have been made to it through the persevering endeavour of its present principal, Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A., supported by the influence of successive Commissioners of the division, notably Sir A. Earle. But the *Patna College* is by far the most useful institution in the new province. The staff includes four European professors. The College has well-equipped physical and chemical laboratories and extensive playgrounds. But the activities of the college extend over a wider field of work. The Chanakya Society carries on research into the actual economic condition of Bihar villages and industries. The members of the Society make occasional tours to the villages and collect facts (specific and individual) about domestic budgets, cost of artisans' tools and plant, &c. The reports of the work done are published in book form. This is extremely useful work, and teaches students to guard against the vague and untrustworthy generalisations which pass for Indian economics in our public press. The society is conducted under the wise and able guidance of Mr. C. Russell M.A, the Professor of Economics. The Archæological Society makes tours to Rajgir, the caves of Barabar near Gaya, and other places of historical importance in the province. The Society tries to throw new light on the ancient history of this province. Besides these two, the College has a Scientific Society, a Debating Club attached to the Common Room, and a College Magazine in which the college history and the reports of the various societies are published regularly (thrice a year.)

The Bihar *School of Engineering* and the Temple Medical School are the only institutions of their class in Bihar. The former prepares students for Overseerships in the Public Works Department. The buildings fronting the river have the finest appearance and situation in all Bankipur.

It has a good workshop for practical work, and the hostel and school premises lighted by electricity. To the *Temple Medical School* is attached the Bankipore General Hospital. The School affords both clinical and practical teaching; and the Students' barrack has accommodation for over 100 persons.

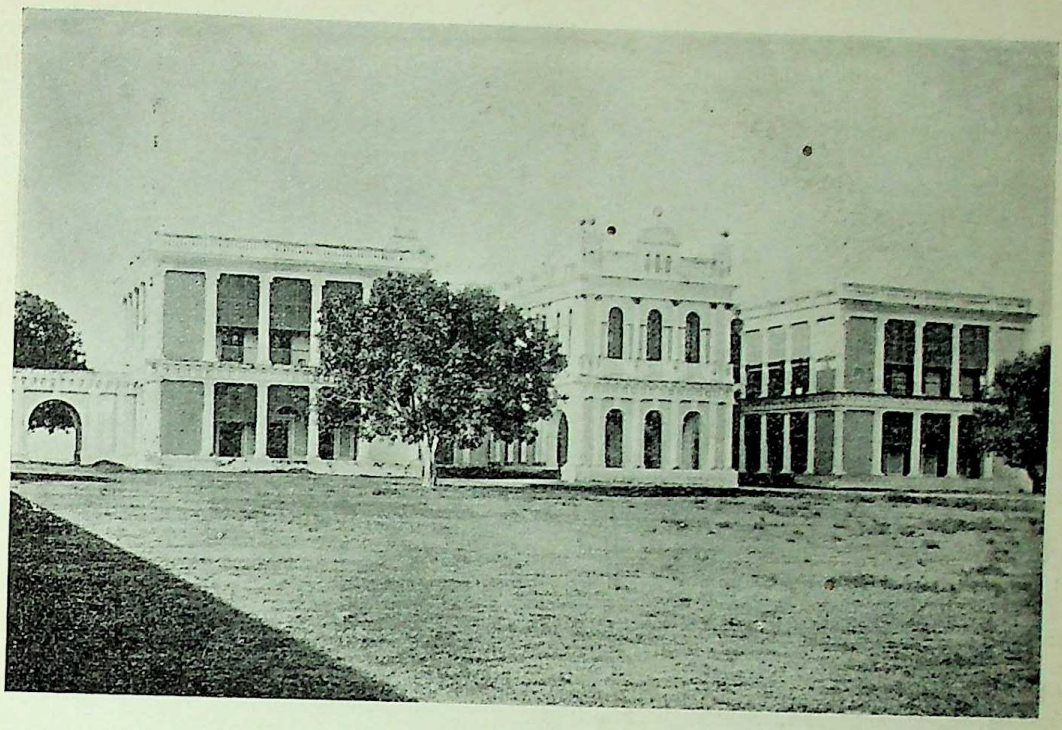
A very useful institution is the *Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition* which is organised in Bankipore in the cold season. It owes its success to the untiring energy of Rai Purnendu Narayan Sinha Bahadur, who continued as its Hon. Secretary from its inception till two years ago. Only exhibits from the province of Behar are eligible for prizes and medals. Formerly it used to be held at Sonepore during the Melā there.

The *Opium Factory* in Gulzarbagh about three miles to the east of Bankipore has now been almost closed, and its extensive buildings will be utilised in holding one of the departments of the new Local Government.

The *Behar Youngmen's Institute*, established in 1901 by some Brahmo and Christian Missionaries, is the favourite resort of college students. School students other than those of the Bihar School of Engineering and the Temple Medical School are not admitted. There is provision for indoor and outdoor games. It has a small library; and it subscribes a large number of daily, weekly and monthly papers, magazines, and reviews. An annual football tournament is held in connection with it, and a Silver Cup is given away to the winning team. It gets a Government grant of Rs.

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Patna College.

600 a year. Mr. Yunus, Bar-at-Law, is the present Honorary Secretary.

Four newspapers are issued from Bankipore, two in English, one in Hindi and one in Urdu. "*The Beharee*" is the only daily organ of the educated Beharee community. It was founded as a weekly paper, but converted into a daily in May 1912. "*The Behar Herald*" which has now become the recognised organ of the Bengalee community, was started by the late Babu Guru Prosad Sen and for many years did yeoman's service in defence of the rights of the people. It is a weekly in English. The "*Behar Bandhu*" in Hindi and "*Al Punch*" in Urdu are weeklies.

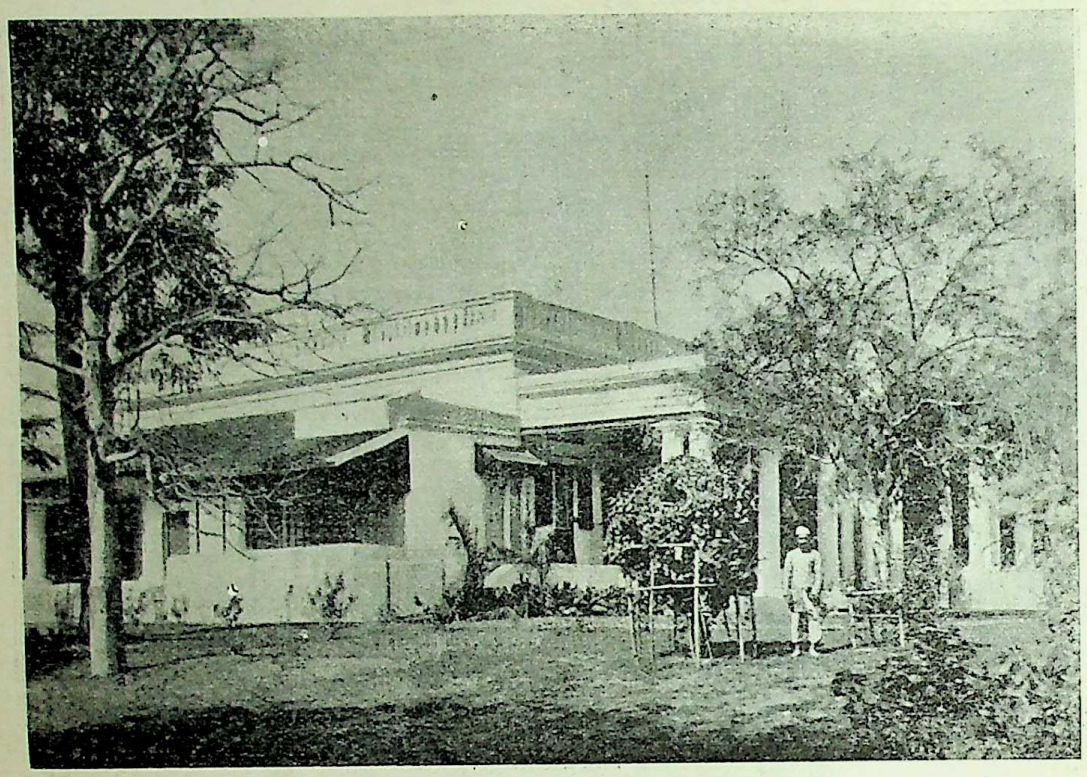
Among other institutions may be mentioned the Patna *Hindu Boys' Association*, the *Hindu Sabha*, the *Anjuman Islamia*, the *Behar Landholders' Association* and the *Settlers' Association*. The Behar Landholders' Association represents the wealth and landed interest of Behar, and is the most important sectional association in the province.

Bankipore is the headquarters of several *Christian Missions*: *e.g.* the Baptist Mission, the Zenana Mission and a Medical Mission. The Baptist Mission has attached to it a boarding school, and a home for Christian orphans. There is Protestant Church in the north-eastern corner of the 'Maidan.' There is also a Roman Catholic Church which maintains the St. Joseph's convent for nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. There are European and Eurasian girls, and a girls' boarding and day school called *St. Joseph's School*. The European School at Coorjee, on the road between Bankipore and Dinapore, is called *St. Michael's High School*, and is managed by the Irish Christian Brothers. The school has a volunteer cadet corps, which was first organised in 1893. The Dutchess of Teck Hospital, a little to the west of the Opium Factory, is maintained by the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission. It affords the highest trained European medical aid to the women of Patna. It has a competent and attentive staff of lady doctors and nurses.

But by far the most notable institution in Patna and Bankipore is the *Oriental Public Library* founded in 1820 by Khan Bahadur Khuda Buksh Khan, C. I. E. The library has been housed in a splendid two-storied structure with two staircases, proved

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Government House (Chhajju Bag), Bankipore.

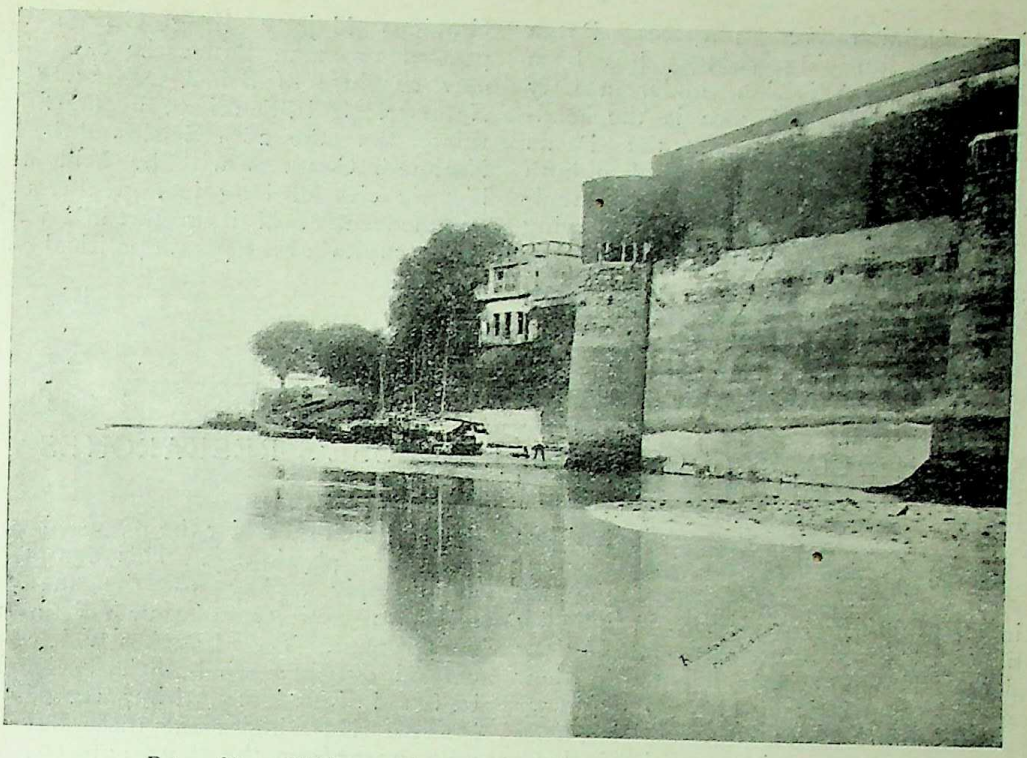
with marble or stone mosaics. Some of the rooms and verandas are paved with encaustic tiles. The whole building cost Rs. 80,000. There is a spacious reading room built by Government a few years ago. The library represents the life work of the Khan Bahadur. It contains the finest collection of Oriental manuscripts in the eastern world, probably including some of the volumes saved from the University of Cordova after its destruction by Cardinal Ximenes. There is also an English collection, which includes standard works on every subject, and books of reference. There are several priceless specimens of Eastern painting,—Chinese, Central Asian, Persian and Indian; many of them are illuminations of manuscripts from the Mughal Imperial library. It was visited by Lord Curzon in 1903, and since then it has been in receipt of a Government grant. The private collection of old Indian pictures, carvings, and miniatures made by Mr. P. Manuk, an Armenian barrister, is probably unsurpassed in India. Some of the pictures touch the high watermark of Rajput and Indo-Mughal art in power, pathos, colour, mystic expression and grace.

Famous Men.

Among the famous men associated with Patna, the foremost from a public point of view was the late Babu Guru Prasad Sen. As a lawyer he attained a distinction which has not fallen to the lot of any one else in Behar. His public spirit and championship in the cause of justice and righteousness are still the talk of every new pleader. As President of the Patna Bar Library Association he maintained the high dignity of his profession, and never did the Patna lawyers command so much respect as when he was their leader. But he was more than a mere successful lawyer. In every department of public life,—education, moral, politics,—he may be said to have laid the foundations of the modern age and the amenities of civilisation in the province. He was for some time a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, and both as a legislator and writer commanded the greatest attention. The Behar Landholders' Association, the

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Patna City: Old fort on the Ganges, (riverside wall only remaining).

Female School and the first weekly paper of the province, *viz.*, the *Behar Herald*, were all founded by him.

Khan Bahadur Khuda Buksh Khān C.I.E.* is another worthy son of Behar, whose name will go down to posterity as one of the greatest patrons of learning and research in Asia. Born in 1842, he served for some-time as a *Peshkar* of the District Judge of Patna and as a Deputy Inspector of Schools, and in 1868 joined the Patna Bar and "followed a career of striking brilliancy and success from the outset". In 1877 he got a certificate of Honour at the Delhi Durbar. He was the first Vice-Chairman of the Patna Municipality and the Patna District Board. He was for many years Government Pleader. In 1894 he was appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of the Nizam. A Khan Bahadurship was conferred on him in 1883 and a C.I.E. in 1903. He died on August 3rd 1908. He has been fittingly called the Indian Bodley.

The Imam brothers are this moment justly looked upon as the pride of Patna. The Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hasan Imam represent the Muhammadan culture of Patna. Mr. Hasan Imam as a lawyer was more popular for his courage, liberality of views and statesmanly contempt for all considerations save the good of the community. Messrs Mazhar-ul-Haq and Sachchidanand Sinha, Barristers-at-law, the Muhammadan and provincial representatives in the Imperial Council, have fought on the people's side, in many a debate, and earned the thanks of *all* India.

Public Health.

Plague has been the ruin of Patna. Large numbers of death take place every year from it. The population of Patna (including Bankipore, the civil station) was 136153 in 1911. How severe the havoc of plague has been may be judged from the fact that between 1901 and 1910 the population increased by 1368 only or a bare one per cent, while between 1891 and 1900 it declined by more than 30 thousand. In fact there was a steady falling off in the prosperity and grandeur of the town during the nineteenth century.

* Compiled from Professor J. N. Sarkar's essay "Khuda Buksh, the Indian Bodley".

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For administrative purposes Patna with a few outlying villages has been constituted a Subdivision under a City Magistrate, while Bankipore is the headquarters of the district. But the Patna Municipality looks after the needs of both towns. The annual income of the municipality is about three lakhs. The crying needs of the town are a good drainage system and water works.

At the Delhi Durbar of 1911 His Most Gracious Majesty King George V. was pleased to make Patna the capital of the new province of Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpore. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the 28th Session of the Indian National Congress will be held at this historic city of long lost greatness at the commencement of its restart in a fresh life as the capital of a separate political entity.

B. C. M.

AN ACCOUNT OF PROF. J. C. BOSE'S RESEARCHES

IN our last number (p. 553) we invited our readers to kindly place us in possession of well-authenticated information relating to all original work done in India by Indian and English professors and their students. Having asked others to do their share of a patriotic duty, we thought we should not fail to do ours. So, having been among the earliest students of Prof. J. C. Bose at the Calcutta Presidency College we print below our contribution in the form of a brief *resume* of the great professor's researches in different domains of science. We believe this to be the first list that has been compiled.

It is unfortunate that either through lack of knowledge or lack of opportunity, our countrymen have little definite knowledge of the important contributions that are now being made by India to the stock of the world's knowledge. In the present number we shall only give a list of the more important researches carried out by Prof. Bose. It is our intention to publish in the near future a series of articles giving a popular account of these.

Science is international; but we may perhaps expect certain characteristic which distinguishes the Indian contribution. The Indian mind is eminently synthetic, and on this account when the Indian physicist undertakes to study the action of forces on matter, he is not satisfied to confine his inquiry into the realms of the inorganic alone, but must include in his broad survey the reactions of living matter also. He annexes to the imperial science of Physics, others which go under the name of animal and plant physiology. This consideration will supply a key to the many-sided scientific activity of our distinguished countryman. The researches which he has carried out in each branch of science will be found of fundamental importance in that branch. How important these have been will appear from the short extracts, which we shall make of the various scientific notices that have appeared concerning them.

Prof. Bose's first contribution was on his discovery of:

(1) *The polarisation of electric ray by crystals.*—Asiatic Society, Bengal, May, 1895.

This supplied a very important confirmation of the identity of electric radiation and light. At this time he discovered the very important property of the crystal *Nemalite* which as regards electric radiation, behaved like Toutmaline to light. His next contributions were:

(2) *On a New Electro-polariscope*: and

(3) *On the Double Refraction of the Electric Ray by a Strained Di-eletric—Electrician*, December, 1895.

These two Papers were published in the *Electrician*, the leading electrical journal.

The determination of the index of refraction of various substances is of much importance; it has been possible to do this only in the case of substances which are transparent to light. But a very large number of the so-called opaque substances such as pitch, coal-tar etc., are transparent to electric radiation. The determination of

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the index for this invisible radiation offered however great difficulties till Prof. Bose devised a method which enabled this to be done with the highest accuracy.

The results of his researches were communicated by Lord Rayleigh to the Royal Society:

(4) *On the determination of the Indices of Electric Refraction*—Royal Society, December, 1895.

The Society showed its appreciation of the high scientific value of the research, not only by publication but the offer of a subsidy from the Parliamentary grant made to the Society for the advancement of science.

His next contribution was:

(5) *On a Simple and Accurate Method of determining the Index of Refraction for Light.*—1896.

With reference to this it may be said that Dr. Gladstone, F. R. S., the discoverer of Gladstone's law in Optics, spoke in the highest terms of Bose's Refractometer. His next contribution published by the Royal Society was:

(6) *Determination of the Wave-length of Electric radiation.*—Royal Society, June, 1896.

At this time in recognition of the important contributions made by him for advancement of science, the University of London conferred on Prof. Bose the degree of Doctor of Science.

During his first scientific deputation to Europe by the Government of India, he read a Paper before the British Association:

(7) *On a complete apparatus for investigating the properties of Electric waves.*——British Association, Liverpool—1896.

"Among the most interesting features at the British Association this year was the paper on Electrical Waves by Professor J. C. Bose. This gentleman had by his strikingly original researches of the polarization of the electric ray won the attention of the scientific world. His later papers on the Determination of the Indices of Electric Refraction and of the Wave Length of Electric Radiation were published, with high tributes, by the Royal Society. Lord Kelvin declared himself 'literally filled with wonder and admiration for so much success in these difficult and novel experimental problems.' The originality of the achievement is enhanced by the fact that Dr. Bose had to do the work with apparatus and appliances which in this country would be deemed altogether inadequate. He had to construct himself his instruments as he went along. The paper which was read before the British Association the other day "On a Complete Apparatus for the Study of the Properties of Electrical Waves" "forms the outcome of this twofold line of labour—construction and research."—*Times.*

His next paper published by the Royal Society was,

(8) *On Selective Conductivity exhibited by Polarising substances.*—Royal Society, January, 1897.

The behaviour of crystals like Tourmaline in exhibiting selective power of absorption of light had hitherto found no explanation. Prof. Bose working with electric waves showed that the selective transparency of crystals like Tourmaline was due to selective conductivity exhibited by them.

The fame of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, rendered illustrious by the labours of Davy and Faraday, of Rayleigh and Dewar, has reached every quarter of the globe. The honour of being asked to deliver a Friday Evening Discourse in this Institution is regarded as one of the highest distinctions that can be conferred on a scientific man. Such a selection is only made in the case of one who has done the most distinguished work in the course of the year. This offer was made to Prof. Bose in the following letter:—

"It would afford the Managers of the Royal Institution very great pleasure indeed to find that you could give a Friday Evening Discourse, embodying the results of some of your original work on Electric Radiation (which has excited so much scientific attention) and illustrated by your apparatus."

(9) *Friday Evening Discourse at the Royal Institution on Electric Waves.*—Royal Institution, Jan., 1897.

"There is, however, to our thinking something of rare interest in the spectacle presented, of a Bengalee of the purest descent possible, lecturing in London to an audience of appreciative European savants upon one of the most recondite branches of the modern physical science. It suggests at least the possibility that we may one day see an invaluable addition to the great army

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of those who are trying by acute observation and patient experiment to wring from Nature some of her most jealously guarded secrets. The people of the East have just the burning imagination which could extort a truth out of a mass of apparently disconnected facts; a habit of meditation without allowing the mind to dissipate itself, such as has belonged to the greatest mathematicians and engineers."—*Spectator.*

"Professor Bose's description of the inductive method by which he was led to devise his form of receiver for wireless telegraphy and the reasons of its superiority to other forms of receiver were exceedingly interesting. It is also worth remark that no secret was at any time made as to its construction, so that it has been open to all the world to adapt it for practical and money-making purposes".—*Electrical Engineer.*

That Prof. Bose's researches have materially helped practical application will be seen from the following letter from Messrs. Muirhead & Co., who hold patent for Wireless telegraphy in the United States of America.

"Just a line to say how pleased we were to have the opportunity of discussing with you the bearing of some of the results of your recent researches upon certain practical points in the manufacture of wireless telegraphic apparatus. We have already benefited by your work in the construction of the most important part of such apparatus."

He was next invited to address the Scientific Societies in Paris.

"Professor J. C. Bose exhibited on the 9th of March before the Sorbonne, an apparatus of his invention for demonstrating the laws of reflection, refraction and polarisation of electric waves. He repeated his experiments on the 22nd, before a large number of members of the Academie des Sciences, among whom were Poincare, Cornu, Mascart, Lipmann, Cailletet, Becquerel and others. These savants highly applauded the investigations of the Indian Professor".—*Review Encyclopedique, Paris.*

The celebrated physicist Professor Cornu, President of the Academy of Science wrote to him—

"For my own part, I hope to take full advantage of the perfection to which you have brought your apparatus for the benefit of the Ecole Polytechnique and for the sake of the further researches I wish to complete. The very first results of your researches testify to your power of furthering the progress of science. You should try to revive the grand traditions of your race, which bore aloft the torch-light of science and art and was the leader of civilization, two thousand years ago. We in France applaud you and wish you every success."

He was next invited to lecture before the Universities in Germany. At Berlin he gave, before the leading physicists in Germany, an address which was subsequently published in the Physikaliscen Gesellschaft.

(11) *On Electromagnatic Radiation.*—Phsik-Ges. Zu Berlin, April, 1897.

The Royal Society next published his Paper

(11) *On the Determination of the Index of Refraction of Glass for the Electric Ray.*

In this he showed the unexpected increase of the index of refraction of glass under ether vibration of slow frequency; this explained the theoretical difficulties raised by certain electrical properties of glass.

The thinnest film of air is sufficient for producing total reflection of light with its extremely short wave-length. But with the longer waves, Professor Bose discovered a new phenomenon, an account of which was published by the Royal Society.

(12) *On the Influence of Thickness of Air-space on Total Reflection of Electric Radiation.*—Royal Society, November, 1897.

It was shown that the critical thickness of the air-space was determined by the refracting power of the prism and the wave length of radiation. It opened out a possibility of new methods of determining the index of refraction and also the wave-length.

Certain substances produce rotation of plane of polarisation of light. Professor Bose discovered similar rotation of the plane of polarisation of electric waves.

(13) *On the Rotation of Plane of Polarisation of Electric Waves by a Twisted structure.*—Royal Society March 1898.

He constructed two kinds of artificial molecules, which rotated the plane of polarisation to the right or to the left, analogous to the effects produced by dextrose and levulese. As a result of this research many of the obscurities in the phenomenon of rotation were cleared up.

(14) *On the production of a "Dark Cross"*

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in the Field of Electromagnetic Radiation.—Royal Society, March, 1898.

This important research reveals the circular molecular arrangement of various bodies. A disc of wood with concentric rings was shown to produce polarisation effect similar to that exhibited by crystals like Salicine.

(15) *A Self-recovering Coherer and Study of Cohering action of different metals.*—Royal Society, March, 1899.

The effect of electric radiation on fragments of metals has hitherto been regarded as due to cohering action, bringing about a diminution of electric resistance. As a result of Professor Bose's extensive researches on the effect of radiation on inorganic substances, the theory of coherence was rejected. This was due to his discovery that under electric radiation, potassium and other metals not only exhibited an increase of resistance but also an automatic self-recovery.

(16) *On the Electric Touch and the Molecular changes produced in Matter by the action of Electric Waves.*—Royal Society, February, 1900.

Instead of so-called cohering action, the effect of electric radiation on matter is shown to be one of discriminative molecular action; it is further shown that the effect of radiation on metallic particles is to produce molecular or allotropic changes, attended by changes of electric conductivity.

A description of Prof. Bose's apparatus and an account of his researches on electric radiation will be found in the New Edition of the Encyclopœdia Britannica. Frequent references of his contributions will also be found in the classical work of M. Poincare, on Electric Waves.

During his researches on the behaviour of different receivers, he was led to the discovery of various reactions in inorganic matter parallel to those of living matter; the result of these researches were given in his Address to the International Congress of Science at Paris, during his second Scientific deputation to Europe by the Government of India.

(17) *De la Generalite des Phonomences Moleculaires produits par Electricite sur la matiere Inorganique et sur la matiere Vivante—Travaux du Congres International de Physique, Paris, 1900.*

He read another paper before the British Association.

(18) *On the similarity of effect of Electric Stimulus on Inorganic and Living substances.*—British Association, Bradford, 1900.

The investigation of this subject was carried on later by the employment of a method altogether different, but which afforded independent support to his previous results.

(19) *On an Artificial Retina.*—Exhibited at British Association and Royal Institution, 1900.

"Prof. Bose exhibited an artificial eye, the interior mechanism of which was such as to enable it to give an electric response to radiation of every description, whether ordinary light, or Hertzian or Rontgen rays. Like all the inventive work of its originator it exhibits a marvellous delicacy and perfection of workmanship combined with a degree of simplicity in which few inventions can rival those of Dr. Bose. As to the mode of action of this eye, we believe that it involves an effect the discovery of which is originally due to Dr. Bose; it may be convenient to describe this as the "Bose effect." The model is not a mechanism capable of merely imitating the phenomena of vision; it goes much deeper and acts in identically the same manner as the living eye acts when sending an impulse to the brain on being exposed to light. Dr. Bose's model, therefore, essentially embodies a physical theory of vision. Such a sensitive receiver of electromagnetic radiation, perfectly prompt as it is also in its self-recovery after stimulus, should serve to revolutionise existing methods of wireless telegraphy and aetheric signalling."—*Electrician.*

Certain characteristics of his artificial retina led Prof. Bose to predict that the human retinae should exhibit binocular alternation of vision—a peculiarity which was quite unsuspected. For detection of this peculiarity he invented a special apparatus by means of which he demonstrated the new phenomenon before the Physiological Society of London.

(20) *On Binocular Alternation of Vision.*—Physiological Society, London, 1900.

His next contributions published by the

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Royal Society related to action of light on matter.

(21) *On the Continuity of effect of Light and Electric radiation on Matter.*—Royal Society, April, 1901.

(22) *On the Similarities between Mechanical and Radiation Strain.*—Royal Society, April, 1901.

In his next paper he advanced a new theory of photographic action, which explained many anomalous results.

(23) *On the Strain Theory of Photographic action.*—Royal Society, April, 1901.

At the British Association meeting at Glasgow he described a new method of investigation for determining the molecular change produced in metal by electric variation.

(24) *On the Change of Conductivity of Metallic particles under Cyclic Electro-motive Variation.*—British Association, 1901.

(25) *The Conductivity Curvograph.*—British Association, 1901.

"The very thorough study which has been given to the curious action of coherer by Professor Jagadis Chunder Bose renders his paper before the British Association (Glasgow) a very important contribution to this branch of electro-physics. In order to study the whole subject from a broad standpoint, the author made a number of experiments with a most interesting apparatus which he terms a curvograph. A number of properties is revealed by the curves drawn by this ingenious apparatus."—*Engineering Magazine.*

Prof. Bose was for a second time honoured with the request from the Royal Institution to give a Friday Evening Discourse.

(26) *On the Response of Inorganic Matter to Stimulus.*—Friday Evening Discourse, Royal Institution, May, 1901.

"The lecture on The Response of Inorganic Matter to Mechanical and Electrical Stimulus which Dr. J. C. Bose delivered at the Royal Institution last Friday evening, affords a striking illustration of the far-reaching character of the long and elaborate series of researches which the lecturer has been carrying on during the past few years.

All these researches have rendered invaluable assistance, both in the progress of scientific research into electromagnetic radiation and in the practical improvement of wireless telegraphy and other forms of ætheric signalling. The latest researches, however, which served as the subject for last Friday's discourse, carry us further than the domain of theoretical and applied physics, into the regions of physiology and chemistry. They lead to the discovery of an universal action underlying certain phenomena in both living and inorganic matter. Returning to the actual researches, we may observe that a stupendous problem arises from their indications ; the co-ordination between the response of living and that of the inorganic matter is a riddle, in front of which neither physicist nor physiologist should rest until they have obtained the solution ; and no one is so well qualified to solve it as is its originator. The scientific world is immensely indebted to Dr. Bose for the researches he has already completed and presented to it—researches which redound greatly to the credit of India and, more specially, of the Presidency College of Calcutta."—*Electrician.*

Prof. Bose's next subject of inquiry was whether the ordinary plants were not fully sensitive.The prevailing view was against such supposition. He, however, was successful in devising a new mode of investigation by which the universal sensitiveness of plants was fully demonstrated before a special meeting of the Linnean Society.

(27) *On the Electric Response in Ordinary Plants under Mechanical stimulus.*—Linnean Society, March, 1902.

"Prof Bose performed a series of experiments before the Linnean Society showing electric response for certain portions of the plant organism, which proved that as concerning fatigue, behaviour at high and low temperatures, the effects produced by poisons and anæsthetics, the responses are identical with those hitherto held to be characteristic of muscle and nerve. He drew the final conclusion that the underlying phenomena of life are the same in both animals and plants, and that the electrical responses which he had demonstrated are but the common physiological properties of these."—*Nature.*

Prof S. H. Vines, F. R. S., President of the Linnean Society, wrote to the author—

"Your experiments make it clear beyond doubt that all parts of plants—not merely

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those which are known to be motile—are irritable, and manifest their irritability by an electrical response to stimulation. This is an important step in advance, and will, I hope, be the starting point for further researches to elucidate what is the nature of the molecular condition which constitutes irritability, and the nature of the molecular change induced by a stimulus."

The President of the Botanical Section at Belfast in his address said,—

"Some very striking results were published by Bose on the Electric Response in ordinary plants. Bose's investigation established a very close similarity in behaviour between the vegetable and the animal. Summation effects were observed and fatigue effect demonstrated; while it was definitely shown that the responses were physiological. They ceased as soon as the piece of tissue was killed by heating. These observations strengthen considerably the view of the identical nature of the animal and the vegetable protoplasm."

(28) *Sur la Reponse Electrique de la Matiere Vivante*—Societe de Physique, *Paris*, *1902*.

(29) *On the Electromotive Wave accompanying Mechanical Disturbance in Metals*—Royal Society, *May*, 1902.

He was next asked by the Royal Photographic Society to give a Discourse on his Strain Theory of Photographic Action.

(30) *The Latent Image and Molecular Strain Theory of Photographic Action.*—Transactions, Photographic Society, London, June, 1902.

His next communication was to the Linnean Society giving an account of his discovery of rhythmic electric pulsation in the Telegraph Plant.

(31) *On the Electric pulsation accompanying Automatic movements in Desmodium gyrans.*—Linnean Society, 1902.

His next work gives a complete account of the investigations on the response of inorganic and living substance.

(32) Response in the Living and the Non-Living.—*Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1902.

"The responses in plants and metals were shown by Professor Bose, to be modified exactly in the same way as animal tissues are modified, there being not a single phenomenon in the response in muscle, nerve, that has not an exact parallel in the response of metal and plant. Just as the response of animal tissue is found to be exalted by stimulants, lowered by depressors and abolished by poisons, so also it is found that under the action of appropriate reagents the response in plants and metals undergoes similar exaltation, depression or abolition. The conclusion reached by Prof. Bose, therefore, is that: capacity for response is not confined to living tissues; the living response in all its diverse manifestations is but a repetition of phenomena exhibited by the inorganic; there is in it no element of mystery or caprice, as is admitted on the assumption of a hypermechanical 'vital force' acting in contradiction or defiance of those physical laws that govern the world of matter; the response phenomena are not determined by the play of an unknowable and arbitrary vital force, but by the working of laws that know no change, acting equally and uniformly throughout the organic and inorganic world."—*Engineering Magazine.*

"Dr. Bose's remarkable experiments on living and dead matter show that there is a continuous transition from the one kind of matter to the other, and that some inorganic materials are capable of being stimulated, fatigued, poisoned and temporarily 'killed'. Thus another function of living matter has been annexed to physical science, or, rather, the idea of life has been expanded. Prof. Bose has opened up a field which was hitherto considered absolutely closed."—*Electrician.*

"J. C. Bose, in his Response in the *Living and the Non-Living*, after showing that under electrical stimuli plants exhibits fatigue, etc., and are affected like animals by anæsthetics and poisons, goes on to prove the same properties of tin and platinum wire. These also become fatigued; there is a threshold of response; subliminal stimuli become effective by repitition; response increases with the intensity of stimulus up to a certain point at which another limit is reached; response is affected by temperature and the median range is most favourable to it; some substances act as stimulants upon tin and platinum, others like anaesthetics, others as poison destroying all response. A small dose may increase the response and a large dose of the same abolish it. The resemblance of these

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results to some obtained in Physiological Psychology is obvious." *The Metaphysics of Nature* by Prof. Carveth Read.

Herbert Spencer wrote to the author :—

"Notices of your investigations have from time to time excited my interest. The topic is one of extreme interest, and one which in earlier years would not improbably have received due recognition in my book."

During the next three years (1903–1905) Prof. Bose turned his attention to researches into the various responsive reactions of plants. For this he invented a number of original types of recorders which revealed many unsuspected phenomena in plant-life. We give accounts of only the most important of these.

(33) *The Mechanical response of Ordinary plants.*

By means of his delicate instruments he demonstrated that even ordinary plants gave motile response.

"These effects (of contraction) are observable not only in so-called 'sensitive' plants, but in all living parts of plants, and it is a definite advance due to Dr. Bose's delicate experimentation, to have it shown that all radial organs, stems, styles and stamens, shorten on stimulation."—*Nature.*

(34) *Effects of Drugs on Response of plants.*

In this he demonstrated the remarkable similarities of effect produced by drugs in plant and animal.

(35) *Death-spasm in plants.*

No sign has hitherto been found to determine the exact moment of the death of a plant. Prof. Bose discovered that a spasm passes through the plant at the critical moment.

(36) *The Morograph.*

This instrument records the critical point of death of the plant with great exactness. It also demonstrates the translocation of the death-point under different conditions.

(37) *Polar Effect of Current in Excitation of plants.*

This important discovery by Prof. Bose shows that the excitatory reaction in a plant is determined by the point of entry or exit of an electric current. It establishes the identical nature of excitation in the animal and the vegetal protoplasm.

(38) *Electro-tonus in plants.*

In this the variation of excitability induced by Anode or Kathode, is demonstrated to be identical in the case of animal and vegetal tissues.

(39) *Electro-tactile Response.*

This discovery furnishes a new mode of detecting the passage of excitation in plants.

(40) *Multiple response in plants.*

The discovery of repeated responses in plants under strong stimulation, led to the elucidation of the most obscure phenomenon of spontaneous movements.

(41) *Inquiry into Causes of Automatic pulsation.*

One of the most intricate phenomena in physiology, is the occurrence of spontaneous movement, so-called. No satisfactory explanation has been offered to account for it. As a result of a long course of investigation, Prof. Bose succeeded in tracing the exciting cause.

"This is a most valuable and interesting account of experiments, offering an explanation of autonomous movement, and its relation to multiple response. After a careful perusal of this, one is convinced that 'Automatism' has simply been the name used to cover our ignorance of the reason for movements, which we did not understand, and for which we could see no immediate stimulus. Experiments here described on *Biophytum* and *Desmodium* show how 'automatism', to use the old name for the movements characteristic of these plants, is simply the result of the condition of the plant, and the stimuli to which it has been submitted—"—*The Athenaeum.*

Prof. S. H. Vines, F. R. S., President of the Linnean Society, wrote to him :—

"It seems clear that you have revolutionised in some respects, and very much extended in others, our knowledge of the response of plants to stimulus. Spontaneous movements have always been a difficulty; but your work seems to give the clue, to suggest that there is no such thing as an absolutely spontaneous movement, but that every movement is the result of the action of a stimulus which has been stored up. This discovery alone would be a striking result of all the time and labour you have devoted to these researches. However I cannot think, but that there must be a great deal more to be discovered along the lines that you have opened up."

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(42) *Influence of Temperature on Automatic response.*

In this is shown the parallelism of effect of temperature on rhythmic plant tissue and the cardiac tissue of the animal.

(43) *Effects of various Drugs on the Rhythmic pulsation of plant.*

"Among the most interesting of the experiments are those dealing with the action of drugs. The identity of phenomena in both the contractile and rhythmic tissues of animals and plants is most striking. The author seems to have demonstrated in the most conclusive manner that there is an essential unity of the physiological effects of drugs on plant and animal tissues; and if this be the case, it is clear that investigations of the utmost value may be carried out on plants for the purpose of getting light on the problem of the modification of the effects of drugs on individual constitutions."—*Westminister Review.*

He next investigated the important problem of

(44) *The Different Effects of Drugs on Plants of Different Constitutions.*

By subjecting a specimen to certain specific conditions, he was able to make it immune to the action of poison from the effect of which others succumbed.

(45) *The Shoshungraph for Researches on the Ascent of Sap.*

This is a new type of instrument invented to record the suction of liquid by the plant.

(46) *The Growth Recorder.*

Accurate investigation on the phenomenon of growth has been rendered possible by the invention of this apparatus, which records and gives instantaneous measurement of the rate of growth.

"The apparatus and the experimental methods employed show great ingenuity and praiseworthy simple directness of attack. One feels that valuable results are to be got with the delicate optical levers, the Kunchangraph, the Balanced Crescograph and the Morograph. Workers on growth will be forced to abandon their primitive and clumsy method and much good will result from the refinements here introduced."—*Nature.*

(47) *The Balanced Crescograph.*

This instrument based on a novel principle is employed for determining the influences of various agencies on growth.

(48) *Researches on Thermo-crescent Curve.*

This is a long investigation on the effect of temperature on growth, and the determination of optimum point of growth.

(49) *Researches on Positive and Negative Geotropism.*

The outcome of this investigation is to show that the opposite reactions of growth on the shoot and the root are not due, as has been supposed, to two different sensibilities but to the differences in the points of application of stimulus in the two cases.

(50) *Determination of the Laws of Growth.*

Certain important factors in growth discovered by Prof. Bose, had not hitherto been recognised. Taking account of these, a complete law of growth curvature is enunciated.

(51) *Fundamental Responsive action of plant to the Stimulus of light.*

(52). *Researches on Positive and Negative Heliotropism.*

All the various responsive movements of plants under the action of light is shown to result from certain definite and fundamental reactions.

(53) *Researches on Diurnal Sleep.*

(54) *Torsional response under Stimulus of Light and Gravity.*

The conditions which determine this response are traced and a law enunciated.

Prof. Bose next published his exhaustive work on responsive reactions of plants.

(55) Plant Response as a means of Physiological Investigation.—*Longmans & Co. 1906.*

"A biologically equipped reader will experience dazzled admiration for the logical progressive way, in which the author builds up, not in words, but actually experiment on experiment a complete functioning plant from three simple conceptions. These conceptions are: *Stimulation*, the transference of the external energy to the plant; *Contraction*, the 'direct response' of plant cells to stimulation. *Expansion* including growth, the 'indirect response' to stimulation. There are literally scores of special points of the greatest interest in the course of the book. All such experimental cross-examination will make for the progress of knowledge, and we think that Dr. Bose may claim that his book will be an external stimulus to the growth of plant-physiology

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and the responses of future investigators"—*Nature.*

"This book may be acclaimed as a path-breaking one; for it shows a method of attack and refinement of instrumentation for the study of the phenomena of irritable reactions in plants, that is sure to be of the utmost service"—*Botanical Gazette.*

"Prof. Bose's work is a monument of scientifically directed industry, patient observation, far-reaching ingenuity and logical investigation. While chiefly of interest to botanists, it can not fail to attract the attention of all serious biologists, and every student will welcome it as a helpful contribution to the unravelling of the problem of life. The many experiments here described are admirable in conception and in their execution the author has designed many peculiarly delicate and beautiful forms of apparatus. The chief merit of the work is that it demonstrates the fundamental unity of physiological response in plant and animal."—*Medical Review.*

"The work represents an enormous stride in our conception of the vegetable kingdom. It throws light on many problems in general physiology, and is a welcome contribution to our knowledge of molecular physics. It fully and clearly demonstrates, that the various energies of the outside world influence the vegetable like the animal organism, and by a more or less similar mechanism."—*Electrical Review.*

"With the appearance of the important book by Professor Bose, on "Plant Response," we have for the first time a conception which embraces all the expressed or unexpressed "sensitiveness" of plant. We are now presented with a complete theory of their movements. We may add that it is one which no plant physiologist can afford to ignore, which no student of any branch of botany should overlook, and which should prove suggestive to animal physiologists, possibly even to psychologists."—*The Athenæum.*

"It may be unhesitatingly said that a careful reader of the present volume must be impressed by the ingenuity of device, and the delicacy of manipulation, obvious throughout the whole of the experimenting. Assuming that the instruments work exactly as described, it is difficult to reach conclusions which differ materially from those stated by Professor Bose."—*American Journal of Science.*

"His theory of the fundamental uniformity of all plant response is certainly most illuminating, and one for which he brings forward a great weight of evidence. The value of his book lies in the general theory put forward, and in the fact that he is the first to apply to the study of plant response, apparatus which he has elaborated to an extraordinary degree. The book certainly marks an epoch in the method of attack on the problems of irritability in plants."—*Journal of Botany.*

In the Plant Response, various excitatory effects were detected by means of mechanical response and recorded by the specially sensitive instrument invented for the purpose. Prof. Bose next turned his attention to discover and perfect other methods of investigation by which the various invisible excitatory reactions in the plant, induced by different forms of stimuli, could be detected and recorded. The methods now employed were electrical, by means of which various response phenomena were discovered in the plant, the existence of which was quite unsuspected. These particular investigations were carried on for the next three years from 1906 to 1909.

(57) *The Electromotive Response of plant.*

This gives an account of the result of research on various effective methods of quantitative stimulation of the plant, and the electric record of the resulting response.

(58) *The Relation between Stimulus and Response.*

Weber-Fechner's law is shown to be applicable to the plant-response as in that of the animal.

(59) *Rheotomic Observation of Electric Response of plant.*

This research determines the time-relation of initiation, climax and decline of electrical response.

(60) *Demonstration of Dual Character of Response.*

In this is given an account of the discovery of the existence of two distinct kinds of response, whose signs are opposite. The investigation shows the exact conditions under which one or the other type occurs. The discovery of positive response throws light on many physiological reactions

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which had hitherto been regarded as very obscure.

(61 *Detection of Physiological Anisotropy by Electrical Response.*

An account is given how owing to the differences in the previous history, different parts of an isotropic organ become anisotropic; an electrical method is described to detect such physiological anisotropy.

(62) *Natural Current in a plant and its Variation.*

This investigation was carried out to determine the condition under which there is a flow of electrical current in a plant, and the changes in the current.

(63) *Electrical Investigation on the Action of Drugs on plant-tessue.*

The physiological change induced in the plant-tissue by various drugs is determined by means of variation of electrical response.

(64) *Determination of Variation of Excitability of plant-tissue by Method of Interference.*

This is a new and extremely delicate method by which a slight physiological change is detected.

(65). *The current of Injury and Negative variation in plant.*

(66). *Current of death.*

(67). *Effect of Temperature on Electrical Response.*

(68). *The Elctrical-spasm of Death.*

This is a remarkable phenomenon discovered by Prof. Bose, of a sudden electrical current generated in the organism at the critical moment of death.

(69). *Multiple and Autonomous Electrical Response.*

It is here shown how the electrical response becomes repeated under a single strong stimulus. This is an independent demonstration of the fact that living tissue can store up, for the time being, the energy of its environment, to be given out later in the form of repeated pulsations.

(70). *The Electrical Response of Leaves.*

It has been supposed that the leaf of *Dionaea* was alone sensitive. This research shows that every leaf is excitable and gives electrical response on excitation.

(71). *The Leaf considered as an Electrical Organ.*

It is shown that owing to physiological anisotropy of the upper and lower surfaces of leaves, a feeble electrical discharge takes place across the leaf when certain conducting tissues in the petiole are excited.

(72). *The Theory of Electrical Organ.*

The complex organ of the electrical fish consists of a series of plates. Prof. Bose shows that the electric action of each plate is fundamentally the same as that which causes an electrical discharge in a leaf. In connection with this he shows that the so-called "blaze current" which has been supposed to discriminate a vital reaction, is observed also in certain inorganic preparation made by him.

(73). *Researches on the Electrical Response of Skin, Epithelium, Gland and Digestive organs in plant and animal.*

(74). *Electric Response of plant to the Stimulus of Light.*

The various characteristics of the response of plant to light is shown to be similar to the electric reaction of light on an animal retina.

(75) *Geo-electric Response.*

In this research is described a new method of detecting excitation induced in the plant by the stimulus of gravity.

(76) *The Conductivity Balance.*

The invention of this methed enables very accurate determination of the effect of various drugs on the conductivity and excitability of the plant-tissue.

(77) *Response by Variation of Electric Resistivity.*

Another new method depending on variation of electrical resistance, is described for the detection of excitatory change.

(78) *The Molecular Theory of Excitation and its Transmission.*

In this the author enters into detail of the molecular aspect of excitatory change induced by stimulus.

(79) *Inorganic and Organic Memory.*

"Prof. Bose puts forward an interesting theory of memory as an after-effect of sensory stimulation, and deals with the much more difficult problem of the revival of an image long after it has apparently faded. It has been suggested that this process of revival depends on the existence of some "scar" or fixed impression on the brain, or on a certain persistent disposition or tendency to movement created there. Prof. Bose gives reason and some experimental evidence to show that such a revival is the result of two distinct factors;

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first, that molecular change with concomitant change of properties; and second, the effect of an internal stimulus, delivered as a blow from within, by an impulse of the will, upon the sensitive surface in which the image is latent."—*The Athenaeum.*

His next work is a complete study of various electric responses in plant and their relation to the corresponding phenomenon in the animal, treated according to the comparative method.

(80) Comparative Electro-physiology.—*Longmans & Co, 1908.*

"We must regard the common divisions represented by the various sciences—say physics and biology—as purely man-made categories, excusable, and indeed convenient for our purposes, but without any ultimate warrant in reality. "We shall, therefore, always be prepared to listen when a student of one science introduces his methods into another. It might easily be shown from the history of science that the great steps in our knowledge have coincided with these invasions. It might also be predicted from current inquiries in many fields that the great scientific achievement of our century will be none other than the synthesis of the sciences. The less we recognise boundaries and demarcations, the more we recognise the supreme truth. Notable at the present day, amongst those who see how puny and artificial and cramping are the accepted barriers among the sciences, is the Indian Physicist Prof. J. C. Bose of Calcutta. Seven years ago Dr. Bose began with inquiries into response in the living and non-living which he has now carried a long stage further in his book "Comparative Electro-physiology"—*Westminster Gazette.*

"The electrical physiology of muscle and nerve has undergone many changes both in theory and practice. It has been left to Prof. Bose to take a wide view of the subject and to correlate the electrical changes in the neuro-muscular apparatus of the animals with similar, but less known changes occurring in the botanical world. The author has made a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the extremely difficult subject of electro-physiology. His observations are useful alike to the physiologist (concerned with animals and plants), the physicist and the psychologist."—*The Athenaeum.*

"This book will interest a large circle of scientific readers, dealing as it does with the problems of physics, botany, physiology and experimental psychology. The author when he was in England, acquired a reputation for the skill and ingenuity with which his apparatus was designed, and in the present volume he has given further instances of this. The book contains much that is novel. His *Sensimeter* will probably become a part of the curriculum of the psychologist. To the physicist, perhaps the most interesting thing is the Magnetic Conductivity Balance. These experiments are of exceeding interest."—*Electrician.*

"In sequence to his books on Response in the Living and the Non-living (1902) and Plant Response (1906) Prof. Bose has published a third volume on Comparative Electro-physiology. Prof. Bose has great ingenuity in device of experimental apparatus, fertility in initiating new lines of observation, and a clear style of setting forth his experimental results. There are in Prof. Bose's book a great many very interesting observations and ingenious methods of experimentation which will repay the reader's attention. In particular: his experiment on root-pressure, and the rise of sap; those by which he seeks to demonstrate that not only sensitive plants but all plants respond to excitation by variation of turgescence and electrical state; his comparison of the glandular structures of sundew and pitcher plants with animal glands; his demonstration of "blaze current" in a brominated lead plate and assertion that it cannot be regarded as a sign of life; his demonstration on the motile leaflets of *Biophytum* of the anodic and kathodic effects of constant current, and the velocity of transmission of excitatory waves; his comparison of retentiveness of molecular change in metals with memory. In fact the whole book abounds in interesting matter skilfully woven together."—*Nature.*

After the publication of the *Comparative Electro-physiology*, the Government of India sent Prof. Bose on his third Scientific Deputation to the West (1908-1909). In answer to invitations extended to him by different Universities, and Scientific Associations, he visited America and delivered a series of

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lectures on the results of his own researches. He gave an Address at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held at Baltimore, and lectured before the New York Botanical Society, the Medical Society of Boston, and the Society of Electric Engineers at Chicago. He also delivered a series of post-graduate lectures on Electro-physics and Plant-Physiology at the Universities of Illinois, Ann Arbor, Wisconsin and Chicago.

The United States Department of Agriculture is the largest in the world, controlling as it does, numerous experimental stations and having in its staff a very large number of experts for investigation into the problems of plant-life. He received an invitation from this important centre to lecture before "a large number of scientific men who are keenly interested in your experiments and who wanted very much to make your acquaintance." In compliance with this invitation he lectured at Washington on the results of his physiological investigations.

We have given a list of 80 important investigations carried out during fifteen years, between the years 1895 and 1910—investigations that have profoundly affected not one, but many branches of science. We understand that another very important and extended series of investigations carried out for the last two years has just been brought to a conclusion. An account of this work will be found in Prof. Bose's forth-coming book, which Messrs. Longmans hope to publish at the beginning of the coming year.

One of the essential conditions for the discovery of new physical or physiological phenomena, is the successful invention and elaboration of apparatus which should combine at the same time an extreme sensitiveness and the highest accuracy. Facilities for this are only available in Western countries with expert mechanicians and high class instrument-makers. The lack of such facilities was regarded as one of the difficulties that could not be surmounted in India. Prof. Bose accepted the limitations imposed, and succeeded with the help of Indian workmen in constructing those instruments of exquisite delicacy, which were so invaluable for research, and which have been so highly eulogised in Europe. It must be a matter of much gratification to us that America, which stands unrivalled in her mechanical and instrumental resources, should have to come to India for instruments of research. The following letter from Prof. R. Harper of the Department of Plant Physiology in the University of Wisconsin will be read with much interest in this connection. The letter further shows how Prof. Bose's visit has been a source of stimulus and inspiration to various workers in the Universities of America.

"I wish to express to you once more our very high appreciation of the stimulus and inspiration which you gave our biological work by your recent lectures at the University of Wisconsin. They attracted a great deal of attention in all the scientific departments here. I wish to urge again the very great importance for all the Universities and Agricultural Colleges in which plant physiology is taught, of having your instrument put in the market so that they will be available for all laboratories. In our course in General Physiology, we have for several years repeated and confirmed such of your simpler experiments as can be made with a galvanometer and we are most anxious to extend our work to the whole field of the quantitative study of plant responses which you have opened up. Plant Physiology is a subject of such fundamental significance from the standpoint of agriculture, and the courses in it are being so rapidly developed in the Western Universities, that I am sure that there would be a good demand for such apparatus. It is certainly of first importance for agriculture, that such studies as yours on the seasonal variation of condition in plants, rate and factor of growth and so on, should be developed in our departments of Plant Physiology to the fullest extent, and for this purpose apparatus for quantitative studies is quite indispensable."

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N. B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

Mr. Har Dayal's Rejoinder.

Please allow me to offer a few comments on Mr. Ranade's reply to my articles published in your esteemed journal.

I beg to draw your attention to the following points :—

(1). I admit that, in some respects, my opinions have undergone modification in the course of the year. For example, I do not wish that Hindu religion should be preached in America. Along with some good preachers, it brings to this country a host of disreputable and greedy swamis and yogis, who do much harm to both peoples. But I think that my fundamental convictions are unaltered. Experience teaches, but does not often cause sudden revolutions in personality.

(2) I have not asserted that Indian philosophy is valueless as *philosophy*. If people will study metaphysics, then Hindu metaphysics is certainly the best of all forms of philosophy. I hold no brief for European philosophy. I also hold that we can do good to India by lecturing on Hindu philosophy at foreign Universities, as I have been doing in this country. But I hold that the Hindu mind to-day should not waste itself on philosophy. Philosophy is a useless luxury for the majority of people in the world. A few rare spirits may get a little good out of it, but the attempt is fraught with danger. I do not belittle Indian philosophy, but I say, "Don't study it. It is worthless for all practical purposes. It neither reveals truth nor helps you in individual or social life." Of course, if metaphysics is to be discussed, I can join the game too. My contention is that the pursuit is foolish and pernicious.

(3) The fact that I praised Swami Rama Tirtha and others does not militate against my utter abhorrence of the methods and ideals of such dreamy mystics, who know nothing of politics and sociology. Personally I admire these saints for their renunciation, but, as I said, their vairagya is all negative. They are very pure and good as men, but the type of life they represent is fatal to all progress. We want complete renunciation combined with politics and economics as in the person of Srijut Arabinda Ghosh. I think Arabinda is a greater man than Ramakrishna Paramhansa, who did not even know the difference between a representative and a despotic government and certainly could not understand the Indian currency problem. What enlightenment can a young man receive from the writings of Rama Tirtha and Vivekananda on cosmos and chaos and the-One-in-the-Many and the-Many-in-the-One and the supreme soul and all the rhodomontade of barren metaphysics. There is more wisdom in one of Tilak's political speeches than in all the Upanishads. We do not want our young men to seek for Brahman just now. We want them to search for freedom and progress on Western lines.

(4) Mr. Ranade tries to explain the mysteries of Yoga and Bhakti. I am not a theologian, and I have nothing to do with love of God or spiritual communion. But I protest against the use of quotations from the Gita to overawe me. I have absolutely no use for that compendium of metaphysical jargon and contradictory theories which is called the Bhagvad-Gita. It is too antiquated a book for India to-day. Can any one say that a young man, who has to solve the complex Indian problems of the twentieth century, will derive any benefit from the abstruse discussions of Atman and Brahman and Parabrahman and Kshetra and Kshetrajna which fill the Gita. The Gita is to my mind the quintessence of futile Hindu metaphysics, though it aims at making a man engage in battle. I for one regard it as in no way beneficial to the young. The students of India require a manual of history, politics, economics and ethics written on modern lines and dealing with the immense economic and social questions which face us at the beginning of the twentieth century. This old Gita was written many centuries ago. Sri Krishna was a wise man in the times of the Mahabharata, I do not compare him with modern leaders of India. But does the greatness of India consist in the fact that it cannot improve on the past? I am preparing a new Gita in these days, which will be called "Navina-Bhagavad-Gita." It will comprise 18 chapters and will follow the method of conversation followed in the Gita. Let the old metaphysical Gita be pensioned off now. The Gita of the twentieth century must be of another type.

यदा यदा हि धर्म्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्म्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥

(5) Personal purity and morality are not synonymous with belief in the soul-theory or Yoga or Bhaktimania. Many persons, who worship and pray and contemplate, are selfish and foolish : in fact too much religion and philosophy generally end in hypocrisy and inefficiency. I preach the noblest self-denial and the purest ethics, but I detest the whole atman-brahman farce that ruins our best men now. India must produce men of the type of Sayajirao Gaekwar, Tilak, Arabinda and Professor J. C. Bose, and not of the type of Rama Tirtha, and Ramakrishnaparamhansa. India does not want new sects or monasteries

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or revelations. She wants wise statesmen and scientists.

(6) As regards the ancient literature of India, I value it for literary and historical purposes. But I don't think any ideals of democracy or freedom can be derived from them. You may dig up sentences from the books here and there like the Arya Samajists, but that does not help much. Let the dead past bury its dead. It is useful *for inspiration*, but not for practical use.

(7) Mr. Ranade says that India will evolve "in her own peculiar way" and not like the Western countries. I cannot imagine what this mysterious peculiar way is. History teaches us that there is no royal road to progress. India will emerge from slavery, ignorance, dirt, disunion and semibarbarism by following the path that has led Europe out of the wilderness of the Middle Ages. India is now mediæval: We must give her modern ideas and ideals. *There must be some fundamental reason for the utter degradation and helplessness of 315 millions of human beings*, who are after all not Australian savages or Hottentots. I have found that one great reason is the waste of our intellectual and moral forces in religion, philosophy, money-making and other pursuits mentioned in my article. This is my central thesis. So long as India cherishes the old unpractical metaphysical ideals, her noblest sons will be condemned to lives of sanyasa +murkhata. Look at Japan. Are her leaders preaching Samadhi and Yoga? Are they not busy with politics and economics?

(8) I have no interest in the controversy between "materialists" and "spiritualists." I am neither a "materialist" nor "a spiritualist." I believe that all such vast theories are wrong. I value commonsense and character, but I have no time for metaphysics, whether it is the metaphysics of the Vedanta or of Haeckel. I hold that a life of love and service and moral courage is the ideal, and then Brahman can take care of itself. If such a life has no "spirituality" in it, then so much the worse for "spirituality." Solitude is good for occasional moral uplift. But there is an immense difference between solitude as a means and solitude as an end. It is one thing to retire to Hardwar for a period of time and then return to politics, but it is a different thing to build a monastery in the hills and retail thrice-stale Vedantic lore to the poor students of India from that retreat. Swami Rama Tritha lived and worked in the world, but he preached Vedanta, and there is no wisdom in such a message to India today. We all know the old atman-brahman stuff.—Let us have something new and life-giving and inspiring and practical. Then vairagya will justify itself.

(9) In conclusion, I ask the young men of India to drink deep of modern civilization, both in its present form and its future tendencies. The destiny of humanity, including India, is being worked out here, in Paris and New York and Tokyo, and not at Rishikesh, Benares, Mayavati or Sringeri. Life in these countries of the West and in Japan is a running stream of fresh water. In India, it is a stagnant pool, infested by worms and reptiles of metaphysics and wrong politics. When India establishes a constant relation with Europe, and enters into this throbbing, pulsating life, she will take the first step towards progress. A country which, like India, has deliberately secluded itself like Japan, has no future, in spite of a hundred Gitas and Upanishads and Ramayanas. That is my message. Come to the West, and join the march of the world. Learn foreign languages and travel abroad. Do not look back to ancient India: look up to modern Europe. Life comes from living societies, not from mummies of ancient civilizations. Here in the West is life: come and partake of it in abundance and be saved.

We have already said in the last number what we think of ancient Hindu wisdom. It has its abiding value, but, like the wisdom of any other age or country, it cannot suffice for modern India.

HAR DAYAL.

It is our firm belief that in speaking contemptuously of "atman brahman" in the way Mr. Har Dayal does, he saps the very foundation of moral idealism and loving self-sacrifice.—Editor, *M. R.*

The Hindus' lack of interest in Politics.

In connexion with Prof. Har Dayal's article on the "Wealth of the Nation" (in the July issue of the M. R.), your readers may read with interest, the following passage—which I came across by chance—in the collection of the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale:

In the course of an address delivered to the Fabian Society, London—[9th October, 1905], the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale said:—

"The Indians were a civilised race long before the ancestors of Engishmen knew what civilisation was.

"The genius of the race, however, showed itself in the fields of religion, philosophy, literature, science and art. *Their people did not develop a love of free institutions; they paid no attention to political questions, and for that they were now paying the penalty.*

"Their *religious ideals* had been largely responsible for *their having been content to live under the rule of the foreigners.* Their religion taught them that their existence in this world was only a temporary sojourn to qualify them for a better state of things in the next world.

"Brought up under a teaching like that, it was not surprising that *their people had been content to allow the task of Government to be undertaken by any one sufficiently strong to grasp it.*"*

—(Natesan's Publication (pp. 658-659.)

* *The italics are mine.*

GOBIND BEHARI LAL.

6, October, 1912. *Berkeley, California.*

Mr. Har Dayal on the "Depressed Classes Missions".

As remarked in your Note, it is indeed a bitter and pungent pill that Mr. Har Dayal administers to educated Indians in his article on "Some Phases of Contemporary Indian Thought" published in the November number of your valuable Review. In preference to and supersession of the ideal of elevating the lower classes, Mr. Har Dayal proposes the higher ideal on the part of Indians to secure self-respect and recognised equality among progressive nations. Following this trend of thought, we are led to conclude that there is an element of tragic irony

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and farcical futility in a programme which aims at raising the Pariah to the level of the higher classes who themselves are no better than Pariahs when judged by the measure of civilised nations. To borrow the Professor's ingenious comparison, it is as though the silk-worms roused themselves to a consciousness of the evils existing in their fraternity and organised a movement for lifting other worms to their dignity while, after all, they could not escape the stricture attaching to their genus as worms. Whether silk-worms or other worms, they are worms withal. And this fact is what Mr. Har Dayal seeks to press home to the minds of all patriotic Indians who, according to him, should devote themselves to the duty of striving to improve the position of their country as a unit in international relations rather than fritter away their energy in the unedifying work of bringing the Pariahs to the level of their own supposed dignity.

All this would be perfectly unexceptionable, had Mr. Har Dayal refrained from a supercilious condemnation of purely internal *social* reform and remained content with a mention of the present humiliating character of our international status which should be improved *pari passu* with the promotion of social reform. Mr. Har Dayal himself will be the first to admit that all reform should proceed from within, that internal perfection is the condition of value in external relations. That the educated Indians should now take to a sense of their responsibility towards their down-trodden brethren is a matter for gratification rather than for ridicule or lamentation.

When in the social sphere human susceptibilities are not hurt by the presumptions of overweening orthodoxy, when the tyranny of priest-craft is swept into deserved oblivion, there will be a readier and more willing response on the part of all members to an appeal for a consideration of the political problems arising out of our present inferior international position. Social inequalities must exist but not in the peculiar, aggravated type they present in India.

It passes one's comprehension that, idealistic in many ways, Mr. Har Dayal should in this case have thought it fit to dismiss with chilling sneer the labours of social reformers. We may legitimately doubt if the task of elevating the submerged classes will be rendered any the easier by adopting the shibboleth of raising *all* classes, dwijas and *chandalas*, to the higher social status of the civilised peoples of the world. Far from considering the depressed classes missions as involving a deplorable waste of time and zeal worthy of a better cause, we should rather recognise in them a valuabe agency for the betterment of the "untouchables" who, when thus brought into contact with educated Indian opinion, will assuredly stand shoulder to shoulder with their advanced fellow-countrymen in striving to secure for themselves just and equal treatment from all civilised men and women on the face of the Earth.

Economic and political wisdom alike formulates the unalterable law whereby the constituent parts should be elevated before the whole. How then can we boast of prosperity and enlightenment when nearly half the people are wallowing in poverty and ignorance or hope to rise in international estimation an inch above the Zulus, the Hottentots, the Kaffirs and the Papuans, without *first* realising that our progress, like the pace of an entire troop, is set by the pace of the slowest members belonging to our regiment? No, we never can. Let us therefore be neither discontented idealists nor inert self-satisfied beings: let us be *practical* in our aims and methods and ever follow them with a wholesome consciousness of limitations. Let us not ignore the past but recognise that ancient good is not wholly "uncouth" remembering that the present is the product of the past even as the future will be of the present.

S. A.

Trichinopoly, 8th Nov. 1912.

But what about Indian women marrying Englishmen?

In the November number of this review Mr. "W. D. W." has given a warning to English women marrying Indians in a short paper: "Should English Women Marry Indians?" I hope those English speculative women with whom marriage is a bargain and convenience will think twice before they entrap a Maharaja or a "prince." But those who marry for the sake of love the man they love will never be dissuaded by our cold-blooded adviser. Love has the power to convert hell into heaven and the English woman who loves an Indian, will find no difficulty in making India her England* and she will be the happiest woman on earth with the black man she loved and loves. She will honour and serve her beloved's race and country, though to a subject race he belongs. As a concrete example the editor has given a quotation from the *Empire* in the editorial notes of M. R. for November—the case is of a governess marrying a Musalman bearer inspite of the "remonstrances" and warnings of her friends and parents. Mr. W. D. W. will be doing great injustice to English women if he passes his sweeping judgment on all of them. I am personally acquainted with some† English women married to Indians who have so identified themselves with their husbands' race and religion that they have changed their names, dress and even manners for those of their husbands'. When children are born to them they give them Indian names and speak with them in the mother-tongue of the father. To cite a definite example, I have in mind the case of the wife of the most influential and most distinguished of Sinhalese leaders, respected in England and America for his wonderful knowledge of Hindu philosophy and sacred lore—a sage and savant and scholar in one. His wife's present (Indian) name is Lilavati and their daughter's name Sundari. Her husband, now settled in Ceylon, was once a Tamil of South India. She has learnt Tamil as well as Sinhalese. She is also a great student of Hindu religion and philosophy. She herself is an author. I have another Indian in my mind to whom a son has been born in England by an English wife. He has made up his mind to bring the child *Narada*—for that is the name given to the son—to India for education! Contrast this with the hobby of some of our Hindu brothers who send their children to England to forget their mother-tongue and learn a foreign tongue and alien, outlandish manners.

* But what proportion do or have done so?—Editor, *Modern Review.*

† "Some" may denote any number from two upwards. The writer has not put down any definite

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Why blame such alone who marry English women? What about those who do all they can to *anglicise* their children born of darkcomplexioned mothers and fathers? However there is much worthy of our attention in what Mr. W. D. W. has said on this point. Now I raise the question: But what about Indian ladies marrying Englishmen? If English women's marrying Indians is bad, Indian women's marrying Englishmen is much worse—it is the most unpatriotic act that an Indian woman could do. In the case of English women coming out to India as wives of Indians we practically* add strong and intellectual women to our race. There is much† chance of their identifying themselves with the race of their husbands. Besides as a rule every English woman, unless she is a barmaid, is expected to be a woman of culture and education.‡ She is sure to prove a good and valuable addition to our number. And if she is once converted to our nationality we have created a generation of strong nationalists. Some of our strongest and most fearless nationalists have the blood of English women or English culture§ in their veins. So on the whole, to me there is a gain in marrying noble and cultured English women‖—but let us have done with speculative English women who will soon complain of their fate. But in the case of Indian women there is no gain whatsoever. We lose as many women as marry Englishmen. They will add to the rank of those who are bent on keeping us down. Besides in our case we have no barmaids or unemployed girls to get rid of as England has. Our poor illiterate girls, the unfortunate daughters of Ind, have no chance to be taken for wives by the civilians of English race. It is the educated ones that will be patronised by the ruling class. If one educated Indian girl marries an Englishman—as unfortunately one or two have done very recently—she makes India poorer, England richer. Had she lived at home to marry an Indian she would have been the mother of so many patriots but now she is likely to be the mother of a number of Anglo-Indians. Again consider the influence of the educated woman over society and her own sisters and the service she can render to the country. But if she marries an Englishman? As to the misery and inconvenience of such girls there is as much for them as for the speculative English girls. Both find themselves cut off from society and both have to meet the same difficulties and hardships. Verily if marriage can be governed by reason, sentiment and sense of patriotism no Indian woman should marry any man who is not an Indian. But within the boundary of India I make no distinction. You can marry an Indian be he Hindu, Muhammadan or Christian. In this case also one would have to be cautious. At least a Hindu marrying another Hindu of any caste is an ideal thing.

Nevertheless I do not expect that love will let any body listen to caution or our warnings. M. L.

Note by the Editor.—In marriage love is an important factor; some would call it *the all-important* factor. But still there are other considerations that must be kept in view. Take an example. No one would dispute the correctness of the general proposition that no one should marry an invalid. The marriage of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning does not in the least weaken this proposition. He who marries an invalid because he has fallen in love with her, may do so at his own risk, but the general rule stands good. And just as Tennyson's Northern Farmer said with cynical shrewdness, "Don't marry for money, but go where money is," so can it not be said seriously that there is ample field for cultivating either pre-nuptial or post nuptial love, or both, without neglecting some common-sense considerations, some of which are—

1. The mother-tongue of the parties about to marry should be the same, or at least closely allied, *e.g.*, Bengali and Hindi.

2. The social institutions and ideals and types of civilisation under which the parties have been brought up should be the same, or at least, very similar.

3. Their religion, if any, should be the same.

4. Their political status should be the same, *i.e.*, both should be politically independent, or both should belong to a subject race.

Surely, not to speak of India as a whole, each racial, linguistic and credal division of India affords a sufficiently extensive field for cultivating conjugal love.

We do not dogmatise and say that there cannot be any happy and fruitful lives unless these conditions are present; but we do say that these are considerations that no one intending to marry can safely neglect.

In such matters persons possessed of sane minds and a sound judgment attach the greatest importance to general rules; they do not run after exceptions.

Mr. Har Dayal Criticised.

America seems to have dazzled Prof. Har Dayal. His imagination is on fire and a succession of brilliant essays is the result. In the earlier days of his residence in that country he said that his eyes filled with tears when he saw Sri Krishna's temple in California and that he became home-sick. The sickness seems to have vanished of late and an enthusiasm of a new kind has seized him powerfully. But the pity is, as Mr. Ranade has tellingly pointed out, that his anchor does not hold. There is a ring of passionate sincerity in all that he writes, else people may think otherwise of his continually changing hues. In the very first article that he published in this review, he showed himself to be an eminent thinker but the last of his writings reveals his mind under the sway of an emotion caused by an absorbing fascination for things of the West. The mighty flood may be a magnificent sight, but for a moment only; for it ruthlessly washes away very many beautiful objects on which our eyes used to rest with delight and love. Idealism very often inspires man to effort; but its tendency in the present instance, I fear, may be to *paralyse* effort, nay, effort of a laudable kind.

We are politically pariahs. So our chief aim

* This is a mere supposition.—Editor, *M. R.*

† We think it would be nearer the truth to substitute *little* for *much* here.—Editor, *M. R.*

‡ Surely this is a delusion.—Editor, *M. R.*

§ The mention of English culture in this connection is quite irrelevant; for one can have English culture without an English mother or an English wife.—Editor, *M. R.*

‖ Perhaps; but of the English women who have married Indians, how many are "noble and cultured"?—Editor, *M. R.*

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must be to raise ourselves to political Brahmanhood, such a Brahmanhood as a political Vasishtha could acknowledge. Until that summit is reached we are not in a position to elevate the chandalas of our own community. When that fine morning is going to dawn on our political horizon is a matter concealed in the pages of the book of fate. Until that glorious hour it may be sacrilege on our part to meddle with the pariahs for with our incomplete vision we may be working incalculable harm instead of doing any good at all." That is Mr. Har Dayal's view.

I am reminded of a little story that I read as a school boy. A young man was sitting on the banks of a stream from morning till late in the day when a merchant happened to go that way and asked him "What, Sir? You seem to have been here for a long time. Why don't you continue your journey?" But that clever youth replied, "O, Sir, I am only waiting for the stream to finish its journey first so that it may leave the road clear for me." The Professor's counsel seems to be somewhat in this wise.

India is not politically inactive. Many do really understand the mischiefs of which the bureaucratic machinery is capable in spite of its power for good, and men of sober judgment do urge upon the government ways of remedying the injuries it is daily inflicting. Legislative Councils now present scenes of intelligent and animated discussion by non-official members. Educated Indians are gradually developing a keen sense of personal honour and self-respect. They are trying co-operation in every walk of life and though disastrous failures occur at times to damp their spirit the beginnings thus boldly made are a harbinger of triumph in the future. They are making the rulers feel within their innermost selves that to despise our claims is but to mar their reputation for refinement and civilization. In this premier review of India frequently appear articles (with no author's signature) clearly setting forth from official documents the manner in which we were conquered, the treatment we got in the early days of the Company and the RIGHTS which we now have to urge persistently and boldly on our rulers. In the November issue there is a splendid essay on the Public Service Commission containing a fund of information which every true Indian may commit even verbally to memory. Our political consciousness is deepening indeed and this journal has been an excellent and painstaking teacher to us in this branch of education for the past six years. More scrutinizing study, more dynamic activity, more patriotic feeling are indeed our crying needs. But the inspiration will come. The divine breath will stir the waters ere long. But are we to shut our eyes to the bestial condition of the lower classes till that auspicious star is seen in the skies? It is not for us to repair the city roads and buildings and make them beautiful to look at, but we can set our own house in order, sweep the floor and burnish all our plates. By all means, establish schools for the pariah children, teach them the rudiments of knowledge. They must learn hygiene and quit their hovels reeking with stench for healthier habitations. They must draw water from wells that are not depositaries of buffalo hides and cocoanut rags. They must know that terrible epidemics like cholera are not the visitations of an irascible Kali dwelling in the tamarind tree upon a disobedient or indifferent flock but that unhealthy surroundings are [illegible] pitilessly set about this task of indiscriminate slaying. When philanthropic men do this educational work, I really can't see any appropriateness in saying: "Lo! the purblind are leading the sand-blind." I ask "To whom is granted that full-orbed vision on which Mr. Har Dayal waxes so eloquent? Only to Arjuna perhaps when he requested the Lord to show him His cosmic form.' We don't discard the rushlight because an electric lamp is not available. If we educate the pariahs well, they too may in the long run come to understand such things as 'rights' and 'grievances' and thus swell our ranks for constitutional fighting. No statesman would point his finger at 'the dumb millions' then and say contemptuously that we are clamouring for the satisfaction of personal interests only. The Professor lightly dismisses the question of Christian activity among the lower classes. Here idealism takes him completely off his feet. Heaven knows how many class dissensions are hourly bringing in their harvest of evil. Allow evangelical activity free play among the chandalas and they turn out into a community ready to wage war against us on entirely unexpected grounds. I am aware I am repeating arguments too well known but they are nevertheless vitally important. It comes upon us as a revelation that in trying to elevate the downtrodden people our educated men are guilty of gravely misusing their moral energy. I am not quite sure if Mr. Har Dayal's mental energy is flowing in the right channel.

Mr. Har Dayal's quiver is certainly full of arrows. One of these sharp things he has aimed at the Hindu University. Untramelled by officialism or otherwise, it is a national undertaking in which the best powers of organization are called into action. A gigantic attempt of this kind is sure to provide first-rate training ground for self-government and independent thinking to Indians of intellectual eminence. It will bring them into vital touch with the problems of education and thus render possible the evolution of ideals more in keeping with the genius of the Orient. Their responsibility being great, they will strive their best not to fall below the standard of the official universities, and with our Lord's blessing the time may come when this institution by suiting itself to the national genius, may become the most flourishing in the land. Why should so many shout from the house-tops that the boat is being launched into a boisterous sea? Let all stout-hearted men answer: "Thank you for your concern. But we want to be a sea-faring people. Among us are pilots that would steer the bark clear of rocks and reefs". The dread of many seems to be that this flourish of trumpets is but the prelude to a revival of Brahmanism in all its sacerdotal aspects. Their alarm is boyish, irrational, like the alarm of the old ladies of England that Napoleon was come when the church bells pealed forth a little more loudly than usual. The organizers of this movements are not men that have confined their attention to the four Vedas, six Itihasas, and eighteen Puranas only; they too have drunk deep at the sparkling fountains of modern philosophy. They know well in what direction the country needs progress. They are not going to turn out a class of scholars whose main function it should be to extort Dakshinas for every feast. Only their intention is to see that there is a harmonious blending of our own ancient learning with the discoveries of [illegible] economics, which seems to have

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taken by storm the fertile imagination of our American professor, is surely a study supremely worthy of consideration; and the Hindu University will raise it to as high a pedestal as would gladden even Mr. Har Dayal's heart. Who does not know that this subject requires a keenly intelligent brain to master it and that lack of knowledge in it renders political life as ineffective as the drama of Hamlet with Hamlet left out? But certainly none should behave like the egregious Sultan who, because brinjals were so sweet to him, ordered several dishes of them to be cooked every day to the exclusion of everything else until one day a thorn pricked his tongue and he got violently enraged with that once favourite vegetable. By all means we must take to the foreign diet, but to taboo OUR OWN intellectual pabulum is to court utter denationalization. The Vedanta is not such a toy as the professor would ask us to imagine. Sankara, Vidyaranya, Sadasivabrahmendra, Chaitanya, Tulsi Das, Tukaram are our real great men; we must study their glorious works. The Law of Karma and re-birth is the most unfailing consolation to the Hindu in the calamities to which life may subject him; without the Gita and the Upanishads many a Hindu home will become the haunt of blank misery. Religious disquisitions, practices and performances have become the life-blood of this country; let the budding intellect of Indian youths be applied to a fearless rational study of these questions. It is a duty we owe to ourselves and to our fatherland. If we omit the discharge of it, I don't know what sort of hell-fire is in store for us. Blow up our shastras with your dynamite of rationalism; for goodness' sake see if at least some solid fragments of substantial truth remain.

If nothing is left behind, you may wed yourself heart and soul to the sciences and arts of Europe and America. I don't know what sort of blind cruelty it is to kick aside the achievements of our past as if it is only to-day that we are going to write on our slate. We should remember that compulsion is not to be put upon all to study the ramifications of our hydra-headed theology; only the fortunate few that display the knack for it are to be allowed to approach it at all. For the rest a few elementary teachings will do. The fear that theological discussion will degenerate into such vapid trash as whether Krishna was justified in purloining the Gopis' garments, is puerile and pretended, and that's enough to say that it is unfounded. I long for the day when the Hindu University halls will ring with the glorious chant of the Vedas as well as with the eloquent speeches of professors on economics and sociology. I long for the day when the banner of Om will float on the towers of its buildings. May God bless the noble gentlemen that have so munificently given of their substance to make the undertaking a success.

I have much to learn from that great man, Mr. Har Dayal. I would count it a piece of good fortune if I should ever sit at his feet as a disciple. But in the present instance, the elephant's foot has slipped, as the Tamil saying goes, and I felt that I should not be silent.

RAMAJIVI.

Abolish Harmoniums!

In the November number of this magazine Mr. U. Ray has attempted to criticise my note on this subject, which appeared in the previous number. Here is my reply:—

(1) It is no use Mr. Ray's being 'astonished' at my saying that a particular tuning of the vina of the 16th and 17th centuries, which is in general use even now, is exactly the scale of equal temperament. It is equally useless on his part to assert that "Whatever else it is, the scale of the Vina *cannot* be the equally tempered scale." I have given my authorities for what I have said, together with the proof. (*Vide* the Indian Music Journal for May and June, 1912). It is my critic's duty to *disprove* it, and not simply *assert* the contrary.

(2) Mr. Ray says that "It is a libel to say that Hindustani musicians employ this artificial scale" [*i.e.*, one of equal temperament]. But if that be so, it is he himself who has uttered the libel and not I. I have spoken of the *vina* scale only being equally tempered.

(3) It is *not* proved in Mr. Deval's pamphlet, as Mr. Ray fancies, that the Hindu treatises say that the Indian scale is what is called the 'natural' scale. Anybody having some acquaintance with the subject could have easily found this out.

(4) Mr. Ray speaks with some assurance about true fifths and equally tempered fifths. I sound a note, say of 256 vibrations, stop it, and immediately afterwards sound the fifth. Will he and the *ostads* he speaks of be able to say whether the true fifth or equally tempered fifth was sounded?

(5) Mr. Ray says that the *Vina* is tuned in true fifths and fourths. A person, who claims to be a musician and an experimentalist ought to perceive at once that in that case the *Vina* scale could not possibly be what is called the 'natural' scale, if the tuning be *sa pa sa ma*, as I have supposed it to be.

(6) Mr. Ray did well to leave that execrable instrument, the harmonium, and I thoroughly commiserate with him for playing out of time on the violin oftener than he likes. But he will excuse me if I keep an open mind as to whether the harmonium is the real culprit in the case, until some more convincing evidence than a mere allegation is brought forward. For instance, it is necessary to know which notes Mr. Ray is apt to take falsely.

(7) I am very glad to have found at last in Mr. Ray a person, who says that he has repeatedly made observations on *ostads* with the help of a *tambura*, and thus experimentally determined that the Indian singers use the 'natural' scale. I have long sought such a person in vain. I hope Mr. Ray will publish his results at no distant date. They would be interesting not only to me, but to the whole scientific as well as to the musical world. In the meanwhile, I hope he will not grudge me a foretaste of the treat in reserve, and enlighten me on a single point. What is the exact value of *ri* as used in the *ragas* Bhairava, Aiman, Bhairavi and Khamaj? How was it determined? Does it vary in the case of different singers and to what extent? Does it vary according as the singer goes up or down the scale while singing a piece? But perhaps Mr. Ray's experiments are confined only to finding the values of the notes of the ordinary Gamut. In that case, will he kindly tell me the exact values of *ri*, *ga*, *dha* and *ni*, and give the details of his experiments? It is really wonderful how things are sometimes quite simple to certain persons! It takes my breath away to be told that all this precise knowledge can be easily acquired with the help of a *tambura*,

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whereas, as a matter of fact, it is impossible for me even to determine exactly the length of the vibrating wire in that particular instrument, not to mention various other difficulties which attend the experiments! Certainly the Gods are far from being impartial in dispensing their favours!

(8) Lastly, Mr. Ray utters the platitude "Everybody is liable to make mistakes." But one of the worst mistakes which could be made is for a person to say that another is mistaken, when really it is he himself who is in error. Such a mistake Mr. Ray has unluckily committed, inasmuch as he says that I am wrong in stating that Sanskrit treatises on music speak of the *Sruti* as a unit of musical interval. He further expresses a doubt whether I had really consulted the treatises before making the statement, and proceeds to quote from the Sangita-ratnakara. I hope Mr. Ray will not be offended if I take the liberty of telling him that the Sangita-ratnakara is not the only Sanskrit treatise on music; that there is such a work as the Bharatiya-natya-Sastra; and that Matanga is an author, whose work is no longer extant, but who is occasionally quoted by other writers like Simhabhupala. These are older works and he will do well to study them. He may also consult my papers in the Indian Antiquary for July and August, 1912. If they can do him no other good, they will at least serve to remove his doubt as to whether I had really consulted Sanskrit treatises on music. The Sangita-ratnakara also deserves a closer study than he seems to have made of it. For, immediately following his last quotation from that work, he ought to have noticed the illustration of the Srutis by means of two vinas, and the expressions एकश्रुत्यपकृष्टाः स्वराः and श्रुतिदशकयात्. But one must be thankful for small mercies, and I must thank Mr. Ray for not having come upon me with quotations from authors of a still later period, when confusion reigned as regards the meaning of the word *Sruti*.

P. R. BHANDARKAR.

Mr. U. Ray's Rejoinder.

(1) I said, "whoever knows anything about instruments of the vina class, knows that they are tuned in true fifths and fourths, intervals which do not occur in the equally tempered scale". If certain intervals are employed in the vina, and the same intervals are not to be found in the equally tempered scale, it is proof positive that "whatever else it is, the scale of the vina can not be the equally tempered scale".

(2) The last extract in the first paragraph clearly shows that it is indeed with reference to the vina that my remarks were made, though, of course, they apply equally to vocal music. In any case it *is* a libel to say that Hindustani musicians employ, or have adopted, the equally tempered scale, in which not a single note except *sa*, is correct. Whether the charge of uttering this libel can be fairly laid at my door, the following words of Mr. Bhandarkar will show:—

"But with the tuning *sa pa sa ma*, advocated by Ramamatya, Somanatha and Pundarika Viththala (Sanskrit writers of the Karnataka School of music of the 16th and 17th centuries), and now generally adopted not only by the modern representatives of that school but by the Hindustani school as well, the scale employed is *exactly* the scale of equal temperament, that is the condemned scale of the piano and the harmonium, except for accidental errors, which are less likely to be found in the instruments of the West".

Since the extract is before us again, may I be permitted to make a few more remarks on it?

As I have said, the fifths and fourths of our music are *true* intervals, whereas, with the exception of the octave, not a single interval of the equally tempered scale is true. The *pa* and *ma* of our old books are the true fifths and fourths of *sa*. In view of these facts, the statement that "with the tuning *sa pa sa ma*....., the scale employed is *exactly* the scale of equal temperament" is very interesting, especially the emphasis on the word 'exactly'!

As to 'accidental errors', where the frets of a vina are more movable, they are liable to be displaced and cause error. But this is inconvenient for beginners only. Experienced musicians can set the frets right in a few seconds, and have no difficulty in getting their notes correct.

It is a delusion to suppose that the harmonium or piano is free from 'accidental errors'. The equal temperament looks plausible enough on paper, but, when applied to an instrument, it becomes a different thing. There is no test for verifying the notes; they are at the tuner's mercy and are affected by his 'personal equation'. He has to get the *re* and *pa* a bit flat, and the *ga ma dha* and *ne* somewhat sharp and tries to do this as well as he can, by guess. Then he strikes a few of the imperfect chords, and if to his ear, they all seem equally imperfect, his work is done. There is nothing to prove that the notes are correctly tempered, and in 99 per cent. of cases they are not. The errors as a rule, are much greater than they ought to be.

Then, if it is a piano, it immediately begins to get out of tune, and will have to be retuned in a few months.

If it is a harmonium, its pitch alters with the pressure of wind and the extent to which the key is pressed down.

(3) "It is my critic's duty to *disprove* it, and not simply *assert* the contrary".

There is no reason to think that Mr. Deval has misquoted the old books. One of these warns musicians to test the correctness of their notes by means of harmonics. If this is done, we get '*natural*', not '*tempered*' notes.

Then it is laid down, that, if the fundamental note of a string is *sa*, two-thirds of it will give *pa*, and three-fourths of it *ma*. These are '*natural*', not '*tempered*' notes.

With the help of these principles we can work out the '*natural*' notes very easily, but the tempered ones—*never*.

(4) The *pa ma* and *re* of the equally tempered scale are very near the natural notes, and I am unable to say what *ostads* could or could not do with the really equally tempered *pa*, though I have seen them point out the errors in harmoniums. The real point at issue, however, is not whether they can readily distinguish between tempered and natural notes, but which of these they actually *use*. And there is no doubt that they use natural notes. Even untrained persons with good ears, and a fair amount of practice, generally sing their notes correctly, if their sense of pitch has not been spoiled by the harmonium.

(5) I said that *instruments* of the vina class are *tuned* in true fifths and fourths, but I never said that

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the *gamut* is regulated wholly by these intervals. I simply wanted to call attention to the fact that true fifths and fourths do occur in our gamut, which proves that this is not the equally tempered scale. It may, however, be pointed out that all the notes of our scale except *ga* and *ni*, can be obtained by the use of fifths and fourths, but not a single note of the equally tempered scale can be obtained in this way.

(6) I am sorry, I am unable to oblige Mr. Bhandarkar by giving further particulars of my experience with the harmonium. If what I have said has done no good, it is hardly likely that more will.

(7) Of course, my remarks are all about the ordinary gamut. I have nothing to do with the semitones, as the existence of the tempered scale in our music is completely disproved if it can only be shown that our seven notes are correct. To do this it is not all necessary to work out intricate problems, perform elaborate experiments or blame the gods. All that is needed is to test, by the method of consonance, whether our *pa* is a true fifth of *sa* and a true fourth of *re*, whether our *ga* is a true major third of *sa*, and *ni* of *pa*; whether our *ma* is a true fourth of *sa* and *dha* a true fifth of *re*.

Our *dha* cannot be tested with the tambura; for this a violin is very suitable. On the other hand, *ga* is easier to fix with the tambura, being distinctly audible as a harmonic of lower *sa*.

This method of testing the notes is at once simple and accurate, and does not call for much knowledge of music.

(8 I have *very carefully* read what the Sangitaratnakara says about the sruti, and see no reason to modify my views. The Sangitaratnakara unequivocally says, "तस्य (नादस्य) द्वाविंशतिर्भेदा श्रवणाच्छ्रुतयो मताः।" "तच्चो नादः श्रुतिर्मत." Utterances like these leave no room for doubt or difference of opinion. To these let us add the following:—

हृदयं नाड़ीसंलग्ना नाभ्यो द्वाविंशतिर्मताः ॥
तिरश्चास्तासु तावत्यो श्रुतयो मारुताहताः।
उच्चोच्चतरतायुक्ताः प्रभवन्त्युत्तरोत्तरम् ॥
एवं कण्ठे तथाशीर्ष श्रुतिर्द्वाविंशतिर्मता ॥

Is it 'intervals' that are produced in this wonderful manner? It can never be so, and we have no right or reason to think that in the expressions एकश्रुत्यपकृष्टाक्षराः and श्रुतिद्वयलग्नात्, or anywhere in the Sangitaratnakara, the word Sruti means anything but sound. And Sharngadeva is an authority which nobody need presume to sneer at.

U. Ray.

Kashmir.

I have read with great pleasure the interesting series of articles on Kashmir by Mr. Mukandi Lal. Much in them was new to me, for though my acquaintance with Kashmir goes back to 1891, I have seen very little of Hindu life there. But I can testify to the fidelity of the admirable photographs accompanying the articles. It is satisfactory to learn that Dr. Coomaraswami has made a collection of Kashmiri songs. I have tried to do this myself, but without success, since I cannot correctly distinguish all the sounds of the Kashmiri language. The following Persian verse is sung at the mosque known as Hajrat Bal because a hair of the Prophet is kept in it:—

Ya rasul Ullah ba faryádam biras
Ya nabi Ullah na dáram juz tu kas
Muskilam pesh ast; man dar bikasi
Ya rasul Ullah mara tu basi.

O apostle of God come to my complaint,
O prophet of God I have none but thee,
Difficulties are before me; I am in distress,
O apostle of God thou art sufficient for me.

Notice the curiously Christian tone of these lines, which attribute to Muhammad a power such as Christians attribute to Christ. Many Mahomedans would say that this was *shirk*.

The following lines are often sung in Hindustani by Kashmiri boatmen:—

I have seen the Friend in many places,
I have seen Him sometimes an old man, sometimes a youth,
Sometimes playing as a child.
I have seen the Friend in many places,
I have seen Him as Mansur on the cross saying Ana'l Haqq,
I have seen Him a worshipper in the house of idols,
I have seen Him a Musulman at the Kaaba,
I have seen the Friend in many places.

Mansur or Hallaj said in Bagdad in the tenth century "I am the Truth" and was cruelly put to death as a heretic by the Khalif. Yet his name is now venerated even by illiterate Kashmiri boatmen. It is a striking example of the comprehensiveness and toleration of Islam on which Mr. Macdonald insists in his excellent books.

The account I have heard from Musulman sources of the conversion of Kashmir is very different from the one Mr. Mukandi Lal gives. When Shah Hamadan came to Kashmir he found the people worshippers of a Hindu *deo*. This *deo* to shew his power ascended in the air. But Shah Hamadan took off his shoes and told them to bring the *deo* down. The shoes went up above the *deo* and slapped him on the head till he was compelled to descend. Then the *deo* owned himself vanquished and became a Muslim. Afterwards Shah Hamadan went from village to village preaching the doctrines of Islam. The idolators contended against him with their magic as the magicians of Firaun contended against Hajrat Musa. But everywhere the saint triumphed by the power of God.

Stories are told by the Sunni boatmen about the murder of Sunni children by the Shiahs or Rafijis. They are precisely similar to the stories told in Hungary and Russia about the ritual murder of Christian children by the Jews and are no more credible. I heard the story of the murdered man and the dog in 1908, so that if these events happened in 1910 the story I heard must have been prophetic.

The account given by Mr. Mukandi Lal of Hindu religious customs in Kashmir is very interesting. Some of the Kashmiri religious festivals are not observed in the plains, for instance the festival of the New Year observed in March or April. There are five family goddesses, Ragnya, Sharka, Juala Trupra and Tripur Sundri. Of these Ragnya is the most worshipped. Juala is also worshipped at Juala Mukhi in the Kangra valley. But about these points a Hindu can obtain information much better than I can. An interesting fact is that the Kashmiris settled in Hindostan retain their religious customs even when they have completely forgotten their language.

Homersham Cox.

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NOTES

Some Political Maxims.

Dr. James Bryce, author of the *American Commonwealth* and other well-known historical works, and a practical statesman presiding until lately over the British embassy at Washington, indulges in certain profound reflections in the last chapters of the new edition of *The Holy Roman Empire* published in 1910. These reflections are meant to be of universal application, and coming from such an eminent authority, they deserve our careful perusal. A few of them are quoted below:

"No power was ever based on foundations more sure and deep than those which Rome laid during three centuries of conquest and four of undisturbed dominion....It was imperishable because it was universal; and when its power had ceased, it was remembered with awe and love by the races whose separate existence it had destroyed, because it had spared the weak while it smote down the strong; because it had granted equal rights to all, and closed against none of its subjects the path of honourable ambition."

"More frequent intercourse, more rapid communications, the expansion of trade and the progress of thought, though they have effaced some prejudices and given nations a fuller knowledge of one another, have not lessened the strength of national feeling. The racial and commercial antagonisms of democracies are as fertile in menaces to peace as were ever the dynastic interests of princes. No one who reads the history of the last three hundred years, no one, above all, who studies attentively the career of Napoleon, can believe it possible for any state, however great her energy and material resources, to repeat in modern Europe the part of ancient Rome: to gather into one vast political body races whose national individuality has grown more and more marked in each successive age."

"Order, whose name had been often discredited by being used as a cloak for tyranny, ceased long ago to be the great aim of progressive minds: it was Liberty that they set before themselves, believing that all other blessings would follow in its train. The subject has now become the citizen.

The Unification of Germany.

We take also the following from *The Holy Roman Empire* by James Bryce D. C. L. (Macmillan & Co, 1910) as it may prove interesting and instructive to the readers of the *Modern Review*:

Previous to the Napoleonic wars, this was the codition of Germany:

"There was indeed but little national feeling in the Germany of that age, little political hope or ardour, little interest in the welfare of the State as a whole, for there was nothing to stir men's feelings as Germans or citizens, no struggles for great common objects against foreign powers, no play of political life at home, no assemblies, no free press, no local self-government....The denationalisation of Germany had indeed gone beyond politics...In Lewis the Fourteenth's time, French influence became dominant in Germany, no less in poetry and criticism, than in matters of dress, furniture and etiquette; and the ambition of German men of letters was to put off what they were hardly ashamed to call their native barbarism, and imitate the sparkling elegance of their Western neighbours and enemies. French was the fashionable language; French ideas and modes of thought were no less supreme than Greek ideas had been in Rome in the last half century of the Republic; French men of letters and science were imported, as apostles of enlightenment, by the best of the German princes, just as Germans have in later times been drawn into Russia by the Tsars. Just when this reign of foreign taste was most undisputed, just when the political life and national sentiment of Germany seemed bound in a frozen sleep, a change began...."

The War of Liberation, and with it the downfall of the Napoleonic empire, commenced in 1814, and in that war the lead was taken by Prussia:

"...when the uprising came, and the swelling wave of popular enthusiasm tossed back the French beyond the Elbe, the Weser, the Rhine itself, it was the much-suffering Prussian people that was foremost in the fight; it was northern heroes of the sword and pen, many of them not Prussians by birth, but drawn to Prussia as the centre of national hopes, that won the admiration and gratitude of a liberated Fatherland; while the French, who had been wont to treat the North Germans with a strangely misplaced contempt, felt for them, after the campaigns of Leipzic and Waterloo, a hatred not less bitter than they bore to England herself..the national feeling which had smouldered for two centuries or more, had now risen into a strong and brilliant flame; and it was on Prussia, more than on any other state, that its light was shed."

The condition of Germany between the War of Liberation and the Revolution of 1848, by which the throne of Louis

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Phillippe fell with a crash that sounded over Europe, is thus described:

"The excitement produced by the War of Liberation did not at once subside: the ideas of freedom, national unity, national greatness, which it had called forth, had obtained a dominion over the minds of the German youth; and were eloquently preached by some of the noblest spirits among its teachers. These ideas however, innocent as they would now appear,... were watched with fear and suspicion by the narrow minds of the Prussian King and the minister of Francis of Austria...Meanwhile the German liberals laboured under the immense difficulty of having no legitimate and constitutional mode of agitation, no lever, so to speak, by which they could move the mass of their countrymen. They were mere speakers and writers, because there was nothing else for them to do; dreamers and theorists, as unthinking people in more fortunate countries called them, because the field of practical politics was closed to them. In only a few of the states did representative assemblies exist; and these were too small and too limited in their powers to be able to stimulate the political interests of their constituents....The liberal party had two objects to struggle for,—the establishment or extension of free institutions in the several states, and the attainment of national unity....there must always exist, in order to [make agitation effective], either such a withdrawal of rights previously enjoyed as wounds its pride or conservative feeling, or the infliction by the governing power of positive evils which affect the subject in his daily life, his religion, his domestic and social relations. Now in Germany, and particularly in the Prussian State, such liberties had not been known since primitive times; and there were few serious practical grievances to complain of....It was therefore hard for the liberals to excite their countrymen to any energetic and concerted action; and when the government thought fit to repress their attempts at agitation, this could be harshly done with little fear of consequences. In labouring for the creation of one united German state out of the multitude of petty principalities, the party of progress found themselves at a still greater disadvantage. There was indeed a desire for it, but only a sentimental desire; an idea which worked powerfully upon imaginative minds, but had little hold on the world of fact and reality, little charm for the steady-going burgher and the peasant whose vision was bounded by his own valley....It was therefore only through the carefully guarded press, and occasionally in social or literary gatherings, that appeals to the nation could be made, or the semblance of an agitation kept up. There was no point to start from: it was all aspiration and nothing more; and so this movement, to which so many of the noblest hearts and intellects of Germany devoted themselves.. made during many years little apparent progress."

Then came the Revolution of 1848.

"The effects, however, of the great uprising of 1848 were not lost in Germany any more than in Italy and Hungary. It had made things seem possible—seem even for a moment accomplished—which had been till then mere visions; it had awakened a keen political interest in the people, stirred their whole life; and given them a sense of national unity such as they had not had since 1814. By showing the governments how insecure were the foundations of their arbitrary power, it had made them less unwilling to accept change;... From this time, therefore, after the first reaction had spent itself, one may observe a real though slow progress towards free constitutional life....the successive projects of reform which thereafter emanated, sometimes from governments, sometimes from voluntary associations, kept the question of the reorganisation of Germany and the attainment of some sort of national unity, constantly before the people. Thus, although nothing was done, and the tedious discussions which went on moved the laughter of other nations, the way was secretly but surely paved for revolution. In 1859 the liberals organised themselves in what was called the National Union (National-Verein)..it held general meetings from time to time; and when occasion arose, its permanent committee issued pamphlets and manifestoes, explaining the views and recommending the policy of the party. That policy was vague, so far as practical measures were concerned. Yet clear in its ultimate object—*viz.*, the union of all Germany in one Federal State (whether republican or monarchical)."

The next step in advance was the declaration of war by Prussia against Austria in 1866, which terminated in the battle of Sadowa and the peace of Prague. By it Prussia extended and consolidated her dominions, and secured her supremacy in Germany by creating a federation of the North German States under her own presidency. Within a few months after the war of 1866, the South German States entered into secret military treaties with the North German Confederation, and thus roused the jealousy of France, which declared war against Prussia in 1870. Dr. Bryce says:

"Seldom had a national rising been seen—so swift, so universal, so enthusiastic, sweeping away in a moment the heartburnings of liberals and feudals in Prussia, the jealousies of North and South Germans, of Protestants and Catholics. Every citizen, every soldier, felt that this was a struggle for the greatness and freedom of his country; and the unbroken career of victory which carried the German arms over the east and centre of France proved, in the truest sense, what strength there is in a popular cause...it was the passionate ardour of the whole German people, who felt that at last a crisis had come when patriotism called on them to put forth their utmost efforts, that secured for them a triumph to the completeness of which European history scarcely supplies a parallel."

The author continues:

"When the new empire started on its career in 1871, not a few observers in foreign countries doubted whether it could long hold together. They pointed to the complicated nature of a constitution which might prove hard to work, and which must involve constant friction. They dwelt on the elements of jealousy and discord that were present, not merely in the existence of separate Courts, where a long-descended dynasty was surrounded by a proud

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nobility, but also in the differences of character, habits, traditions and religion among the various German races. Admitting the warmth of national sentiment evoked by the war of 1870, they insisted that this sentiment could not be relied on to keep the whole people together in more peaceful days or under the rule of less able and forceful ministers than Bismarck had shown himself. And they were confirmed in these forebodings by the belief which still haunted them that the Germans were an unpractical race, likely to be led astray by their love for theories, illfitted to work a piece of political machinery more abnormal if not more intricate than is either the British or the American constitution. The event has belied these predictions. In the case of Germany, as in that of Italy, there had been for at least two generations before 1870, a constant ripening towards change and a growing desire for unity, although the strength of this feeling was not revealed till the moment came which gave it scope for vigorous action. First brought into self-conscious life by the great struggle of the War of Liberation, it was slowly developed and directed by a variety of concurrent forces; partly by that longing for political freedom and equal civil rights which found its nearest enemy in the tyranny of many of the petty princes; partly by the decline, evident through all Europe, of the ancient sentiment of personal loyalty, and the substitution therefor of a rational conception of the nature of government and the rights of the people; partly by the dread of France and the resolve to prevent her from again extending her frontier to the Lower Rhine; partly by the better knowledge of their brethren which increased facilities of communication gave to every branch of the German race; but most of all by what we call the instinct or passion of nationality, the desire of a people already conscious of a moral and social unity, to see each unity expressed and realised under a single government, which shall give it a place and name among civilised states. The most powerful factors in the creation of this national spirit were the varied literary activity of Germany since the days of Lessing, the bracing up of moral fibre by the teachings of Immanuel Kant, the strenuous intellectual life which produced not only two famous poets but a brilliant group of philosophers, historians and jurists, together with the awakened interest and pride of the people in their earlier history, which was one of the first fruits of that literary revival. Causes not dissimilar were at work in Italy, though there the actual oppression of foreign rulers made the sentiment more vehement. And it need not be doubted that the example of the efforts which Italy, Hungary and Poland, not to speak of smaller peoples, were making to attain .....national political life, had its influence upon the Germans, however little sympathy those efforts may have found among them. Time, and the long labours of many earnest hearts addressing their countrymen through the press and in the universities, were needed to mature this feeling of moral, to strengthen this passion for political unity, to make it familiar and dear to the mass of the people, to give it a hold upon their imagination. It was not wonderful that in looking on the apathy of their fellowcitizens and the selfishness of their princes, these pure and noble spirits should sometimes have despaired of success. And even when the feeling had been created and the occasion came which displayed its strength, it might have failed to fulfil its work, had not the power to use and guide it been lodged in the hands of a forceful and keen-sighted practical statesman.... And, as in Italy, the work was not carried through in the way or by the means which the first labourers had for the most part intended or desired."

Finally, the author concludes:

"Looking therefore to the form which the political reconstruction of Germany had taken, this reconstruction may fairly be said to be Prussia's work. But that work could never have been accomplished without the efforts of those very 'sentimental' or 'romantic' politicians who found themselves first ridiculed as visionaries or persecuted as agitators, and then pushed aside when the moment for action came. For it was they who prepared the feelings of the nation for this revolution, and who raised to the height of a national movement, justified by the popular will, what would otherwise have been a career of violent self-aggrandisement."

Sir George Chesney on the Employment of Indians in the public services of their Country.

One of the most famous Anglo-Indian bureaucrats was Sir George Chesney. His work on "Indian Polity" is well-known. As usual with people of his class, he had no sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians. Some extracts from his work mentioned above are given below to show the views he held regarding the employment of Indians in the Public Services.

Speaking of Lord Cornwallis's exclusive policy, he wrote:—

"The administration of Civil and Criminal justice continued to be conducted by native agency, imperfectly supervised by European officers. This native agency was at the time notoriously inefficient and corrupt, and Lord Cornwallis substituted for it a system of administration directed by European officers, of a kind which has ever since been maintained." Pp. 46-47.

The gallant author forgot to mention that the agency which was substituted for the native one was as corrupt and inefficient as the latter. That Carnwallis' system was not a perfect one is admitted by him when he writes:—

"The weakest point of the polity established by Cornwallis is to be found in the systematic exclusion which it enforced of the natives of the country from all share in the administration." P. 49.

Chesney also favored the total exclusion of Indians from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service, for he wrote:—

"The Competitive examination held in London should now be limited to British-born candidates." P. 203.

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His reasons are very curious, as will be gathered from the following extract: —

Foreign rule.

"All that can be said is that a good Government by foreigners is more costly than would be an equally good Government by the people of the country. So it would be cheaper for a man to cure himself when sick, if he knew how to do so, than to call in a physician. And the fact needs to be plainly stated that the capacity of Indians to govern themselves has yet to be established. We must not mistake what may be merely a facility for adaptation, and imitation, and proficiency as agents working under supervision, for original capacity. The assumption that all races of the earth possess the same natural power, and that the backward ones may by training and propinquity be readily brought up to the level of higher civilization, has yet to be established." P. 398.

That medical man is either dishonest or inefficient who would always keep his patient ailing by not giving proper medicines to cure him. If a population of three hundred millions of human souls have been all on the sick-list for the last 150 years, it would not speak well for the professional competency of those in whose medical charge they have been placed, if they have not yet been cured, at least to a great extent, nor been able as yet to diagnose their ailments and apply proper remedies to cure them.

In these days, no sane person should talk of race-superiority. Sir George says that it has not yet been established "that all races of the earth possess the same natural power, and that the backward ones may by training and propinquity be brought up to the level of higher civilization." But may we enquire what backward race has been given this sort of training? Hitherto all "forward" races have exploited the backward ones. If the latter have received any training and made headway, it is because the former, for their own purposes, could not help giving them some training in order to make them fit instruments in their hands for the realisation of their own selfish objects. And are Indians all uncivilized and backward? But taking Sir George's view to be correct, may we ask, has it been proved that backward races *cannot* by training be made equal to "civilised" ones? The author says that the capacity of Indians to govern themselves has yet to be established. It is the old absurd trick of saying that you must first show that you can swim before you will be allowed to swim, whereas the fact is that swimming is learned only by swimming. Self-governing capacity, too, is both acquired and proved only by being allowed the opportunity of self-government. This can be asserted in favour of Indians without fear of contradiction that they have proved their fitness for every kind of work with which they have got opportunities of doing.

But men of Sir George's way of thinking may lay down the general proposition that all subject peoples are *prima facie* unfit to govern themselves; for if they are fit, why have they lost their independence? There is certainly much truth in this contention. But the Anglo-Saxons were once a subject people; but they and their conquerors the Normans now form one united self-governing people. The Bulgarians were at one time a subject people, but now they are selfgoverning and at least a match for their former conquerors the Turks. The Servians were ruled by the Turks till 1830; but now they have turned the tables upon their former masters. "Once a slave, always a slave," has not been true in the world's history, and the date of publication of Sir George Chesney's book is not the date on which the world's history came to an end. India will certainly become entirely self-governing in the distant future, but whether as a part of the British Empire or not, none can foretell. It will no doubt depend greatly on the quality and character of British statesmanship.

Birth and employment in the public services.

One of the reasons urged for excluding educated Indians from the public services is that they as a rule do not belong to the aristocracy of the country and are hence not fit to be appointed to posts of trust and honor. Sir Auckland Colvin with the mask of the Raja of Bhinga penned the notorious pamphlet "Democracy not suited to India." The late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was reported by one of his English admirers to have said that while Europeans of no birth could be safely appointed to all posts in India, the same could not be done in the case of Indians—for an Indian of no birth in a high office would not carry any influence with his countrymen.

English people are no doubt proud of what they call "blue blood." In Western

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countries poverty is not only a crime, but almost a sin. Such is not the case in India. Here the ideal is that of asceticism, which, of course, is at a great discount in the West.

To say that Indians do not like to be ruled by their countrymen who have no "blue blood" according to the Western standard, is not true. It is an invention of those Anglo-Indians who do not like to see high posts filled by the ablest children of the Indian soil. And it is true in all countries that ability and "high" birth do not frequently go together. The spirit of the following verse is correctly appreciated in this land of ours, too, where plain living and high thinking has been the highest ideal in all ages.

"I ask not for your lineage,
I ask not for your name,
If manliness be in your heart,
A noble birth you may claim."

It is a fiction of caste that Brahmans *by birth* have always held the first place in India and only Kshatriyas *by birth* have sat on the throne. Men of all castes and no castes have held spiritual and temporal sway in India by virtue of their ability. The idea that human nature and the laws of social and political change are in India different from those obtaining elsewhere, is a figment of the consciously or unconsciously selfish imagination of men with a vested interest.

Our Frontispiece.

We reproduce in this number G. F. Watts's famous work "Hope". The high seriousness of purpose which informs all his works gives him an unique place in the English Art of the Victorian age. As the representative of symbolic painting he had no rival among his contemporaries. "I paint ideas, not objects," he once said to a friend and these words sum up the whole of his art.

Of all his many allegorical conceptions, there is a kind of a superlative mental delicacy that we see in his picture of *Hope*—hope "that is dim and delicate and yet immortal, the indestructible minimum of the spirit." As G. K. Chesterton puts it, "standing before the picture one finds himself in the presence of a great truth....He perceives that there is something in man which is always apparently on the eve of disappearing, but never disappears, an assurance which is always apparently saying farewell and yet illimitably lingers, a string which is always stretched to snapping and yet never snaps. He perceives that the queerest and most delicate thing in us, the most fragile, the most fantastic, is in truth the backbone and indestructible. But though Watts call this tremendous reality *Hope*, we may call it many other things, call it faith, call it vitality, call it the will to live, call it the religion of tomorrow morning, call it the immortality of man, call it self-love and vanity, it is the thing that explains why man survives all things and why there is no such thing as a pessimist."

The great collection of symbolical pictures in the Tate gallery by Watts forms the artist's message to mankind. Believing devoutly in the high mission of didactic art, he strove ever to carry out his part of it faithfully. To quote his own words: "My intention has not been so much to paint pictures that charm the eye, as to suggest great thoughts that will appeal to the imagination and the heart, and kindle all that is best and noblest in humanity"; and his tenet is that the main object of the painter should be "demanding noble aspirations, condemning in the most trenchant manner prevalent vices, and warning in deep tones against lapses from morals and duties."

There are not wanting critics who radically dissent from this view of the proper functions of art. It must be admitted that there is force in their objection when the inner meaning of a picture is found to be exceedingly obscure, if not incomprehensible, without a verbal explanation. In the female figure, for instance bending blindfolded on the globe suspended in space and sounding the sole remaining string upon her lyre, while a single star shines in the blue heavens, it is not obvious to every one that the idea of "Hope" is suggested; though it will be evident to thinking men who realise the nature of hope. There can be few, nevertheless, who will maintain that his aim is not a lofty one; and the strongest evidence of the artist's greatness, to those who accept his doctrine, is the fact that he has not only striven untiringly for his own ideals, but has very often gloriously attained them. Moreover, in so doing he

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has not failed on occasion to impart to his work much of that very charm which is to him a secondary consideration, or to exhibit an assured and accomplished mastery of the technical achievement which is to some the primary object and essential triumph of painting. It was, in short, the rare combination of supreme handicraft with a great imaginative intellect which secured Mr. Watts his undisputed place in the public estimation of his day. The grandeur and dignity of his style, the ease and purposefulness of his brushwork, the richness and harmoniousness of his colouring, qualities partly his own, partly derived from his study of Italian masters at an early and impressionable age—are acknowledged even by those to whom his elevated educational intentions are a matter of indifference, if not of absolute disapprobation ; while many, to whom his exceptional artistic attainment is a sealed book, have gathered courage or consolation from the grave moral purpose and deep human sympathy of his teaching. He expresses his ideas for the most part in terms of beauty, an idealized, classical beauty of form, and a glowing, Venetial beauty of colour.

A Course of Lectures on Indian Art.

We are glad to find it announced that a course of four lectures in English on Indian art will be delivered by Mr. Samarendranath Gupta at the Victoria Jubilee Institute of Lahore, the subjects being the Ajanta Paintings, Indian Sculpture and Indian Painting. The lectures will be illustrated by lantern slides from the best examples of Indian art. The cost of the slides and all expenses are being met by the museum authorities from Government funds. Mr. Gupta is one of our contributors. His latest contribution,"With the Five Fingers," is going to be reprinted by the Indian Society of Oriental Art at its own cost. It was commended by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. That well-known New York weekly, the *Literary Digest*, reproduced it in an abridged form with most of the illustrations. We have no doubt Mr. Gupta's audience will derive much pleasure and profit from his lectures. We wonder when we are going to have a course of lectures on Indian art here in Calcutta where Mr. Gupta's *guru* Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore resides.

The Disintegration of Turkey.

The Independent of New York has shown in a table how Turkey has been losing her territories since the year 1830.

Greece : Independent kingdom, 1890.

Algeria : French occupation, 1830 : now a province of the French republic.

Servia : Autonomous principality, 1830 ; independent principality, 1878 ; kingdom, 1882.

Roumania : Autonomous principality, 1862 ; independent principality, 1878 ; kingdom, 1881.

Montenegro : Independent principality, 1878 ; kingdom, 1910.

Bosnia and Herzegovina : Occupied by Austria-Hungary, 1878 ; annexed to Austria-Hungary, 1908.

Bulgaria : Antonomous principality, 1878 ; independent kingdom, 1908.

Eastern Rumelia : Administrative autonomy, 1878 ; annexed to Bulgaria, 1885.

Cyprus : Ceded by Turkey to England, 1878.

Tunis ; French protectorate, 1881.

Egypt : Occupied by Great Britain, 1882.

Crete : Autonomous, 1898 ; now striving for annexation to Greece.

Tripoli : Occupied by Italy, 1911.

Albania ; Now in rebellion.

Tripoli has now been definitely annexed by Italy. The Albanian rebellion did not last long. But the Balkan war threatens to deprive Turkey of the major portion of what still remains of her empire in Europe. Peace negotiations are proceeding between the parties as we write. The stubborn and successful resistance of the Turks at the Chatalja lines has greatly improved their morale and bettered Turkey's prospects of getting fairer terms from the Balkan allies than seemed possible a few days ago. There is no knowing how the peace negotiations will end, or how, if they break off, the war will end.

The Allies are in this case the aggressors ; fair-minded men can not therefore approve of their action, and of any annexation of territory by them, except where owing to linguistic and racial identity such annexation may be desired by the inhabitants of the territories annexed. The Great Powers of Europe may be agreed, as Mr. Asquith has said, that the victors must be allowed

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to enjoy the fruits of victory, but that is because the victors are both European and Christian. If Turkey had been the victorious aggressor, the dictum would not have been the same. If as a result of the war, any region becomes independent, that will be welcome news to all lovers of human freedom and progress. But if the people of the regions where the war has raged be not able either to obtain independence or re-union with their brethren by race and language, but have simply to change masters, there would not be much to rejoice at: for though the rule of any one of the allies be better than Turkish rule, subjection is subjection, it can never be equal to freedom.

We have said above that the action of aggressors cannot be supported. But it may be pointed out by way of a reply that Turkey herself is in Europe as the result of aggression on her part centuries ago. That is undoubtedly true. But the history of the world is full of acts of aggression and there are only a very few independent nations which will not lose territory if any sufficiently powerful world-tribunal were to deprive all nations of territories which have been acquired by them by conquest or fraud. The story of Alexander and the robber, to be found in many a school reader, has lessons for all. But as a redistribution of territory on the principles of justice and of independence for each national unit is sure to lead to war all over the world, all that can be insisted upon is that subject nations should be given the rights of citizenship. For the rest, time will work a cure, as it has been doing.

The gradual disintegration of Turkey shows that alien rule cannot last unless the subject people obtain rights of citizenship. The Norman rulers of England would have been driven from the land if they had not become one people with the Anglo-Saxons. Great Britain lost her colonies because she wanted to treat the colonists like a subject people. The Manchus have been deprived of supreme power in China because they had become a ruling caste and would not admit the Chinese to a position of perfect equality. Turkey would not have lost her provinces, at least not so soon or in the way she has done, if her rule had been enlightened and if civic rights had existed and been enjoyed by all races alike in the Ottoman empire.

There is also another lesson that we can learn from the present war. It is that no nation, however oppressed, can be absolutely deprived of the spirit of independence and of martial qualities. To crush the human mind thoroughly is an impossible feat. Bulgaria, which only a few decades ago was the scene of Turkish atrocities, against which she helplessly appealed to the conscience of civilised humanity, has now astonished Europe by the triumphant valour and dash of her soldiers.

The Shibpur Disaster.

By the capsizing of a small boat at College Ghat near Shibpur many promising lives have been suddenly cut short in their prime, and many families plunged in sorrow. As the Bengal Government has appointed a committee to enquire into the circumstances attending the accident, to ascertain the defects, if any, in the existing arrangements and to suggest practical measures for remedying these defects, it is unnecessary at present to refer to or discuss the causes of the catastrophe, or to fix the blame on the proper party. It is to be regretted, however, that the non-official element is entirely absent from the committee.

The silver lining in the cloud is the heroism displayed by some of those who were in the boat and others who were near the scene.

Of attempts at rescue made by Europeans we have been able to gather from the newspapers the following details. Of the two brothers Demetrius who were in the boat with their sister "the elder brother is reported to have made a gallant effort to save his sister, but he died in his attempt."

Mr. Traise, who is a very strong and experienced swimmer, is reported to have held on to his daughter till his strength failed him completely, and he is unable at present to say how they parted. Some other people are reported to have clung on to Mr. Traise for some moments, until exhausted and overcome with grief at the loss of his daughter, he struck out, and swam to the ghat, and was taken out of the water in an unconscious condition.

"Immediately the people were in the

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water two of the College students dived in with the idea of rescuing the ladies. One of them, W. Milner, succeeded in reaching one of the ladies, and endeavoured to bring her to land, but was hampered not only by his clothes but also by several persons who could not swim and therefore hung on to him for help. He narrowly escaped from drowning himself, although an expert swimmer, by tearing himself from their grasp.

"The other C. E. College Student, H. B. Chatterji, succeeded in rescuing two Indians. Milner then hurriedly undressed on the beach and tried again to save the ladies, who had by this time disappeared, but unfortunately his efforts were unsuccessful."

The name of one of the Indian rescuers has already been mentioned. The others are mentioned in the following cuttings.

"Babus Probodh Chandra Ghose, Bejoy Gupta and Sital Chandra Ghose, jumped into the river and rescued one or two men. They could not reach the ladies and others, who were carried away by the tide at a distance. But the most heroic attempt at rescue was made by four young men who were in the steamer. The names of three of them have so far been ascertained, *viz.*, Rohini Ranjan Barua, Apurba Ranjan Barua, both of Chittagong and Prokriti Kumar Ghose of City College. These young men jumped into the river and swam towards the men and women in distress but by the time they reached the locality of the accident everything was over. There will also be universal admiration for the heroism of Sital Chandra Ghose, one of the survivers. When this young man swam to the pontoon he hardly knew that the rest of his fellow-passengers in the boat were getting drowned. As soon as he realised their perilous position he threw himself into the river and tried his best to save them. But that was not to be. Those who could not swim had met a watery grave by that time."

We know that Prakriti Kumar Ghosh did rescue one man.

"Three or four men were rescued by means of chadars, shawls and alwans which the men on the pontoon threw into the river. H. B. Chatterjee saved three men and two children; C. B. Roy saved one man; S. K. Haldar saved two men."

"Babu Dhirendranath Mukherjee of the Presidency College was on the pontoon when the boat capsized. He promptly threw down his shawl and dragged several drowning men up. He then doffed his coat and shoes and jumped into the water to find out his lost friends, but in vain."

Parents should all teach their sons and daughters to swim.

The Education of Indians in Fiji.

The government of Fiji has not hitherto provided for the education of Indians in Fiji, and yet the white planters there want to present a bill to set up an education test in English to prevent Indians from voting at municipal elections. Indians possess the political franchise in Mauritius, but in Fiji they want to take away even the municipal franchise by a transparent subterfuge, namely, this trick of an education test. The government of Fiji seem to be just and favorable to Indians. It has introduced an education bill, but the white newspapers are in a rage. As another sign of the government attitude towards Indians in Fiji, it may be mentioned that it has also in view legislation for the protection of the life and limbs of Indians—passengers and laborers—travelling on the railway (cane trucks till now doing duty for carriages) of the C. S. R. Co.

To return to the education bill. It has been published in the *Fiji Royal Gazette* of the 8th October, 1912. We need not refer to all its provisions. We shall mention only those which have a bearing on the education of the Indians. Section 8, Clause (1) runs as follows:—

"No applicant shall be refused admission into any school on account of the religious persuasion, nationality, race or language of such applicant or of either of his parents or guardians."

This is undoubtedly a very just and statesman-like provision, ensuring the education of children of all races and sects. But the *Western Pacific Herald*, an organ of the whites comments on it as follows:—

The bone of contention in the Bill will undoubtedly be found in section 8, sub-section (1), which reads: "No applicant shall be refused admission into any school on account of the religious persuasion, nationality, race or language of such applicant, or of either of his parents or guardians." The intention of the Government is, therefore, that European, Chinese, half-caste, Fijian, Indian coolie and Polynesian children shall all "as brothers be," and sit "cheek by jowl" at the

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fount of learning. To this feature of the Bill we can promise the Government the heartiest opposition, not only of the elected members of the Legislative Council but of the entire European community. If it becomes law, the only result will be the wholesale withdrawal of European children from the public schools. Then will arise the question as to whether Europeans who are unable to pay for the education of their families at private schools can be compelled to send them to public schools which are open to children of the lowest coolie caste in India. The man possessed of a spark of British manhood who finds himself faced with such a position will unhesitatingly choose to become "a guest of the Government" at Korovou. At that establishment he himself will have separate accommodation from the colored criminals, although the children of these same criminals can demand admission to the school at which the Government desire to compel him to have his own children educated. Would any one of the gentlemen who are responsible for the framing of this Bill send their own children to an establishment where children of "any nationality, race or language" were admitted? We think not, and we also believe that what is sauce for the taxpaying goose is sauce for the Government gander. The European taxpayer—whether he be taxed through the medium of Customs duties or otherwise—is entitled to demand, as a right, free educational facilities for his children, and he is entitled to demand further that the benefit of such facilities shall not be nullified by conditions to which no European worthy of the name could submit. He will undoubtedly make these demands. If they are not complied with he will kick, and woe betide the unfortunate individual who comes within range of his hoofs. It is eminently desirable that all colored children should be educated, but their education must of necessity be imparted in separate schools. The idea of mixed schools for all nationalities is unthinkable, and—if the Government is foolish enough to try it—will be found to be utterly unworkable.

Whether the Government of Fiji is financially in a position to maintain a sufficient number of separate schools for both whites and non-whites, we do not know. If it is, let it by all means provide such schools. If not, it would be unrighteous to deprive the "coloured" children of education because of the clamour of the whites.

The anxiety of the Government to prevent any religious tests being imposed even indirectly is quite manifest. For section 12, sub-section (1), clause (b) provides

That it shall not be required as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in such school that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school or any place of religious worship or that he shall attend any religious observance or any religious instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent or guardian or that he shall attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which the parent or guardian belongs.

Sub-section (3) provides that

The time or times during which any religious observance is practised or religious instruction is given at any meeting of an assisted school shall be either at the beginning or the end or at the beginning and the end of such meeting and shall be inserted in a time-table to be approved by the Board and to be kept permanently and conspicuously affixed in every school-room and any scholar may be withdrawn by his parent or guardian from such observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school.

There is also a section enjoining the compulsory attendance at school of all children of not less than six nor more than thirteen years of age; but this is to apply to non-European children only after the Governor has proclaimed that it shall so apply in any district or districts. Even this, however, would be in advance of any educational legislation in British India.

Indentured labour and Indians in Fiji.

The system of indentured labor everywhere produces its own peculiar evils. The island of Fiji is not free from them. It is therefore necessary that it should be put an end to there. We therefore think it imperative that the Indian National Congress should at its ensuing session at Bankipur pass unanimously a resolution to the following effect:—

"This Congress unanimously resolves that considering the abnormal number of murders and other crimes and civil litigation due to the paucity of Indian women under the system of indentured labour, and the frequent torture of Indian women by white overseers for immoral purposes as well as the well-known evils and abuses of the system of "contract labour (as substantiated in the book called "The Fiji of To-day"), the Government of India should at once prohibit the recruitment of 3000 labourers for the colony of Fiji, requisitioned for the current year."

Council Elections.

The regulations under which elections to the Imperial and Provincial Councils are to be held have been published. Their fundamental and fatal defects remain. These defects are that Musalmans have been given a superior political status everywhere, they have been allowed to participate in both separate and joint election, and their revenue paying qualifications, where they are

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required, are lower than those of non-Musalmans. So long as these mischievous and (to non-Musalmans) derogatory regulations remain, it does not matter how the others are tinkered with. If Government protected the interests of *all* minorities in every province the principle could be understood. But nowhere have any non-Musalman minorities obtained any special rights, and Musalmans have obtained such rights even where they are in a majority. So the position of the Government is anomalous and affects its reputation for even-handed justice to all parties. We think the Government is aware of this fact. So matters should be set right.

As for the candidates for election, we find many who are unfit to discharge the duties of councillors, either because of their physical infirmities, or of want of leisure, or of lack of sufficient education and information, or of backbone, or of character. All such should withdraw. If they do not, the electors should convince them of their folly.

Sanitary Conferences.

The Malaria and Sanitary Conferences are good *as conferences* for collecting materials for determining lines of action. But it should not be lost sight of that they are in no way substitutes for practical measures. We are lay men and do not presume to dictate how malaria or plague may be best combated, or how the sanitation of villages and towns can be improved. But we may be permitted to observe that the plague is a poor people's disease, and even in the case of malaria well-fed, well-clad and well-housed people are less liable to its attacks than the half naked and half-starved denizens of hovels. So that the chief thing to do is to improve the material condition of the people. This is no easy matter. But unless this is done, plague, malaria, cholera or other epidemics cannot disappear even if all the rats, anopheles mosquitos and flies be exterminated, supposing that were practicable.

The Crisis in Europe.

It is possible that the Balkan war may lead to a more wide-spread and devastating conflict. There are signs of a coming struggle between Austria-Russia and Germany which the other great powers may be drawn. If there be such a war it would be a great disaster for Europe. Continental international jealousies have until lately served as the greatest safeguard against the spoliation and partition of Turkey. They may even now prevent her expulsion from Europe; but the Balkan war has proceeded too far to terminate without the partial dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. Abdul Hamid had succeeded in playing off one continental great power against another; but his successor or his ministers had perhaps never suspected that smaller nations than Russia, Austria or Germany could play the game of international robbery.

Later telegrams give rise to the hope that the Austro-Russian hitch may be settled.

The New President of the United States.

In the United States of America, not only the head of the republic but the head of a college or a university also is called President. President Woodrow Wilson was such an educational president. From White Hall he will now for four years exercise more political power than the greatest constitutional monarch. The professor's chair does not rob a man of the virtues that go to make the administrator and the statesman.

In our country Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, Mr. B. G. Tilak, Mr. G. K. Gokhale and others have shown that teachers can also become political leaders and statesmen. If opportunities existed it could also be shown in our country, too, that schoolmasters can be successful administrators.

It may be noted by the way that among the Bengal candidates for election to the legislative councils, there are two teachers of youth—Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and Mr. Herambachandra Maitra. They should be returned by a unanimous vote of the electors.

Mr. Gokhale's South African Mission.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has sent a telegram to the papers to the effect that Mr. Gokhale has done good work for our countrymen in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues have suffered for safeguarding the interests and honour of themselves and their country in a way in which none of us have suffered. All Indians like ourselves are bound to accept Mr. Gandhi's estimate of Mr.

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Gokhale's work, even though we may not be in possession of all the particulars to be able to form an independent estimate for ourselves.

We are sure, however, that no arrangement can be accepted as absolutely final either by our South African sisters and brethren or by us stay-at-home people which does not secure to us the same freedom of migration as belongs to the white-complexioned citizens of the British Empire. Arrangements of any other description must be naturally provisional, though the white colonists may look upon them as great concessions to coloured folk.

Cow-Killing Riots.

We have repeatedly said that Musalmans should not insist on sacrificing cows as this animal is considered sacred by Hindus, seeing that the sacrifice of *this* animal is not obligatory and is often dispensed with. We wish at the same time to point out to the Hindus that their objection is to the *killing* of the animal, not specially to the sacrificial character of the slaughter. Now, cows are killed by the hundred all over India for the supply of meat to Christian and Musalman soldiers and to the civil population of those two religious sects. *Hindu* milkmen knowingly sell cows and calves for this purpose. These facts are well-known, but they have never caused riots. Why, then, should the *sacrificial* killing of some cows lead to riots? It may be that in some places foolish, mischievous, or fanatical Musalmans sacrifice cows in so public and obtrusive a manner as to hurt the religious susceptibilities of Hindus. But do not Hindus know that if any idiotic or insane person gets angry on hearing some cry or shout addressed to him, mischievous street urchins follow him with the cry and enjoy the fun? But if the same man does not mind the cry, the boys cease to tease him. So, in the matter of cow-killing, if it be the intention of any man or men that Hindus should get provoked, is that any reason why Hindus should make fools of themselves by getting excited? If by their getting excited there were the remotest chance of the killing of cows for beef and for "religious" purposes being stopped, there would be something to say for such excitement; but there is no such chance. Why then play into the hands of mischief-makers? We regret to have to say that in this sorry business both Hindus and Musalmans have been unpatriotic, foolish and fanatical,—in what differing degrees it boots not to enquire and ascertain.

Falsehoods and half-truths in Text-books.

That British rule has been beneficial to India in several directions will not be disputed by any but those who see nothing advantageous to her in the British connection. But no impartial student of history can say that the character of British rule has been the same from the days of the East India Company onwards, or that the administration of the Company was not worse in some respects than direct government by the servants of the Crown. To do justice to the days of the Company, it must be said that the periodical parliamentary inquiries of that time may with advantage be revived.

No text-book dealing with British rule in India should ignore these facts. Nor, in describing the benefits of British rule, should it choose the worst periods and features of Hindu and Musalman rule, and leave the impression on the readers' mind that nothing good could be found in those days, that all that is valuable or praiseworthy in India is due to British rule. But when text-books are written to order, the critical faculty bids good-bye to the author. The late Mr. N. N. Ghose was paid to write a book on England's work in India, which exemplifies our remark. It contains many falsehoods and half-truths. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* has done good work by exposing these in a series of articles. These may well be printed in pamphlet form and presented to Matriculation candidates.

The teaching of falsehoods and half-truths regarding British rule and calumnies regarding pre-British Governments, is of no advantage to the Government. For nothing human can present a picture of uniform brightness or beneficence, and neither Hindu nor Musalman nor British rule is an exception to this truism. So both unmixed praise and unmixed blame must rouse suspicion. Either teach the whole truth regarding British rule, or, if that be not practicable, dwell only on the *undisputed* benefits of

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British rule. But if neither course can be adopted, leave the subject severely alone in schools and colleges.

"Gitanjali."

The India Society of London has published Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's "Gitānjali" (Song Offerings) with an introduction by Mr. W. B. Yeats, "the leader of the Irish renaissanse and, in the opinion of many people, the most considerable poet at present writing in the English tongue." It is a collection of prose translations of some of his religious poems and hymns in Bengali made by the author himself. These translations are of poems contained in three books—Naivedya, Kheyā and Gitānjali, and of a few poems which have appeared only in periodicals. A portrait of Rabindranath sketched by Mr. W. Rothenstein appears as the frontispiece. Seven hundred and fifty copies of this edition have been printed for the India Society of which two hundred and fifty copies only are for sale.*

We extract a few sentences from Mr. Yeats's introduction: "These prose translations from Rabindranath Tagore have stirred my blood as nothing has for years." "For all I know, so abundant and simple is this poetry, the new renaissance has been born in your country and I shall never know of it except by hearsay." "I have carried the manuscript of these translations about with me for days, reading it in railway trains, or on the top of omnibuses and in restaurants, and I have often had to close it lest some stranger would see how much it moved me. These lyrics—which are in the original, my Indian friends tell me, full of subtlety of rhythm, of untranslatable delicacies of colour, of metrical invention, display in their thought a world I have dreamt of all my life long. The work of a supreme culture, they yet appear as much the growth of the common soil as the grass and the rushes."

The Times has published a review of the book from which we take the following passage:—

> The chief cause of decadence in any art is impoverishment of subject-matter; and poetry is always liable to this impoverishment when it has not enough intellectual power to pass from its primitive stage of dealing with the particular to the task of dealing with the general. It must accomplish this transition, if it is to remain a living art in a society that is largely concerned with ideas; for otherwise the poets, for the sake of their art, fall into an obsolete state of mind and fail to interest any one except the connoisseur of that art. Poetry must conquer the province of ideas if it is not to be subdued by them into prose. It must learn to express the emotions stirred by ideas, as it has in the past expressed the emotions stirred by facts; and in doing so it must remain poetry with the old music, imagery, and unhesitating sense of values. That is the problem which troubles our poetry at present and seems to endanger its very existence; and it is no wonder that Mr. Yeats should hail with delight the work of an Indian poet who seems to solve it as easily as it was solved in Chinese painting of a thousand years ago.
>
> Mr. Tagore has translated his poems into English prose, simple and often half-rhythmical, so that their sense is not obscured by any obvious inadequacy of language; and in reading them one feels, not that they are the curiosities of an alien mind, but that they are prophetic of the poetry that might be written in England if our poets could attain to the same harmony of emotion and idea. That divorce of religion and philosophy which prevails among us is a sign of our failure in both. We keep our emotions for particular things and cannot carry them into our contemplation of the universe. That chills us and turns our speech to cold scientific jargon; and the jargon affects our very thought, so that from speaking of life as if it were a mechanical process we come to think of it so. But this Indian poet, without any obsolete timidity of thought, makes religion and philosophy one. He contemplates the universe as a primitive poet might contemplate a pair of lovers, and makes poetry out of it as naturally and simply. As we read his pieces we seem to be reading the Psalms of a David of our own time, who addresses a God realized by his own act of faith and conceived according to his own experience of life.

Rev. C. F. Andrews on the National Movement in India.

Rev. C. F. Andrews' second paper on "Race within the Christian Church," published in the October number of *The East and The West* has a long passage on the National Movement in India. Says he:—

> The National Movement represents, broadly speaking, the recovery of race consciousness among the peoples of the East and their uprising against the domination of the European Powers. The initiative in the movement has, in every case hitherto, proceeded from those classes in the East which have received a modern English education. These have given the ideas and the inspiration, and through them the masses of the common people have been affected. The result has been, on certain sides, not unlike that of the Renaissance in Europe. It has had an even more direct political and religious bearing.
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> We need not, however, for the purposes of this paper consider the National Movement as a whole. It will be sufficient if we try to understand the sen-

* Obtainable at the Chiswick Press, Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, London, E. C. at 10s 6d net.

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timents and aims of the modern-educated classes who are its leaders in India. These may be roughly classed as the need of equal treatment irrespective of race or colour, the claim for a full share in the government of their own country, and the longing to feel the hand of sympathy and brotherhood held out to them as they take their place in the new life of the modern world.

From the side of the British Government the new situation in India, caused by the National Movement and the uprising of the educated classes, received a tardy recognition. Lord Morley, after a long and very serious delay, put forward his reform policy. He appointed Indian members to sit side by side with Englishmen at Whitehall. He also sanctioned their appointment on the Viceroy's Council at Simla. But these and similar acts were marred by reactionary measures in other directions.

Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar.

By the untimely death of Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar Bengal loses an able journalist and author. By race he belonged, as his name shows, to Mahārāshtra, but his family has been settled in the Santal Parganas for generations. Bengali was his mother-tongue and Marathi was to him an acquired language. He rendered good service to Bengali literature by his historical and economic writings. His style was clear and vigorous. His "Desher Kathā" was translated into Hindi and, we believe, into Marathi also. It had a large sale. It was based on well-known works by such writers as Messrs Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt, William Digby, &c., and on some articles and notes published in this REVIEW. It was proscribed by the Government. The author sought redress at the hands of the Calcutta High Court, but unfortunately has not lived to see the case heard. He was well-informed, and very painstaking, and participated whole-heartedly in the Bengali Nationalist movement. He was for some time professor of history in the Bengal National College.

The Women of Japan.

In Japan the girls who attend School form 96 per cent. What is the figure for India?

Mathematics for Women.

The *Englishwoman* for September contains an article by Professor H. A. Strong on the education of women.

What is needed for women at the present day, he writes, is a training which will cause them to see the reasons of the different conclusions which they are so quick at drawing. He admits that women's intuitions are commonly correct, but he would, nevertheless, like women to be taught to think, and to think logically and clearly. It is a mistake for them to imagine they are unable to learn mathematics and logic. He has met with girls who have quite a remarkable power of solving mathematical problems, and has invariably found that they showed marked capacity in managing their own business and in understanding the business of other people. Girls should become competent mathematicians, and should study logic, if they would vie with the women of France, who are found indispensable in most business houses. The Frenchwoman, he continues, makes a point of understanding the business of her employer or of her husband. The greater influence of women in France, he says, is due to their greater capacity, resulting from more practical training.

The Professor is opposed to a crowded curriculum for girls. While appreciating the advantages to be derived from a study of the classics and of languages, he would drop some of these to make room for more mathematics and logic. But the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal is of opinion it is mere perversity which leads girls to think of learning mathematics.

A Successful Musalman Student.

Mr. Obaidulla B.Sc., was born about the year 1886, of a poor and respectable family in Noakhali. His education commenced in a vernacular school in Noakhali whence he passed the Middle Vernacular examination with credit and was then admitted into the local Zillah school. After securing several double promotions he reached the fourth class when his father Munshi Ramjan Ali died. Mr. Obaidulla had now to stand on his own legs, as his widowed mother was left penniless and could not pay for her son's education. In the year 1903 he topped the list of successful students in the B. Course Entrance Examination and secured a first-grade scholarship. He now joined the apprentice department of the Shibpur Engineering College and passed the Upper Subordinate examination in due course. In the year he passed out, Mining classes were opened in the Shibpore College. Mr. Obaidulla took up this course of study and after one year's successful [illegible] was appointed an assistant

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MR. OBAIDULLA, B.SC.

to the Professor of mining. When he had served in this capacity for six months he secured a Government technical scholarship of Rs. 2250 per annum and sailed for England in 1907. At Birmingham he secured the B.Sc. degree in mining and returned to India in August last. After he had taken his full course at Birmingham Mr. Obaidulla worked in a chemical laboratory and did some research work on coal dust.

He has, besides, studied geology under the renowned Professor Lapworth for about a year.

So far as we know Mr. Obaidulla is the first man in Eastern Bengal who has taken a Mining degree in Europe. There are only two Musalman experts in mining in the whole of India and Mr. Obaidulla is one of them.

M. AHMAD.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

"The Bird of Time," by Sarajini Naidu, with an introduction by Edmund Gosse, London, William Heinemann, pp. XII, 107. Price 5/- net.

In introducing Toru Dutt to the world of English letters, Mr. Edmund Gosse described her, with singular appropriateness, as a 'fragile, exotic blossom of song.' That was thirty years ago. Since then, a generation of Indian scholars has grown up, who write in the English tongue with ease and distinction. Foremost amongst these is Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who has already appeared in literature as the writer of those charming lyrics which have been published under the name of "The Golden Threshold." In the book of verse, at present under review, she has more than sustained her reputation. We are of course tempted to compare her with Toru Dutt, and if we award a fuller meed of praise and recognition to Mrs. Naidu's work, we must at the same time recognise the difficulties under which the earlier writer laboured. To begin with, Toru was a pioneer: all her boldness and originality, as well as her disadvantages and inexperience are traceable to that fact. Added to it, was the pathos of her early death, which prevented her poetic powers from attaining their fullest bloom. However compared to the subtle artistry and the wonderful maturity of Sarojini's poetry, all Toru's writings seem indeed to be "the make-believe", to quote W. B. Yeats's phrase used in a different context, "of a child, who is remaking the world not always in the same way, but always after her own heart, and so, unlike most other modern writers," she makes her poetry "out of unending pictures of a happiness that is often what a child might imagine and always a happiness that sets mind and body at ease."

The happiness of Sarojini Naidu's poems is of a different kind. It is of that strange, intense variety that springs out of sheer physical suffering cheerfully borne. Outwardly calm and serene, and "all the banal things which it is so comfortable to be," Sarojini abandons herself in her poetry to a tornado of elemental passion. Like her dancing girls,—those "wild-eyed houris" whose rhythmic movements her song has caught so well,—she seems to live in her poetry in a perfect "agony of sensation", leaping from moment to moment in fitful spasms of passionate life, and drinking deep rich draughts of day-light, love and joy. We do not think that in the whole range of Indian literature there is anything that reveals to a greater or truer extent than portions of "The Golden Threshold," the enormous emotional potentialities of the Oriental woman.

In "The Bird of Time" however, we find this shrill

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ecstasy of life subdued to a graver key. Through the passage of years between the publication of these two volumes of verse, there has already crept into her radiant being some troubled note of questioning and even of resignation :

"Shall hope prevail where clamorous hate is rife.
Shall sweet love prosper or high dreams find place
Amid the tumult of reverberent strife
'Twixt ancient creeds, 'twixt race and ancient race,
That mars the grave, glad purposes of life,
Leaving no refuge, save thy succouring face ?"

But happily this mood is only transitory, for presently it is conquered ; and we find the collection of poems under review closing fittingly with a symphony of exultation in a triumphant challenge to Fate :

"You may usurp the kingdoms of my hearing...
Say, shall my scatheless spirit cease to hear
The bridal rapture of the blowing valleys,
The lyric pageant of the passing year,
The sounding odes and surging harmonies
Of battling tempests and unconquered seas ?"

But the chief reason why Sarojini Naidu is greater than Toru Dutt lies in that which constitutes the enduring worth of her poems. Toru Dutt, even in her ballads, lived in a world not wholly real, nor even Eastern, but one which she recreated for herself partly by her own imaginative interpretation of the legends of her people, and to a greater extent perhaps, by her absorbing study of French and English poetry. Sarojini Naidu's genius, on the other hand, is wholly native. It belongs to India : it is rooted with the fruitage of her labouring earth and deeply attuned to the pulsing ideals, the immemorial harmonies, of her age-long story. Mr. Edmund Gosse tells us in his Introduction how Mrs. Naidu's earliest poetical efforts were a mere "rechauffe of Anglo-Saxon sentiment", and how he suggested to her that she should give to the world "some revelation of the heart of India, some sincere penetrating analysis of native passion, of the principles of antique religion and of such mysterious intimations as stirred the soul of the East, long before the West had begun to dream that it had a soul." The gratitude not only of the authoress herself, but also of the entire world of Indian letters is due to Mr. Gosse for showing her "the way to the golden threshold." In this regard also, "The Bird of Time" represents an advance on the earlier production. It must be remembered that when "The Golden Threshold" was first written, Sarojini Naidu had come in contact, and in inevitable intellectual sympathy with the Decadents of modern European poetry. She could not help having, therefore, though ever so slightly, something of their

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thinness, their filmy unsubstantiality of sentiment. In other words, she shared with them in what one of them called "a neurasthenic ragtime." In "The Bird of Time", however, she appears to have completely outgrown their influence. But the earlier training was useful to her in this that it gave her that artistic finish and that wonderful command of language with which she could approach with such success "the task of interpretation from inside the magic circle." In such poems as 'the Songs of my City', 'Slumber-song to Sunalini,' 'Vasant Panchami.' 'A love song from the North', 'Song of Radha the Milk-maid', she attains a music at once weird and bizarre, to which no known laws of Western sonance are applicable.

In her "Festival of Serpents", one of the most weirdly beautiful poems in the whole collection, Mrs. Naidu entirely dissociates herself from Western forms of imagery and links her Muse to the magic incantations of some primitive ritual. She takes the raw material of Nature-worship and over it all she throws a luminous haze of symbolism, which gives to her poem a weird, unearthly beauty. How remote from the Western world of the apparent and the commonplace, how strange must have been the intimations that stirred within her soul, leading her imagination to idealise these serpents, and seek them in their chosen temples in caves and sheltering sand hills.

"Swift are ye as streams and soundless as the dewfall,
Subtle as the lightning and splendid as the sun;
Seers are ye and symbols of the ancient silence,
Where life and death and sorrow and ecstasy are one."

If any doubt arose after the perusal of "The Golden Threshold" as to her rank in contemporary Indian literature, the publication of "The Bird of Time" at once places Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in the very forefront as a representative and significant figure in our Indian renaissance: representative, of that marriage of Western culture with Eastern idealism, on which depends the hope for a nobler Indian nationhood; and significant, of that widespread upheaval of thought and feeling which will affect the future not only of India herself, but also of that vast Asiatic world over which she still wields her intellectual empire.

SATYA V. MUKERJEA.

The Kochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, by L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer. Published for the Government of Kochin by Higginbotham & Co., Mount Road, Madras. Large 8vo. pg. 503 (with Index) and xiii-xxiii Introduction. Neathy got up and bound in half morocco. Price Rs. 10.

It affords me great delight to record at starting that this work on Ethnology depended wholly, for its compilation and publication, upon the commendable liberality of His Highness Sir Rama Varma, Raja of Kochin, whose well printed photograph adorns the frontispiece. Mr. Iyer, to whom this work was entrusted, has executed it with considerable thoroughness. We must all be proud that a very capable Indian scholar is in the field of research, and has attained great success. The European scholars, I hope, will now cease to make it a reproach to us that we do not pursue the work of original research in our own country, and depend upon the Europeans to tell us even what our neighbourhood contains. I am personally very much interested in this branch of the learned author's research, it is no doubt quite natural for me to have admiration and enthusiasm for him and his success. But that the book is bound to be interesting to the general readers, can be asserted with some degree of certainty, since the author has narrated in an attractive manner the manners and customs of many tribes, regarding whom we entertain much curiosity, and know very little.

Our curiosity regarding the Nayars and the Nambuthiri Brahmans is very great, owing to their peculiar social customs. We can not only satisfy this curiosity in this book, but learn a good deal regarding all the high caste people of the Malabar country as well. This book will have the good effect of removing from many minds the wrong popular notions regarding the Nayars and their neighbours. The book is a valuable asset in the hands of the sociologists. Eighty full-page illustrations in the book have made the work highly valuable, as the readers can exactly see what the men and women of the people described in the book are like.

We learn in the introduction, written by the eminent anthropologist Mr. Haddon that in the first volume of this work the author has given a descriptive account of the hill and jungle tribes inhabiting the Cochin State. As we have not seen this first volume, we cannot say whether the gaps left by Mr. Edgar Thurston in his otherwise praiseworthy ethnographic work of seven volumes, have been successfully filled up by Mr. Iyer in that portion of his work; but I have no hesitation to record that the present volume deals with all the high caste people residing not only in the Kochin State, but in the whole of the country of Malabar as well, in a masterly way.

The present peaceful existence of the Nayars has brought about such a change in their physical aspect that it is difficult to believe by looking at them that they were once a warlike race; but it gives us some solace that the evidence of the European military men regarding their fighting capacity has not been obliterated. The author has unearthed the remarks of the early Europeans, which will show that the people who are now considered unfit to be taken into military service, once excited the admiration of the European soldiers. Col. Wilkes' remarks that they are not exceeded by any nation on earth in their high spirit of independence and fighting capacity, will be read perhaps by the Nayar boys now-a-days at school with a sceptical mind; to remind the present generation of the military valour their ancestors once exhibited, is perhaps to make them feel ashamed of themselves.

The people of Bengal, nay even the Tamil-speaking people of the Eastern coast, have wild ideas regarding the marriage customs and the social purity of the Nayars. I am delighted to find my own opinion confirmed by Mr. Iyer that the Nayar homes nurture purity in spite of the non-rigidity of the *sambandham* system. I was myself very much struck with the cleanly habits of the Nayars when I visited them; the author informs us that 400 years ago a Portuguese traveller remarked regarding the Nayar houses as being "scrupulously clean and neat." The readers will be assured that impurity is not nurtured in these clean houses. The reason why the Malabar Marriage Act has not become popular, has been very forcibly and clearly given by the author. I fully believe that if left to themselves, the Nayars will work out their

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own social salvation and that they do not require any Government interference in their private social affairs.

If the account the author has given of the Jews, of the early Christians and of the Jonakan Mappillas be all that is now available, we must be satisfied with it, however meagre or unsatisfactory it may appear to us. The illustration in the book of the Romo-Syrian Bishops facing page 456 makes us curious, if they are wholly of Indian origin. If so, those Bishops represent the type of very high caste people of India

Mr. Iyer will excuse me for the remark that his research regarding the origin of the Dravidian people does not appear to be careful. He has not hasitated to accept the view of some ethnologists that the Dravidians may have some sort of Mongolic origin. If we leave out of account the influence of Mongolians on some Dravidian tribes in modern times, it may be successfully shown that the Mongolians and the Dravidians do not bear any points of resemblance in their physical types. The Dravidians are not brachycephalic like the Mongolians, their full and round eyes cannot be connected with the eyes having narrow sloping lids, and their cheek bones even in extreme cases do not show Mongolic prominence.

I shall refer to another fact touching a social custom. Mr. Iyer has no doubt given us a very good account of the Thiruvathira as well as other festivals. When I myself collected some account of the Thiruvathira festival at the time of its celebration towards the end of the month of December, one educated gentleman of the Malayalam country informed me that it is obligatory on the part of the husbands to be in the company of their wives in the evening of that festive day; and that if the husbands should neglect this duty, the wives would be at liberty to drive the husbands away and take new lovers for husbands. If this account is true, it should have been mentioned in Mr. Iyer's work, for the importance of it in sociological study is very great.

The problem regarding the origin of the Nambuthiri Brahmans may remain unsolved for want of proper materials, but judging by their social customs it appears that they were once military men, and performed the functions of a ruling caste rather than those of Brahman priests. I collected this information in 1905 at Madras that when the marriage of a Nambuthiri Brahman is celebrated the bride-groom and the bride are required to catch fish in a toy-net. The truth of this report remains to be confirmed. I mention it, not with a view to support the theory that the Nambuthiris are some way or other connected with the fishing people of pre-historic Malabar, but to emphasise that this custom of some significance should have found a place in this important book. It has caused us much anxiety to learn that the very fine-looking Nambuthiri people are dying out. The reasons the author has given for this decrease in population, may be very correct; but it may also be mentioned that individuated elect castes are bound to die out, because of their special exclusiveness. The Nambuthiri Brahmans are very conservative in their ideas, and do not take advantage of the liberalising influence of modern education. If they do not mend matters, they are sure to lose much of their influence with the progressive Nayars.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

Science of History and the Hope of Mankind, by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., London and Calcutta. Small 8vo., pp. 76. Cloth, gilt letters. Price not mentioned.

The printing and binding of this book is very attractive.

It is singularly striking that the author has in the narrow compass of his book stated some important teachings of history with considerable lucidity and precision. The author has surveyed, as it is stated in the preface, the phenomena of civilization according to the philosophico-comparative method, and has pointed out very ably "the laws of generalisations that may be deduced out of the facts of universal history." The statement of the author that "history has to be put on the same level with physics and other natural sciences, so that predictions may be possible in the social world as in the physical," will meet with the approval of all scientific men. The recapitulation of the whole subject in section VIII shows that Prof. Sarkar is master of his subject. The optimistic view of the future given in section X or the last section of the book will bring cheer to many hearts. We recommend this excellent little book to all students of history.

A Primer of Hinduism, by J. N. Farquhar, M. A. Published by the Oxford University Press, London. 8vo., pp. 222 (with Bibliography and Index). Cloth. Price 2s. 6d. net.

All that can be said ungrudgingly of the attractive side of this work is that it is very neatly bound in cloth and well printed, and contains 49 beautifully printed illustrations. It is singularly striking that the learned author, who has a reputation for his scholarship and who on account of his long connection with the Y. M. C. A. has had good opportunity to study us and our society, has failed not only to get a correct view of the old systems of thought which contributed to the growth of the religious institutions of India, but has also failed to understand properly and represent faithfully what Hinduism is to-day. The author is very right in his remark that Hinduism cannot be understood, unless it be studied historically. With a view to this sort of study, the author has devoted 13 chapters out of 17 chapters of the book to the historical study of the growth of the Hindu society. It is not on account of their scrappiness alone that these preparatory chapters abound in serious inaccuracies and misstatements of facts; it appears that the author has not studied the old records with an unbiassed critical spirit.

I must readily admit that in a *Primer* like this one should not make any statement with an uncertain sound; for, that would make the work unattractive to young minds. It is at the same time desirable that one dogmatic view of a doubtful and disputed fact should not be set forth to mislead the young learners. There are now many amongst European scholars who are inclined to believe that the art of writing was known in India even in the Vedic times. The author not only makes an authoritative statement regarding the ignorance of the art of writing in olden days, but has unhesitatingly given his young readers to learn the worn-out opinion of some European scholars that the Indian sailors carried home along

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with other goods the art of writing from Babylonia for introduction into India.

Whatever be the value of the Aryan origin of many nations, the author had better selected some other words than "flamen" and "Brahman" to show original unity between Latin and Sanskrit languages. The example "flamen" has no doubt been adduced by some scholar in their uncommon philological audacity, but the author is not happy in the selection of it for his *Primer*. The rash statement that the Vedic seers "practised the exposure of girl children and old people," is not worthy of a scholar.

The author is at liberty to accept the antiquated view of the origin and growth of the human family but I do not know what is his authority for the statement that marriage as an institution obtained in society because of a man's need for a son to perform ancestor worship. The complete sentence of the author runs as follows—"Marriage became universal; for every man wanted a son to take over the worship of the ancestor at his death." No, to speak of the almost universally accepted view of the origin of marriage as propounded by Prof. Westermarck, even the old views as summarised in the popular work of Monsieur Letourneau do not support the statement. Perhaps the author has made this assertion owing to some misconception of what Dr. Frazer has stated in connection with the functions of a son.

There is an astounding statement in the book regarding the conception of Brahman in the Upanishads. The author says that according to the Upanishads, the Brahman is Consciousness, Reality and Joy, and He is incomprehensible. But in the opinion of the author, "there is *one fatal omission* in this conception. Brahman is not conceived as *holy*: we are nowhere told that Brahman is righteousness. The fact is that the theory of the Atman is simply a very lofty philosophic presentation of the ancient *pagan conception* of God. Consequently, the Vedanta philosophy has never been to India what the teaching of the prophets was to Israel. *Hinduism remains from first to last crippled*, because the idea of God *was never moralised*." I have quoted here one entire paragraph from the book italicising some words with a special purpose in view.

I cannot easily explain how the author could ignore the attributes शुद्ध and अपापविद्ध predicated of Brahman in the 8th stanza of the ईशोपनिषत्. It may be said that the author left this book out of consideration, for according to his idea ईशा did not come into existence as early as 480 B.C. But as according to the author's own chronological table this Upanishad flourished some time between 400 to 200 B.C., there was nothing to prevent him from modifying his opinion regarding the *pagan conception* of God. Moreover, as the last sentence of the author is to the effect that Hinduism has failed to evoke high moral sentiments on account of God being *never conceived as holy*, the omission on the part of the author to refer to ईशोपनिषत् is fatal.

Even with a reference to the very Upanishads which the author has conveniently taken up to generalise the *pagan conception* of God, I can conclusively show that holiness was a great element in the conception of the Brahman. It has been repeatedly asserted in the Upanishads, accepted by the author to belong to very early period, that in order to attain salvation, to be one with *Atman*, a man must be free from all sins, and be consequently holy (*e.g.*, Kena, IV, 9; Taittiriya, II, 5; Kausitaki, III, 8, etc.). If Brahman were not positively holy, if he were not Righteousness, there would not have been any need for a man to shake of पाप्मान् or to devote to साधुकर्म्म to be Brahmanlike for attaining salvation. I could show even from earlier books that the ancient *pagans* of India conceived God to be holy.

One thing, by the way, I must point out that in all old conceptions of God in this country as well as elsewhere, God was bound to be partly a good spirit and partly a Satan. The prayer "मा मा हिंसीः" in the Kausitaki or the ideal prayer in the New Testament to the effect "Lead us not into temptation" and other similar passages elsewhere, may be referred to. When we ask one person *not to do a thing*, it directly implies that the person is in the habit of doing such a thing. When we say, "Do not lead us into temptation," we ask for special clemency to avoid the usual disaster. The Old Testament abounds in examples where God in response to prayer kills men and extirpates nations as the enemies of his own self and his people. The New Testament also is not free from this idea of a jealous God. The reason for this sort of conception of the unadvanced times can be partly obtained, if disinterested anthropological study is pursued in respect of religious institutions of the world.

It is not possible to refer to all the inaccuracies and misstatements in the book. To avoid misunderstanding, I must say that personally speaking I do neither favour idolatry, nor do I accept the Hindu Sastras or any other Scripture of any country as revealed or infallible. Whatever one's personal views may be about religion, in historical criticism no one is justified to show any bias either in favour of or against any system. It is of no concern to me, whether the old ideas are good, bad or indifferent; in our historical criticism we have to see things as they are, no matter what the consequences will be.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

Experimental Investigations on the Maintenance of Vibrations, by C. V. Raman, M. A. Calcutta. Printed for, and published by, the India Association for the Cultivation of Science.

This is an account of some very pretty and interesting experiments on the vibrations of strings. The theoretical explanations are also given, but these we must pass over since they involve mathematical calculations. The first experiment is a modification of one due to Melde. By a simple but ingenious device, a string is given in perpendicular planes, vibrations whose frequencies are in the ratio of one to two. With a certain difference of phase dependent on the tension of the string, each point of the string will describe a portion of a parabola. Mr. Raman next examines under intermittent illumination by means of a stroboscopic disc the motion of the nodes of a vibrating string. It is shewn that they travel along the string over a distance equal to the whole length of a loop. In the following sections the cases are discussed in which the period of the force is one, two, three, four, times that of the half of the system. The vibration curves of the string and the tuning fork are placed side by side

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and some very pretty figures are given in the accompanying plates. The experimental device by which they are obtained is very ingenious, but for this we must refer the reader to the original bulletin. The photographs in Plate XII of short sections of the string with the middle point brilliantly illuminated deserve particular notice.

Mr. Raman may be congratulated on a good piece of experminental work.

H. C.

HINDI.

1. *Mahanand Gouri Bodhini (Upper Primary General Reader). Crown 8vo. pp. 118. Price As. 5.*
2. *Mahanand Sutaprabodh(Preparatory Reader). Crown 8vo. pp. 87. Price As. 3¾.*
3. *Mahanand Balabodhini (Lower Primary Reader. Crown 8vo. pp. 84. Price As. 4.*
4. *Mahanand Vidyankur (Lower Primary Girls' Reader for class I). Crown 8vo. pp. 75. Price As. 4.*

By Lala Mahanand, Offg. Dy. Inspector of Schools, Allahabad, and to be had of Master Lokanand & Co., Katra, Allahabad.

These little books are nicely adapted to the needs of girls of different standards and ages. Being written by an officer in the Educational Department, the modern methods of teaching have been carefully kept in view. In Sutaprabodh, the Kindergarten System of training has been laid under contribution, and the very elementary principles of Arithmetic, Science, etc., have been sought to be taught according to this system. The "Direct Method" of teaching is much in vogue in Europe and even in some parts of India in teaching languages. Efforts have been made in the above book to introduce this method in the girls' schools. Much useful information and many valuable instructions specially suited to girls are to be found in each of the above four books. Domestic economy has been taught in an interesting and attractive manner. The books have many new features and will be welcome in educational circles. Object lessons constitute a principal part of the books and they have been handled in such a way as to both train the faculties and to give necessary information. Certain medicines for accidents have been given and novel methods of doing things pointed out. The language is generally pure and correct, but we would very much like the re-casting of the language of certain poems. As for instance, the first line of the three *chaupais* on page 23 of Balavodhani is not well-worded. सिखइ is a word of Brajbhasha, while जिससे is one of Khariboli. Similarly करिहो and रहिग्रो (p. 77, lines 9 and 10) do not rhyme together. However, such occasional mistakes do not interfere with the unquestionable utility of the books: the girls are not trained in the primary schools for being poets. We would only say that their removal will improve the tone of the books.

Manushya ke Adhikar, by Mr. Satyadeva. Printed at the Kaishava Press, Benares and published by the Manager, Satyagranthamala Office, Benares City. Crown 8vo. pp. 120+6. Price As. 8.

This book treats of the rights of men and may be considered a reminiscence of the author's life in America. The author speaks of the rights of labourers who are kept downpressed by capitalists. He goes back to the origin of human society and gives a philosophical description of the stages through which it has passed and its exact state at present. Coming to the Indian conditions he attacks the philosophical, introspective and passive attitude of the Indians, pointing out the necessity of practical action. An idea of the contents of the book can be had by naming the different subjects which it deals with. These are :—(1) Man is independent in action, (2) Rights over one's earnings, (3) Protection of these rights, (4) Equality of rights, (5) Independence of speech, (6) Independence in religion, (7) Right in administration. The author thinks that everybody should be allowed to follow his own religious principles, as no two persons' views can be exactly similar; and he is of opinion that the social organisation can in no way suffer by this arrangement. Consideration to the honest and industrious labourer is emphasised in many places, and the author is very jealous in his strictures against those who are idle but still take away the wealth produced by labourers. The book is a novel one of its kind and the author inclines in many places towards socialism in its innocent and law-abiding aspect. The language is simple, as usual. The word गाँव has been mistakenly written as गाँओ in all the places we have seen it (*vide* pp. 42, 91). There are some printing mistakes here and there (*e.g.*, देष p. 35, l. 18; नहँा p. 47, l. 15).

Shree-raghava-git, by Pandit Prayag Narayan Misra. To be had of Chowdhry Visvanath Misra, Daulatganj, Lucknow. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. pp. 89. Price As. 5.

We reviewed the first edition of this book in the November, 1911 issue of this journal and we are glad to see that it has now passed its second edition. Some additions have been made this time and the book has been printed on thicker paper. The style of the poems is excellent. Uncommon words have been explained in the footnote. In this *second* edition there should have been no printing errors.

Ekta Darshan, by Hari Das Khandelval of Katni Murwara (C. P.). Printed at the Modern Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 85. Price not mentioned.

The aim of this book has been to show that there is an underlying principle of unity in all things which can be either thought of or perceived—mind and matter, soul and God. Monoism has been inculcated off and on and it has been shown that we do but give different names to different things. The difference between God and soul has been spoken of as similar to that between the sun and sunlight. Though examples and principles have been borrowed from other books, the book has the merit of being written on original lines. These are not merely recitations of ancient texts with their elucidation. Chapters have been devoted to showing the practical necessity of religion and worship of God, the theoretical aspects dealing with Kanchi Subjects have also dealt with. *Moksha*

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has been described as the suppression of all desires and the author thinks that one can have *moksha* in one's earthly life. Metaphysical notice has been given to word, the Starry Atmosphere, the Universe, Time, Creation, the object being to show that one principle pervades all of these. The language is correct and sublime and the different subjects have been handled in a fairly interesting manner.

Padyapravandha Part I, by Babu Maithili Sharan Gupta. To be had of Babu Ramkishore Gupta, Chirganva, Jhansi. Crown 8vo. pp. 153. Price As. 8.

We reviewed this book in our journal in June, 1912. The poems in the book are undoubtedly of a high order and we may repeat that the author deserves every encouragement. The author is well-known in Hindi literary circles as a writer of poems on modern lines.

Vir Horatius, by B. Raghunath Prasad Karpur of Hathras. To be had of the Manager, C. B. Mandli, No. 10, Hathras (E. I. Ry.). Demy 8vo. pp. 17. Price As. 1.

This is a reproduction in poetical form of the sense of Macaulay's Horatius. The style of the poetry is fair, though not of a high order. However, the efforts of the poet to give the Hindi reading public a taste of one of the sublime poems of Macaulay, are praiseworthy. The language is generally correct and pure, the poem being written in Khariboli. कीया (p. 5, l. 23) should be किया and मानहु (p. 6, l. 4) will be मानों in the dialect in which the poetry has been written. The poem is an interesting reading.

Hindi-Urdu.

Bhinna (Kasr) kai Pahari Sikhane ki Sugam Riti (Ka sahal tariqa), by Lala Mahanand, Dy. Inspector of Schools, Allahabad. To be had of Manager, Messrs Lokanand & Co., C/o Pandit Saligram, Mukhtar, Katra, Allahabad. Demy 8vo. pp. 8 + 8. Price one anna.

The multiplication of the commonest fractional figures has been taught in this book in an intelligent and instructive manner, the method being borrowed from the English treatises on the art of teaching arithmetic and the help of concrete objects being taken. The book is sub-divided into two parts, one being written in Hindi and another in Urdu. It will be found useful by the teachers in primary schools.

M. S.

Art.

Indian Drawings: second series (chiefly Rajput), by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Price 25 shillings.

We accord a hearty welcome to Dr. Coomaraswamy's second series of *Indian Drawings* published for the India Society of London. Very few have followed the recent researches of the author in his quest for an apprehension of the Indian mind as revealed in the Indian aesthetic script quite as legible, articulate and coherent as the Indian literary records. To many of us, therefore, they will come as a revelation and a pleasant surprise. The classic periods of Indian sculpture and paintings have been fairly outlined by Mr. Havell, but it was reserved for our author to discover the existence of that very interesting later Indian school,—the Rajput group—a subject which by his accurate scholarship and consummate connoisseurship he has made his own. A drawing has been very well said to be 'the autobiography of the finished picture'—, the picture in its nascent state. In this sense drawings, such as these, have an artistic flavour of their own quite different from the completed performance. Yet apart from this peculiar aesthetic quality the beautiful series of drawings reproduced in this volume have furnished valuable data for the historical student of Indian art to fix the points of development of the different phases of later Indian paintings and to understand how they have acted and re-acted upon each other. In their technique and style the drawings afford important clues for differentiating in three distinct well-characterized groups (Rajput, Pahari and Mogul) the mass of Indian miniature paintings executed between the fourteenth and the nineteenth centuries which have been hitherto labelled indiscriminately as Indo-Persian. The Rajput and the Pahari schools of northern India (till now represented by the Kangra valley pictures) were erroneously taken as the provincial development of the pseudo-Mogul schools associated with the artists patronized by the Mogul Courts, and therefore derived from the Persian art imparted from Bokhara and Samarkand. Although they show now and then Persian or Mogul influence, the Rajput paintings are quite vernacular in their feeling and are very far remote in their temper and subject-matter from the Mogul schools. They are akin rather to the art of Ajanta and the minor temple cartoons, specimens of which we find now and then in various parts of India. The actual connecting links between this style and the older Buddhist art are unfortunately missing. The two cartoons of Radha lent by Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi at the last exhibition of the Sahitya Parisad are only a few of the examples of the earlier styles more directly connected with the old fresco paintings. It is apparent, however, that although based on the indigenous tradition, the Rajput school was quickened into activity and developed a synthetic style primarily under the influence, and later as a rival, of the contemporary Mogul art of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. It survived in the later centuries almost unaffected by the Mussalman influence. The beautiful portrait of a young prince reproduced in plate v shews that the best traditions of the earlier Rajput School continued as late as the nineteenth century. The four cartoons from Jaipur representing the Dance of Radha and Krishna are perhaps the finest examples and in their naive and intense power of expression rival the best drawings of the old Italian masters. Indeed some of the drawings in their beautiful architectural setting as in plates viii, ix and x are strangely reminiscent of Giotto and Fra Angelico. The quality of brush work in these drawings is very charming in its swift and spontaneous grace. They have a character quite distinct from the Persian and Chinese calligraphic flourishes which govern the Mogul miniatures. It corresponds rather to the 'reduced frescoe' style of the old line drawings of Ajanta, traces of which occur in some of the colour drawings of Orissa. The

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Pahari drawings from the Himalayan valley are rather a provincial phase of the original Rajasthani traditions and only assume importance with reference to the work of Kangra. The Himalayan school has survived up to a very late period in the works of Molaram (1760—1833) some of which have been published in the pages of this Review. Another interesting phase of the Rajput paintings which the author has noticed, is the art of designing in paper stencils still current in Mathura, Jaipur and Delhi. The examples given in the book ought to suggest to our illustrators of books the immense possibilities of these decorative designs.

Taken as a whole these remarkable series of drawings reveal a wonderful form-language, a sort of a *prakrita* dialect in which northern India has recorded its culture-history. Some of them, deeply tinged as they are with mediæval Vaishnavism, afford a sort of an aesthetic commentary on the Bhagavat literature. As the author has enthusiastically put it, "no study of the cult of the Bhagavat can be considered complete which does not take into account the Radha Krishna drawings." The reproductions inserted in the book (26 in number) have been very carefully executed and fairly preserve the delicacy of the originals. Publications such as these should enhance interest in the study of Indian art which has hardly become popular with educated Indians.

Visva Karma: examples of Indian Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Handicraft, chosen by A. K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc., Part I, Price 2s-6d (Rs. 2). Luzac & Co.

Under a very alluring title the author has put together a series of twelve plates illustrating some of the best examples of Indian Sculpture. Some of them have already appeared in his *Selected Examples of Indian Art*. The two torsos from Sarnath are published for the first time and suggest very interesting comparison with the two fragments of Buddhist Sculpture from Sanchi published in the *Eleven plates* issued by the India Society. The reproductions are in collotype and ought to be popular in their cheap form. The costly reproductions issued in the recent publications on Indian Art have rather prevented a wide circulation, and we appreciate the attempt of the author to popularise the claims of Indian Art by bringing good reproductions of the best examples within the reach of the many. These plates ought to be in the libraries of all Indian Schools and Colleges. A short descriptive letter-press attached to each plate would have enhanced the utility of the publication.

Copies of both these publications can be obtained from the Secretary, Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.

Visva Karma Part II. Examples of Indian Architecture Sculpture, &c., chosen by A. K. Coomaraswamy D. Sc.

In this part we are glad to find many examples of Sculpture never before published. The old art of India has not yet yielded up all its treasures, and although the search has been begun quite recently the masterpieces published up till now have presented Indian art in a quite new light. In the collection of plates before us one cannot but be struck with the infinite variety and the comprehensive range of Indian sculpture. The force and vitality of the South Indian bronzes (plates 28 to 31) claim our attention as much as the beauty of the idealised female forms in the Orissan Sculptures (plates 55 and 56). They ought to open the eyes of those who still believe that Indian Sculpture is represented, at its best, by the Greco-Buddhist statues from Gandhara. Of Dravidian stone sculpture two examples have been reproduced (plates 32 and 58); the figure of Virateswar is charming in its many novel qualities. It rather corresponds to the *Dhyana* of the *Gajhamurti* of Siva and a note on the iconography of Virateswar would have been useful. The female bust from Gwalior (plate 57) has also given us a surprise: in its dignity and repose it recalls some of the Egyptian Sculptures. We are unable however to accept the metal portraits from North Arcot (plate 59) as anything like representative examples of all that is best in South Indian bronzes. In their stiff forms they compare very poorly with the Tanjore *Gangadhar* (plate 28) in the exquisite balance of the figure technically known as the *Sama Bhanga* pose.

O. C. G.

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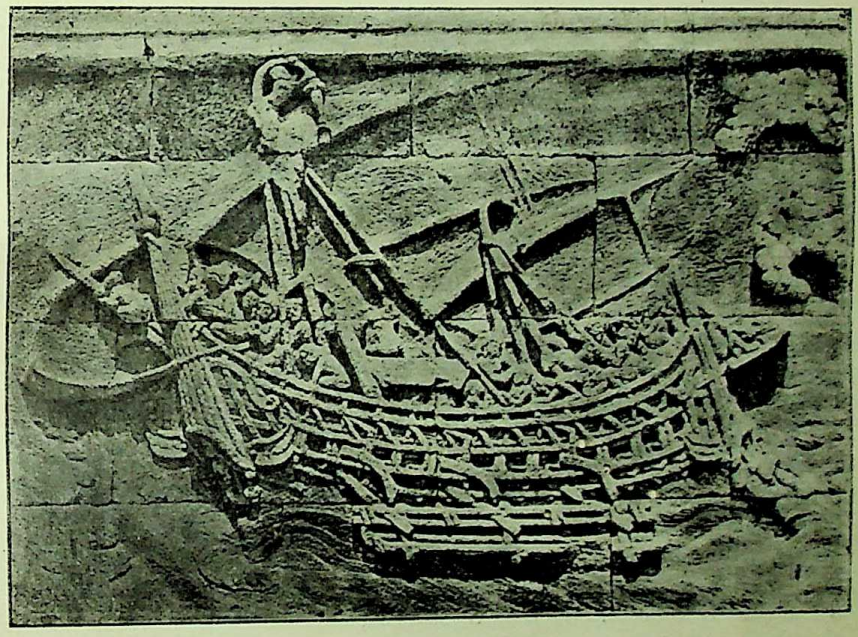
SELECT OPINIONS
ON
A HISTORY OF INDIAN SHIPPING
AND
MARITIME ACTIVITY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES: A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF INDIAN HISTORY

BY

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A.

Premchand Roychand Scholar, Calcutta University, Hem Chandra Basu Mallik Professor of Indian History in the National Council of Education, Bengal.

Reduced Facsimile of Frontispiece.



INDIAN ADVENTURERS SAILING OUT TO COLONIZE JAVA.
(Reproduced from the Sculptures at Borobudur)

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
8, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY
303, BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA
LONDON AND NEW YORK.

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THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL

GOVERNMENT HOUSE.
DARJEELING.

22 June 1912

Dear Sir,

I have been very busy and was not able to read your book "A history of Indian shipping & maritime activity from the earliest times"; as soon after you kindly sent it to me as I should have liked to do: even now I have not been able to read it with care; I have only hurriedly skimmed through it. I hope however to refer to it from time to time, & I am sure I shall do so with advantage to myself. I am very grateful to

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you for sending it to me. I hope the reception which the book has met with from the public comes up to your expectations. Possibly a book like ~~that~~ yours ought not be expected to bring in much revenue to its author; but if that is so in this case, I can only hope that you gain pleasure from the thought that in writing it you were doing a praiseworthy action; for I feel sure there must be many in India - as there certainly are outside of it - who recognise that any one who carefully investigates the original materials & puts them before his fellow countrymen [illegible] in a way to enable them to understand any branch of their history is doing good

yrs truly
Cunningham

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2. Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA.
The 31st May, 1912.

Dear Sir,

I am to acknowledge with His Excellency's best thanks the copy of your book entitled 'A history of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity of the earliest times' which you have been good enough to send for his acceptance.

The Viceroy authorises me to say that he is pleased with the book.

Yours truly,
J. H. DU BOULAY
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

---

3. The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, K. C. S. I.

Education Member, Government of India.

SIMLA,
The 5th August, 1912.

Dear Sir,

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your book which I shall read with much interest. I am glad to see that His Excellency the Governor has approved of your work.

Yours truly,
HARCOURT BUTLER

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE,
26, Sukea Street,
CALCUTTA.

---

4. The Hon'ble Mr. R. Nathan, C. S. I., I. C. S.

President, Dacca University Committee.

DACCA,
The 5th August, 1912.

Dear Sir,

I thank you very much for your kindness in sending me a copy of your book on Indian Shipping. I do not doubt but that from what I have already heard of your work I shall derive great pleasure from reading it. The excellent illustrations are most interesting.....

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE,
26, Sukea Street,
CALCUTTA.

I am,
Yours truly,
R. NATHAN

---

5. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired)

Deputy Reader in Indian History, University of Oxford.

116 Banbury Road,
Oxford 7-6-12.

My dear Sir,

You will I trust pardon my delay in acknowledging the receipt of your valued gift—the "*History of Indian Shipping.*" The book is so sumptuously produced and so full of novel matter that it is a possession which deserves to be treasured. The delay in writing has been due to the fact that I was for a time in bad health and had to lay aside all work not of an urgent nature.

The information collected from ancient Sanskrit works to a large extent in MS. is especially novel and valuable. The illustrations which you have brought together with so much labour are a history in themselves.

I note as particularly interesting the reference to the Indian compass.

If I live to bring out a third edition of my *Early History*, I shall not fail to make use of the new material supplied by you.

Every authority on the subject has been ransacked and I cannot suggest any omissions.

But I fear that there is little prospect of renewal of Indian ship-building on any considerable scale. The old wooden ships are gone for ever and the economic conditions of India are not favourable to the creation of the business of building steel steamers.

However that may be, you have done good service by placing on record in scholarly fashion a full account of India's old world achievements in the shipping line.

Again thanking you,
I remain,
Yours very truly
VINCENT A. SMITH

---

6. Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, M. A., Ph. D. C. I. E.

8, North Moor Road.
Oxford, 16th May, 1912.

Dear Sir,

Pray accept my very cordial thanks for your kindness in presenting me with a copy of your "History of Indian Shipping."

I have just run through it with a lively interest, but must reserve it for a more close study at a time when my present pre-occupations afford me sufficient leisure. But I will not delay offering you my congratulations on the accomplishment of a task, which exhibits so well the wide sweep of your reading, and the industry with which you have collected such a numerous body of facts bearing on the subject of Indian Shipping. It is a very creditable performance which will afford invaluable assistance to any student who may wish to pursue further research into that most interesting subject.

I am dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
A. F. Rudolf Hoernle

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7. Dr. F. V. Engelenburg.

ON BOARD "FELDMARSCHALL"

Dear Sir, 12 JULY, 1912.

Permit me to give expression to the great appreciation and interest with which I read your "History of Indian Shipping and Maritime activity," especially the part of your book which deals with the earliest history of India. By this mail I took the liberty to forward to your address a recent bulletin of the *S. A. Journal of Science* containing an article on the origin of prehistoric culture connected with a group of ruins in Rhodesia. The writer of the article—see page 335 of the bulletin—suggests that the prehistoric gold industry in Rhodesia shows the existence of methods similar to those followed in the ancient gold mines of Northern Mysore and thinks it probable that one thousand years B. C. Arab traders worked the Rhodesia mines with Indian miners, always "occupying subsidiary positions." According to your book, however, mention is made in Old Indian Literature of an *over sea* "Gold country" or "Golden Land" with which merchants of India's west coast (Bharukaccha) entertained relations—pages 76, 77 and 89 of your "History"—and on page 74 you state how the Banias of *Western India* undertook trading voyages much earlier than the sixth century B. C. On page 84 you drew attention to the continuous flow of gold into India; and the writer of the above-mentioned bulletin estimates the amount of gold, exported from ancient Rhodesia, at anything between 75 and 150 millions of P. st. Amongst the articles exported by India, gold and ivory are included; these may have originally been collected in South-east Africa. The presence in Rhodesia of the traces of ancient Indian settlements—exotic Indian vegetation—and of Mysore gold mining methods, opens a new vista for the historian; and it may be worth while for those at home in old Indian Literature to carefully study the sources under the Rhodesian aspect and to revise the accepted nomenclature of ancient lands and towns with a view to their possible application to Indian settlements in East and South-East Africa.

Prehistoric Rhodesia has only recently entered the field of scientific research; and as I take some interest in the matter and highly value the merits of your "History" I venture to draw your kind and—I hope sympathetic—attention to the existence of Indo-African relations as far back as ten centuries B. C. In case you should happen to throw some light on this part of our South African History, I trust you will be good enough to communicate the result to—

Yours faithfully,
F. V. ENGELENBURG
Editor, "De Volkstem"
Box. 389, Pretoria, Transvaal.

8. Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, A. M.

My dear Sir,

It was with very keen interest that I saw a recent review of your *History of Indian Shipping* in the London *Spectator* and immediately sent for a copy through Longmans, Green and Company My interest in it was in no way diminished when the beautiful volume was received. I congratulate you most heartily on the thoroughness with which you have assembled the Hindu evidences as to early sea-trade, as well as the many and useful illustrations which accompany the text. I wish that I might have known of your work a couple of years earlier at a time when I was completing a revision of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, which was issued by the same publishers, and of which I have asked them to forward you a copy.

It is singular, in reading your book, to see how many are the points of contact between your work and mine, and how closely we are in agreement on almost every question of that early trade. I am only sorry that I did not know of your book in time to give it in mine, the attention which it should have had, including some of the important information which you recite as to Tamil history from works which I do not believe exist in this country.

I was also gratified, and I may say much surprised, to see copied in your book, the label of a model made under my supervision of the Hindu ship shown on the Boroboeder frieze. It is a singular example of the distance to which one's ideas may travel when made public in any form, and as a matter of personal interest only, I should be very glad to learn in what way you happened to learn of the existence of that model. I enclose a small photograph of it and should be glad to have your opinion as to how far my model is a correct reproduction of the relief. We went into the matter with considerable care, but some of the details I confess, seemed uncertain.

I am pleased to see that you feel so positive of the ancient Hindu writings concerning the early sea-trade. The tendency has been so strong on the part of certain critics to prove that these writings as they now exist are developed and expanded beyond their original form, that I think that much really valuable historical information is unnecessarily lost. Then too, the positive references to Indian trade in Egyptian inscriptions and the Hebrew scriptures, each corroborating the other, indicate that it was no accidental adventure but a well-developed commerce long before 1000 B. C.

I should be very pleased to hear from you and remain, with high regard, Yours sincerely,

The Commercial Museum
Philadelphia,
August 2, 1912.

WILFRED H. SCHOFF
Secretary.

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PRESS OPINIONS.

1. The Shipping World.

INDIA AS A MARITIME POWER.*

Two things must at once arrest the attention of every English reader of this history of Indian Shipping. First the fact that its author is a native of India, one of the erudite scholars of his wonderful country; Secondly, the distinctive national note that we become conscious of when turning over the pages of this contribution to our knowledge of shipping in bygone days. We do not mention these characteristics of the book to criticise or disparage them in any way. On the contrary, we welcome them. As an Indian Professor Mookerji is better equipped in this particular field of original research than any European can hope to be, while, of course, he writes with understanding and also with sympathy. These are valuable attributes for the historian, and the author of "Indian Shipping" has used them well.

This is quite a new region for historical investigation, and Professor Mookerji is to be congratulated on his discovery and choice of subject. On a superficial view—a distinctly insular and European view, perhaps—there would appear little scope and few materials for a history of Indian Shipping apart from European Shipping. Professor Mookerji convinces us that that is altogether a mistaken idea. India, although mountain guarded and sea-girt, has been singularly susceptible to outside world movements, her vast wealth, her teeming industrious population, her spell, her mystery, have been lodestones for many a conqueror. Yet her early shipping was distinctly national and indigenous and indeed exerted an influence from Japan on the east to Africa on the west. Indian seamen constituted themselves, to borrow our own quaint phrase, the merchant adventurers of Asiatic seas, and colonising voyages of no small importance were undertaken from Indian shores to far off islands of the main. At the height of her maritime power India represented the leading nation of Asia on the high seas. She planted colonies in Pegu, in Cambodia, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo, even in distant Japan. She had trading settlements in Southern China, in the Malay Peninsula, in Arabia, in all the Chief cities of Persia, and all over the east coast of Africa. Such a wide geographical range of trading ports demonstrates the possession of a mercantile fleet of no mean order. How old some modern ideas are may be indicated when we mention that an ancient Sanskrit writer lays it down as rudimentary that no iron should be used in holding or joining together the bottom planks of sea-going vessels, because "the iron will inevitably expose them to the influence of magnetic rocks in the sea or bring them within a magnetic field and so lead them to risks." And lest we think too proudly of our European development, it might also be noted that the Emperor Chandra Gupta (321 B. C. to 297 B. C.) found shipping so important a national asset that he created and organised a Board of Admiralty, at the head of which was an official called the Superintendent of Ships. Port dues, too, were levied in these early days, and the regulations of Shipping might have been drafted less than fifty years ago. From illustrations and descriptions in Professor Mookerji's valuable treatise we gather that in general design and form early Indian Ships were similar to those known in Mediterranean seas and in Northern Europe; and Indian Ship builders appear to have escaped the retrogressive tendencies of the mediaeval builders in Europe, for the squarebox, top-heavy ships of Venice apparently found no imitators in Indian seas. As early as 1613, India under English inspiration, maintained a fleet of her own, and since 1735 Bombay has been a shipbuilding centre of considerable note. Even to day, Professor Mookerji tells us, some Indian-built vessels are to be met with in forgotten coast-wise ports of Norway, Scotland and Holland. Let us say, in conclusion, that this is a book to read from cover to cover not merely to dip into for picturesque details, such as we have been giving. It is a volume of real merit, and must have entailed upon its author much painstaking research, for which he should be, as its author, well-rewarded by many appreciative readers.

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2. The Spectator.

Professor Mookerji has rewritten in this book some forgotten pages of Indian history. Most people can scarcely believe that once ships manned by native Indians piled the deep seas and spread their commerce all over the known world. Even as late as the early part of the nineteenth century one of the most capable and original shipbuilders in the world was a Parsi at Bombay. If Indians (apart from their comparatively small coasting trade) had not abandoned navigation, as though it were something impious, they might hold a place in the development of naval architecture comparable with that of the Dutch and the British. As it is, no one thinks of connecting Indians with shipping, except perhaps when Lascars are present in ships' companies, to remind us of the long seaboard of the great peninsula. The nautical interests of India have been almost completely handed over into the safe keeping of the British conqueror.

* Indian Shipping: a history of the Seaborne trade and maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times (Longmans, London).

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Mr. Mookerji believes, no doubt correctly, that the history of the Indian maritime activity has never been treated systematically. The field is almost unexplored, and much of the evidence and the fascinating illustrations placed before us in this work will be absolutely new to most readers. Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, and Old Tamil literature have been ransacked, and the author has illuminated these researches by examining ancient pictures, coins, and monuments which illustrate Indian naval enterprise. In an introductory note Principal Brajendranath Seal says:—

"A multitude of facts of special significance also come out vividly, and in several cases, for the first time, in the author's presentation, *e. g.*, the teeming ports and harbours of India, the harbour and other maritime regulations of the Mauryan epoch, the indigenous shipbuilding craft, the Indian classification of vessels and their build, the paramount part played by indigenous Indian shipping in the expansion of Indian commerce and colonization from the shores of Africa and Madagascar to the farthest reaches of Malaysia and the Eastern Archipelago; the auxiliary character of the foreign intermediaries, whether Greek, Arabian, or Chinese; the sources of India's manufacturing supremacy for a thousand years in her advances in applied chemistry, &c."

It may be that both Mr. Mookerji and Mr. Seal exaggerate in their enthusiasm, but a glance at India on the map is in itself a kind of evidence of former naval enterprise. For one feels that the ancient civilizations which found ingress and egress through the mighty chain of mountains across the north of India must also have come into contact freely with the rest of the world by traversing the ocean. India is isolated by mountains and sea, but of the two the sea was always by far the more necessary to bridge. Indian colonies were gradually planted in Pegu, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and even in Japan.

Perhaps the most interesting evidence on Indian naval architecture which the author quotes is that of the "Yuktikalpataru," a MS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College library. This MS. gives an elaborate classification of ships, the main distinction being between vessels for river work and sea-going ships. It also gives directions for the choice of material in building and for methods of decoration. In the Buddhist cave temples of Ajanta there are numerous paintings of vessels pointed at both ends and resembling huge canoes. The author reproduces the very curious picture found at Ajanta of Vijaya landing in Ceylon, about 543 B. C. The ships were large enough to carry elephants. But of all the illustrations the most interesting are the reproductions of the sculpture at the Indian colony of Borobudar in Java. The ships crowded with the adventurous seamen who founded the colony in the seventh century A. D. are all of the same character. Stability is given by an outrigger like that of the ordinary catamaran. The spars holding the sails, which are of the lateen type, extend considerably forward of the masts, and the tacks are hauled down by tackle. Mr. Mookerji does not discuss the technicalities of the rig; yet these are, of course, more important than any literary testimony in determining the influence which caused the acquisition or evolution of Indian sail designs. The ships which colonized Java (if the sculptures were about contemporary with the events recorded) were evidently able to sail on a wind, though not anything like so closehauled as a modern ship. They were in theory and principles of management just like the lateen sailing craft which were evolved on the Nile and spread from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. Judging from the illustrations we should say that the Borobudar sculptures are extraordinarily beautiful. As for the ship coins, belonging to the second century A. D., of which illustrations are reproduced, not one of them shows a vessel with sails. But as there are signs of yards and rigging it is almost certain that these vessels also were able to do something more than merely run before the wind. Indian navigation no doubt developed *pari passu* with that of the Phœnicians, Greeks, Assyrians, and Egyptians. India exported chiefly wool, precious stones, gums, furs, musks, carpets, silk, cotton, and spices. Bengalis are not generally credited with maritime adventure, but Mr. Mookerji believes that Bengali Buddhistic missions sailed far and wide in their own ships. A recent discovery in Japan was that some of the scriptures of the Japanese priests are written in Bengali character of the eleventh Century A. D. Possibly the reader will feel that the romantic and entertaining Marco Polo has been justified once more, and that his statement is, after all, true that some Indian ships he saw were so large that they had crews of 300 men.

When we come to the modern period we recognize that ships such as the Mahrattas fought against the British were the products of a science which was deep-rooted in experience. There is nothing rudimentary about the "grabs" and "gallivats" which are shown attacking an English ship. They are fine, clean, capable-looking ships worthy of their enemy. Such sea-going experience as native Indians already had accounted a good deal for the wonderful success of the Navy supported for nearly two centuries and a half by British India. Colonel Stanhope wrote in 1827: "Never was there an instance of any ship of the Bombay Marine (as it was then called) having lowered her flag to an enemy of equal force." The docks at Bombay were equal in efficiency of design to any in the world, and the Parsi shipbuilders were actually commissioned to build for the Royal Navy

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as well as for the Indian Navy. After 1840 no more large ships were built in India, and in 1863—about four years after the East India Company's rule had been replaced by that of the Crown—the Indian Navy was abolished. We have often expressed the opinion that this navy could be and ought to be revived. We hold most strongly that it would be a valuable addition to the naval strength of the Empire; that it would make use of material which is now utterly wasted: and that it could be most easily and cheaply manned from a seaboard of more than four thousand miles.

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3. The Athenaeum.

Mookerji (Radha Kumud), Indian Shipping: a history of Sea-Borne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times, with an Introductory Note by Brajendra Nath Seal, 7/6 *net*. *Longmans*.

This historical study has been developed from a thesis into a systematic inquiry into the subject. From the scholar's point of view, the author's use of his documentary material enforces admiration by its acuteness and industry. So far as the accessories of every conscientiously written book go, the present work leaves nothing to be desired. There are many interesting plates, particularly the reproductions from the sculptures of Borobudar.

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4. The Scotsman.

Professor Mookerji's learned and valuable treatise on a little-explored chapter of the history of India is based upon a thesis written by him under the terms of a studentship in Calcutta University. It gives an account of the Maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times to the end of the Moghul period, bringing together into a compendious view the testimony not only of Indian and English travellers and historians, but also of many obscure and little-known archæological evidences. Shipping, it appears from this instructive and scientifically conceived history, is one of the national industries of India, which after having reached various perfections in twenty centuries, has now passed away. The book occupies itself by skilfully piecing together the fragmentary records of shipping and ship-building, but it finds time also to emphasise the importance of reviving the old industry if India's economic advancement is to be cared for.

5. The Manchester Guardian.

Mr. Radha Kumud Mookerji's History of Indian Shipping is an interesting study of a branch of maritime industry now much neglected. Mr. Mookerji points out that at one time India had a flourishing sea-commerce while now she has practically none; it is possible that the eloquent peroration to his book may rouse some of his countrymen to a sense of their dependence upon the energy of foreign ship-owners. He gives various most interesting illustrations (from sculptures, &c.) of early Indian ships. The very early ones seem to be of crude but very various design, showing apparently many foreign influences, Egyptian, Mediterranean, Chinese, Japanese, Malayan (though it may be that all these supposed influences were really spontaneous native creations); later on they seem to have developed according to local needs from European models, mostly Dutch, French, and English. The book is well turned out.

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6. The Glasgow Herald.

To speak of the Shipping of India is to speak of something that is past. Great though the shipping trade of the greatest of British dependencies is, it is carried on, not by homebuilt, or home-managed, or home-manned vessels, but almost wholly by ships registered in the United Kingdom and controlled from London, Liverpool and Glasgow. This was not always the case. Mr. Mookerji (who is Professor of Indian History in the National Council of Education, Bengal), in this carefully compiled and finely produced volume shows that there have been periods of great shipping activity in the history of India and that long before the days of the East India Company the natives were building vessels of many types and sizes, exploring Eastern waters as far as China and Japan, and carrying on a large coasting and general trade. He gives a composite picture in which the story of the development of Indian shipbuilding can be traced all through Sanskrit and Pali literature, Indian coins sculpture, and painting, and by means of many direct and indirect references in books and manuscripts, and in which also there may be seen teeming harbours and enterprising people and a wealth of traffic passing from port to port. Professor Mookerji has searched wide and deep for his materials, and the arrangement of the volume is less in the form of a history than in that of an assortment of facts under the headings of different periods, giving in every case [illegible] information, and, as early as

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possible, the age or year to which it belonged. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of this book is the fact that the author does not attempt to criticise or explain his facts, or to speculate as to their significance. He takes his materials as he finds them, makes the unquestionable landmarks very clear, allocates matter of which the exact date may not be certain to what is undoubtedly its own epoch, and so, as Mr. Brojendranath Seal, M. A., Ph. D. Principal Maharaja of Cooch Behar's College, says in an appreciative introduction, "avoids the quicksands of Indian chronology." The illustrations are worthy of a special word of commendation. They show representations of Indian vessels obtained from ancient coins, sculptures, paintings and other sources ; and they give a vivid expression of the variety of types adopted by the designers of the different ages.

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7. The Times (London.)

Mr. Mookerji has selected a fascinating and almost untrodden field of historical research, and has pursued his inquires with laborious diligence. Not only has he gathered materials from printed works, but he has also examined many Sanskrit and Bengali manuscripts and has further collected much evidence from archæology. It is equally to his credit that he has compressed masses of information into a compact and fluent narrative. He is evidently one of that small but growing band of Indians who are determined to wipe out the reproach that the historical faculty is dead within their race.

We know far too little of the maritime history of the East..... Yet for many centuries before the Cape was rounded the Eastern seas had swarmed with shipping...And just as India was never really isolated by her mountain ramparts, so Mr. Mukerji shows that her ships sailed far and wide before the coming of the Europeans. He tells a long and fairly connected story of maritime activity, beginning with the dim traditions of Hindu mythology, and ending with the splendid records of the Indian navy, established by the British and perhaps unwisely abolished in 1863. It is a story of intimate intercourse by sea with the other nations of the East, and of constant voyages which generally had trade for their object, sometimes war, and occasionally colonization. The influence which India exerted upon China, and still more upon Japan is now familiar knowledge ; what is not so commonly appreciated is that it was exercised by sea-routes rather than by land...His long reference to the colonization of Java from India is undisputably correct. His reproductions of the representations of Indian ships in the wonderful sculptures of Borobudar, in Java, are most interesting. The porpoises in one of the sculptures can only have been wrought by thoroughly observant men familiar with the sea, as every voyager will recognise.....The book has many excellent plates.

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8. Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury

HISTORY OF INDIAN SHIPPING.

We have so long accustomed ourselves to think European nations supreme in ship-building and navigation that some effort is required to correct our perspective and enable us to see the Indian Ocean as a nursery for sailors, and its waters covered with the vessels that attest a flourishing maritime commerce. It is true that we have read of Solomon's ships at Ezion Geber ; that Salamis conjures up before us visions of a Persian fleet ; and of course, reflection will supply many other instances which prove that seamanship was practised on a large scale. But for most of us maritime enterprise began in the days of exploration and discoveries, when Prince Henry the Navigator persuaded the Portuguese to coast along the shores of Africa and Columbus led his little flotilla across the Atlantic. We unconsciously shut out from our mental picture a long period and a vast area in which great heroic endeavours were undertaken, and the possibilities of ocean-intercourse proved. It is to correct this mistaken impression, and to place India in its proper position as a world-sea power, that Professor Mookerji has written his "History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times" (Longmans). The Indian Professor is well-equipped for his task. He is at home with the Sanskrit and Bengali manuscripts, published and unpublished ; he understands and knows how to turn to account the lessons of archæology and numismatics, and can wring information from many unexpected and obscure sources. Moreover, he tells a well-arranged connected tale in excellent nervous English, he makes the dry bones live, and shows a picture of Eastern seas both illuminating and fascinating. In the words of Principal Brojendra Nath Seal who supplies an introductory note "the signal merit of this survey is that these facts of history are throughout accompanied by their political, social or economic interpretation, so that the monograph is not a mere chronicle of facts, but a chapter of unwritten culture-history conceived and executed in a philosophical spirit."

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Long, long ago India succeeded in overcoming the isolation imposed upon her by the mountain rampart on the north and her products found their way to European markets. With equal ingenuity and energy she availed herself of ocean routes, and her argosies sailed far and wide from Madagascar to Canton. Before history chronicled in ordered array the projects of bold sprits or the results of successful enterprise, India utilised her vast coast line for training mariners and organising expeditions generally for trade, but sometimes for war, and occasionally for colonisation. Perhaps some may think that Professor Mookerji exaggerates the influence of Indian intercourse on surrounding nations, but none will doubt the bold and successful attempt made for the Colonisation of Java, and possibly other Colonies scattered throughout the Eastern seas. The illustrations commemorative of this attempt at colonisation are very interesting; there production of Indian ships from the sculptures at Borobodar in Java are very instructive. They show in various directions the skill of the artist, the achievements of naval architects, and testify to the importance that attaches to the venture.....

One great merit of the book is its pioneering mission. Historical criticism has not found many followers in India, and Professor Mookerji has had to delve deep into a subject that has been but little worked.....But the author has accomplished a great work by widening our horizon, giving us a clearer perception of the life that existed in these Eastern seas before Vasco de Gama had penetrated their mysteries, and found a nation as capable of nautical effort as that which he left in Europe.

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9. Pall Mall Gazette.

"A book full of proofs of much painstaking research...Mr. Mookerji has done a creditable and original piece of work...Much of the data collected by Mr. Mookerji is both interesting and valuable."

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10. India.

Professor Mookerji has done a notable service to his countrymen by expanding the thesis on Indian shipping which a few years ago gained from the Calcutta University the Premchand Roychand Studentship. His work now fills a considerable volume, made all the more attractive through the care bestowed upon its production by the publishers.

In a prefatory note Dr. Brajendranath Seal observes that one broad historical generalisation stands out clearly and convincingly from Mr. Mookerji's researches—namely, "the central position of India in the Orient world for well nigh 2,000 years, not merely in a social, a moral, a spiritual, or an artistic reference, but also an equally in respect of colonising and maritime activity and of commercial and maritime interests." The enterprise of other peoples—Greek, Arabian or Chinese—was in Dr. Seal's view, of an auxiliary character. We are not sure that the whole of this high claim is made out by the facts presented here, but no reader will deny the remarkable fascination of the record and the thoroughness with which Mr. Mookerji has gathered the evidence together. He has worked over the wide field of Sanskrit and Pali literature, and has drawn largely from European travellers and historians, while making use also of the illustrations furnished by the mural paintings of Ajanta and the wonderful sculptures of Borobudar in Java. He shows how frequent in the earliest records of India are the references to the life of the sea, proving the existence of complete navigation of the Indian Ocean, and how important, when we come to more definitely historic times, was the place of Indian shipping, naval and mercantile, in the ancient order.

Most readers of the Greek historians, we imagine, must have wondered how it came about that of the six Boards which controlled the affairs of Chandragupta's Empire in the generation following Alexander the Great, one should be a Board of Admiralty. Mr. Mookerji, supplementing Megasthenes' account with citations from contemporary Sanskrit authorities, explains the functions of the Imperial Superintendent of Ships, who was responsible for the harbour regulations, the collection of port dues, the relief of ships in distress, the maintenance of public ferries over the rivers swollen by the rains, the chasing of pirates, the administration of the law of the sea. In the succeeding age—the age of Buddhist expansion under Asoka—"India became, through the efforts of merchants, and missionaries preaching the gospel of universal brotherhood, at once the commercial and spiritual centre, the very heart, of the Old World;" and this was possible only by means of a great system of communications. As Mr. Vincent Smith puts it "When we remember Asoka's relations with Ceylon and even more distant Powers, we may credit him with a sea-going fleet as well as an army."

Later we come to the period of maritime commerce with Rome. Before the time of Augustus the Western trade of India was principally with Egypt. "It was by sea, and, after claudius, by the open sea that the bulk of the merchandise from Indian south coast ports was carried to the Arabian marts and Alexandria."

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The wealth of the Indian mines poured into the cities of Europe, together with spices and perfumes, silks, muslins, and cotton fabrics. The Roman moralists deplored the growth of luxury. There was no year, we are told, in which "India did not drain the Roman Empire of a hundred million sesterces," sending in return wares which were sold for a hundred times their original value—"so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women." The Tamils were the chief traffickers and navigators, for their land had great store of "these precious commodities not procurable elsewhere—pepper, pearls, and beryls." The Tamil States maintained powerful navies and were visited freely by ships from both East and West, bringing the merchants of various countries eager to buy their choice products. Java was colonised from Southern India in the first century of the Christian era, and from the ancient kingdom of Kalinga went out navigators who kept up constant intercourse with Burma and the islands of Eastern Asia.

Nor was Bengal behind the other maritime provinces of India. Her ancient literature is full of the sea, and from the beginning of History Eastern Bengal has been a recruiting ground for the crews of sea-going ships. In Mahomedan times a great naval establishment was kept up at Dacca, largely for keeping in check the depredations of the Arakan pirates; Sylhet was a great centre of shipbuilding, and in the palmy days of Gaur the adjacent rivers found harbourage for innumerable craft. European travellers looked with amazement upon the number and size of Indian vessels. Marco Polo saw ships so large as to need a crew of three hundred men. Nicolo Conti, in the fifteenth century, says: "The natives of India build some ships larger that ours capable of containing 2,000 butts, and with five sails and as many masts." All the evidence, indeed, goes to show that the Indian rivers and seas were extraordinarily busy, and that the shipping industry was not injured by the coming of the European. A picture of a flotilla of Mahratta grabs and gallivats attacking an English ship shows that Indian shipbuilding was carried to a high pitch of efficiency, and, as everybody knows, the teak war-vessels of the old Indian Navy, built in the Bombay shipyards, were famous throughout the great naval wars.

We have touched, in this notice, upon only a small part of the material skilfully garnered by Mr. Mookerji. He is, we think, better in recording the past greatness of maritime India than in discussing the causes of its decline and the chances of its renewal. Steampower and iron ships are, after all, not to be explained away; and unless India can develop a modern shipbuilding industry like that of her Western competitors she must continue to be without that "most important organ of maritime life" and indigenous mercantile marine. A word of praise should be given, in conclusion, to the excellent English in which the book is written and the careful compression of the narrative.

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11. The Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute.

Mookerji, Radhakumud—Indian Shipping: a history of the sea-borne trade and maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times. 4to pp. XXVII-283. Illust. London: Longmans Green & Co. 1912 20 oz-7s 6d. Professor Mookerji's monograph on the rise and decline of Indian shipping is a most important contribution to a subject about which very little has been written. It has the merit of being an original contribution to our knowledge of the Indian mercantile marine. The author, owing to the lack of a historical literature, has been obliged to consult original sources and to gather together his information from widely scattered and obscure records. Professor Mukerji has done his work thoroughly and his book is specially welcome because it demonstrates the great part that has been played by the Indian marine in the civilisation of the East. The author goes back to the beginning of history. He traces the progress of Indian Shipping from the Pre-Mauryan epoch, through the Hindu, Mussulman and European periods to the abolition of the Indian Navy in 1863. Few people realise the one-time great activity of the Indian ship yards or that under the supervision of talented Parsee ship-builders no less than nine ships of the line and several frigates were built for the Royal Navy in the Bombay Government Dockyard. We have deliberately chosen to disregard so obvious a source of strength and stability to the Empire as exists in a revival of Indian shipping, and it is to be hoped that Prof. Mookerji's monograph although written without any political object will serve to draw attention to a source from which the Imperial Navy and the mercantile marine might draw additional strength.

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12. The New York Times.

INDIAN SHIPPING.

Indian Shipping. A history of the Sea-Borne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times. By Radhakumud Mookerji. Illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co. $ 3.

A world survey of economic conditions at this present time shows India sitting passively in the East and devouring the world's gold at such a rate and with such an increasing appetite that the nations begin to eye her with apprehension. But once she was an active and energetic figure in movements of commerce, according to the story told by Radhakumud Mookerji, Professor of Indian History in the National Council of Education, Bengal. It is a scholarly work, original and comprehensive in its conception, and admirable in the thoroughness and conscientiousness with which the author has ransacked the vast field of Sanskrit and Pali literature, has laid under contribution old Tamil and Bengali literature, has studied unpublished manuscripts, both Sanskrit and Bengali in the original, and has searched classical and Chinese and Japanese sources. From Indian art and archæology he has also deduced evidence. But notwithstanding its learned character and its special purpose the work will have interest for those many students and general readers whose attention of late years has been drawn to Indian life, religion, literature, and history.

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13. The New York Journal of Commerce.

HISTORY OF INDIAN SHIPPING.

A book of considerable historical interest is "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest times." The author is Radhakumud Mookerji M. A., of Calcutta University. This is a pioneer work in its line and the author has been driven to original sources, widely scattered, and many of them fragmentary. Nevertheless the work has been done with painstaking care and fidelity and it makes plain the centre and commanding position of India in the Eastern world, and especially colonising and maritime, commercial and manufacturing, lines for nearly two thousand years. The Principal of Behar's College, India, Professor Seal, M. A., Ph.D., writes a very discriminating introductory note to the volume, calling attention to this important fact, among others: that "Prof. Mookerji takes his materials as he finds them, and does not clip and pare them down, in the name of historical criticism, or handle them after the accredited methods of speculative chronology." The publishers are Longmans, Green & Co., and the price of the volume is $ 3 net.

14. The Asiatic Quarterly Review.

A History of Indian Shipping. By Radhakumud Mookerji M. A. This work to which Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal gives an introduction, is of considerable interest. In the first place it rescues from oblivion the Early Hindu boats, and shows their shapes, from the *stupas* of Sanchi, the boats used during the Conquest of Ceylon from Ajanta, and those that carried the Hindu conquerors to Java from the Sculpture at Borobodor. An account of the time when India was a boat building country in the remote past is added, filled with quotations about Indian boats from ancient religions texts. The sea commerce was increased a great deal during the Andhra-Kushan period on account of the intercourse with Rome. The Tamil States were sea-going and the Early trade with Farther India was very considerable. Bengal, too, possessed a coast line, traded with the South and East, and had some intercourse with China. The period of the Mahomedans is also dealt with. Both Bengal and Sindh were celebrated for shipping before the Moghul period and after the advent of the Moghuls shipping was on a large scale, at least till the death of Akbar. Shipbuilding revived under the Marhatta Shivaji and the Angrian naval power was a serious rival to the English. The Indian marine is afterwards considered and we are given many interesting pictures of grabs, dony and other esoteric ships. The book concludes with a hope that the lost industry that rendered such brilliant service in the past, and with which are bound up the prospects of Indian Economic advancement may be restord.

A. F. Stuart.

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15. The Englishman.

MARITIME ACTIVITY IN ANCIENT INDIA.

SIDE LIGHTS ON INDIAN HISTORY.

It has been said that India has always been a land-locked country, and that her peoples have never adventured upon the sea. In other words maritime activity never formed part of the history of this country. In a sense there is a certain amount of truth in these generalisations: but when one remembers that sea-battles are constantly referred to in Sanskrit and Pali literature, such as the *Silpa Sastras*, the "Yuktikalpataru," and the "Arthasastra" of Kautilya, as well as the Pali "Jatakas," one is bound to reconstruct one's ideas on this very interesting subject. Again, during the Moghul period the "Nowara," or fleet, was a recognised appendage of the rulers of Bengal and Orissa; and many were the sea fights in which the Moslem Governors of Bengal engaged with the "Magh" pirates of Chittagong. On the advent of European Powers in India they had to contend against

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the navies (so-called) of the Western India rulers. The great Maharatta Chief Sivaji developed quite a large fleet, and the fights of the Portuguese and the British merchantmen with Angria, the buccaneer, are remembered to this day. The island of Kanhery, outside Bombay harbour, which now has a light-house, was the stronghold of the Angrian naval power. On the East Coast also, there was a good deal of maritime activity in the early days when British ships first sailed to the East.

In the sense of modern shipping, the maritime activity of ancient India was a negligible quantity; but when we compare the galleons of Columbus with the Dreadnoughts of to-day, we realise that in those days the small size of their vessels did not daunt the adventurous from putting out to sea in search of new countries, for purposes of trade or colonisation. That the people of India did put out to sea in ancient times, we have proofs in the architectural and numismatic records handed down to us. And if we desire to go deeper into the question whether maritime activity in ancient India was a reality, we have only to study a most interesting work just brought out by Longmans, Green and Co., entitled "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times," by Radhakumud Mookerji, Premchand Roychand Scholar, Calcutta University.

Here we have a most fascinating subject, treated for the first time in a systematic way, and from facts gathered from sources hitherto untapped. The field of work, as the author says, is new, beset with difficulties, and almost unexplored. He has had to ransack published and MSS. works for his facts, and presents to us an altogether novel India, as it existed in the Mauryan as well as the pre-Mauryan period. He tells us that the most ancient of books, the "Rig-Veda," the "Puranas," the "Ramayana," and the "Mahabharata," as well as several other Sanskrit and Pali works, contain many references to shipping, ship-building, and maritime activity in India. "Both Brahminical and Buddhistic texts are replete with references to the sea-borne trade of India, that directly and indirectly demonstrate the existence and development of national shipping and ship-building . . . . India has not the monopoly of these evidences . . . . We find, as a matter of fact, in various foreign works abundant allusions to India's commerce, arts, and manufactures, indicating the glorious position she once occupied, and for long maintained, as the Queen of the Eastern Seas."

The author has been able to collate a vast amount of authentic evidence showing that "for full thirty centuries India stood out as the very heart of the commercial world, cultivating trade relations successfully with the Phoenicians, Jews, Assyrians, Greeks, Egyptians and Romans in ancient times; and Turks, Venetians, Portuguese, Dutch, and English in modern times." Indeed, the antiquity of India's foreign trade "is foreshadowed even in the "Rig-Veda," one of the oldest literary records of humanity, which speaks in many places of ships and merchants sailing out into the open main for the sake of riches, braving the perils of the deep." The author quotes Dr. Sayce, the famous Assyriologist,—that the commerce by sea between India and Babylon "must have been carried on as early as about 3000 B. C., when Ur. Bagas, the first King of United Babylonia, ruled in Ur of the Chaldees." This is proved by the finding of Indian teak in the ruins of Ur. The presence of indigo, tamarind-wood, and other Indian products has been detected in the tombs of Egypt: and according to Lassen, "the Egyptians dyed cloth with indigo and wrapped their mummies in Indian muslin." Indeed, Sanskrit literature in all its forms, such as the "Vedas, Sutras," "Puranas," is, says the author, replete with references to the maritime trade of India.

The author takes us from the pre-Mauryan period, through the Mauryan period (Sixth Century B.C.) to the time of the invasion of India by Alexander the Great; the Mahomedan period, the Moghul period, especially during the reign of Akbar, when there was a great impetus to Indian shipping and ship-building, especially in Bengal, and brings us to the advent of the British. The "Ayeen-i-Akbari" contains elaborate regulations for the organisation of a Naval Department or Admiralty. The author describes these in detail, and one is forced to the conclusion that Akbar, among his other statesman-like qualities, fully appreciated the value of a "nowara," or fleet. Dacca appears to have been the naval base for Bengal, and here complete arrangements were made for all emergencies owing to the depredations of the Arakan pirates, who carried off Hindus and Moslems and sold them into slavery. They were a terror in those days. It was said "their cannons are beyond numbering, their flotilla exceeds the waves of the sea." Indeed, they were such a terror to the Bengal navy that "whenever 100 warships of Bengal sighted four ships of the enemy, if the distance separating them was great, the Bengal crew showed fight by flight."

While the Arakan pirates were terrorising Bengal, Sivaji's accredited Naval Commander, Conoji Angria, ("whose career was one long series of naval exploits and achievements, rare in the annals of Indian maritime activity") was harrying not only the rich argosies of the Moghul Emperor but actually attacking and capturing British ships. "In the name of the Satara chief, Angria was master of the whole coast from Bombay to Vingorla: and with a fleet of armed vessels, carrying 30 and 40 guns apiece, he soon became a menace to the European trade of the West Coast." The author gives a list of the various fights in which Angria engaged British ships, and the names of

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the English vessels destroyed and captured by him. Conoji Angria was succeeded by Sambhuji Angria, "who carried on his predatory policy for nearly 30 years." Sambhu was succeeded by Toolaji Angria, and this man was an even greater menace to European trade. It was not until Admiral Watson and Clive organised a well planned expedition that the Angrian fleet was destroyed and the power of this buccaneer broken.

In conclusion, the author laments the passing of Indian shipping and shipbuilding, and points to the importance and necessity of "reviving and restoring on modern lines a lost industry that rendered such brilliant service in the past, and with which are so vitally bond up the prospects of Indian economic advancement."

The book is well worth studying, as affording an insight into a little-known aspect of Indian history.

ST. J. J.

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16. The Times of India.

INDIAN SHIPPING.

History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity. By R. Mukerji (Longmans) *7s. 6d.* net.

Indigenous maritime activity in this country is at present so small and insignificant that most people would be surprised to find a history of it published; yet they will rise from a perusal of this very interesting volume with satisfaction that the author has introduced to their notice a novel subject which was well worth historical treatment. It comes to us from the other side of India for the writer is a Bengali, and it augurs well for the rise of historical scholarship in this country. In a way it is connected with Bombay for it has grown out of a thesis for a well-known scholarship endowed in the Calcutta University by a philanthropic and public spirited merchant prince of this city, the late Mr. Premchand Roychand. The subject of the thesis was certainly new and out of the way and has developed into a work which however, tentatively, deals skilfully with a neglected branch of historical inquiry. Mr. Mukerji has worked more or less as a pioneer and as such he is entitled to all praise.

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17. The Madras Mail.

..."The book gathers together much information from Sanskrit, Pali, and Tamil literature; from inscriptions and sculptures; from classical accounts and the reports of travellers of many nationalities in such a way as to show that its author is a real and serious student."...

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18. The Hindu

INDIAN SHIPPING.

Modern research in the field of ancient Indian Literature has unmistakably proved the essential untenability and falseness of the position, taken up by western critics, that Indians in those days who had, as it is handsomely acknowledged, attained eminence in the region of speculative thought, were lacking in the knowledge of practical arts and sciences. The charge that Indians are not a practical and enterprising race is one with which we are all familiar, and it is often made to justify the initiation by government of practices and measures characterised by retrogression and illiberality. The Navy is perhaps the one department in which the Indian has absolutely no chance of service except as a lascar whose courage and fidelity, we may note in passing, have been highly praised by expert Captains and Naval Commanders. And even some Indians themselves have come to believe that they were never a sea-faring people and that their ancestors knew nothing of the arts of shipbuilding and maritime trade or oceanic navigation. Mr. Radha Kumud Mookerji has done a distinct service to the Indian Community by publishing the book entitled "The History of Indian Shipping and maritime activity from the earliest times." The book gives ample evidences of the labour, thought and research that must have gone to the making of it. The learned author has laid under contribution not only Sanskrit and Bengalee works but also Pali, Tamil, Chinese and Japanese books. He has also gathered all evidence derivable from archæology in its three-fold division of epigraphy, architecture and numismatics. As Principal Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal who has honoured the book with an introductory note has put it, "the book is a chapter of unwritten culture-history conceived and executed in a philosophical spirit". From a perusal of the book "one broad historical generalisation" to quote Dr. Seal again, "stands out clearly and convincingly, namely the central position of India in the Orient world for well nigh two thousand years, not merely in a social, a moral, a spiritual or an artistic reference, but also and equally in respect of colonising and maritime activity and of commercial and manufacturing interests." Beginning with the earliest times Mr. Mookerji takes us through the Mauryan Epoch, the Andhra period, the period of Hindu Imperialism under the Guptas and Cholas, the Mussalman and the Moghul periods and finally the British period and shows how Indian Shipping had a long and brilliant history covering over a period of twenty centuries till the abolition of the Indian Marine in 1863. Mr. Mookerji says "all the evidence available will clearly show that for full thirty centuries India stood out as the very heart of the commercial world cultivating trade relations successively with the Phoenicians, Jews,

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Assyrians, Greeks, Egyptians and Romans in ancient times and Turks, Venetians, Portuguese, Dutch, and English in modern times. As a conseque ce of her position as the main supplier of the world's luxuries, she had throughout the balance of trade clearly in her favour, a balance which will only be settled by the export of treasure from European and other countries." He tells us with evident pride how so early as the time of the Emperor Chandra Gupta the national shipping and maritime activity of the country had developed to such an extent as to render necessary the creation of a Board of Admiralty with elaborate regulations relating to the construction and equipment of ships, collection of port taxes and tolls and so on. India maintained an active maritime political intercourse not only with Rome and other western countries but also with the farther East. Perhaps the most interesting and conspicuous fact in connection with the Indian maritime activity towards the East is the Hindu Colonisation of Java, one of the most glorious achievements recorded in the entire history of the country. Mr. Mookerji refers to this event as the "foundation of greater India." The author then gives a succinct account of the maritime activity of the Bengalee which extended as far as China and Japan and beyond the small colonies of Sumatra and Java. The last chapter relating to the Hindu period is one of peculiar interest to the people of Southern India in as much as it deals with the sea borne trade carried on by Chalukya and Chola Kings with various countries in the farther east. After briefly narrating how the Indian maritime enterprise was maintained and developed by the earlier Mussulman rulers Mr. Mookerji gives an interesting account of the Indian naval activity and greatness under Akbar, the greatest of Moghul rulers. It was during this period that an imperial naval establishment was founded and elaborate regulations were framed, for the conduct of Akbar's Admirality. That art of shipbuilding also received great impetus in Bengal and Sind. Just at this time, we are also told how great Maharatta leaders like Sivaji encouraged maritime enterprise and liberally patronised shipbuilding industry. "The growth of the Maharatta power was accompanied by the formation of a formidable fleet." The learned author gives a short and telling account of the long series of the naval exploits and achievements of Angria "which are dismissed in a few words by our Indian Historians." The History of Indian shipping under the British power began in 1613 and the Indian Navy which was built up by the East Indian Company in the latter half of the 18th century attained great efficiency and did good service in the first and second Burmese war and the 1st China war. It was abolished finally in 1863 after a brief but glorious existence. The author pathetically observes that thus has passed away one of the great national industries of India and India is now without this most important organ of national life. He winds up this instructive and highly valuable book with a touching exhortation to the British Government and to all who are interested in the material progress of India to "revive and restore on modern lines the lost industry that rendered such a brilliant service in the past and with which are so vitally bound up the prospects of Indian economic advancement. We regret we are unable to give within the limited space available, a more detailed account of the remarkable book which is written in a charming and eloquent style combined with lucidity and terseness.

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19. The Bengalee.

(i). May 21, 1912.

A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest times.

The abiding faith in every Indian is that his is the greatest country in the world. This is a proposition that has for him the simple irresistibility of an axiom. He clings to it with all the strength of his soul in the fall of his present condition, in defiance of the centuries of foreign domination to which his country has remained subject. It is in his blood, in the marrow of his bones, inherited from the times when India was the queen of the world. It is his race-memory, and the episodes of the last of few centuries have not been able to obliterate it. The din of the battle that was fought on Kurukshetra still makes music in his ears, he can still hear the triumphant shouts of the conquering hosts that spread out from his country in their myriad boats to colonise and Hinduise the islands of the Eastern seas. There is tingling in his blood and a glow on his face as he ponders and wonders over the primacy of the human race that men sprung from the same soil as he had enjoyed for thirty hundred uninterrupted years. The insignificance of his present merges and is lost in the immensity of his past. The remembrance of those unequalled days he cannot and will not let go; it sustains him against the hard facts of the hour—and fills him with the yearning aspiration to re-instate his mother land on the throne that has been vacant so long.

The spirit of the past has touched Indians more intimately during the last few years. Even since the year of wonder 1905, the conviction has been pressing itself home to the Indian mind that the work of the future lies in the redemption and realisation of the past; the grace has at last been vouchsafed to the Indian to see the prophecy and the promise of his future in the revelations of his past. The merely stale admiration of and absorption in the past has been transmuted by the spirit

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that awoke to life in 1905 into dynamic, energetic and sincere determination to re-live and re-enact that past subject to the changed condition and in association with one of the greatest nations of the earth. This is the vital difference between the India before Swadeshi and the India of today. And one of the most significant and inspiring result of the Swadeshi movement has been the rise of a devoted band of Indian scholars who have set their hand to the work of giving their countrymen a real and vivid picture of their country's past, not in the shape of poetic imaginings or dogmatic averments (so much in vogue in the last century) but in hard facts and figures gleaned from sources of unchallenged and indisputable authority. Their aim is to build up their country's past history with the same painstaking care, the same conscientious diligence and scrupulous regard for facts, in one word, after the same accredited methods of scientific investigation with which European scholars have presented to the world the histories of their respective peoples and lands. It requires little thought or argument to persuade one self that it is the only method possible and permissible even in conservative India at the present day. Inspite of all their conservatism educated Indians have learned and accepted of Western science its tests for ascertaining truth, and the historian of India who would win his way to his countrymen's acceptance must satisfy those tests. Of the new historical school we have been speaking of, Mr. Radha Kumud Mookerji has been a prominent and promising member. And in his book with the title of which we have headed the present article, we find an abundant illustration of those qualities on which we have laid stress. It will be sufficient for our purpose to quote the opinion of the Athenæum, that "So far as the accessories of every conscientiously written book go, the present work leaves nothing to be desired." We need only add that the thoroughly scientific character of the treatise under notice which is guaranteed by the foreward that Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal has added will be apparent to every one who reads it. But the crowning interest of the work lies in the marvellous tale that the author unfolds in successive chapters of India's absolute and unrivalled dominion of the sea beginning from the dawn of history and lasting through more than thirty centuries. Modern India will learn from Mr. Mukerjee's fascinating book with the thrill of a rebirth that "for fully thirty centuries India stood out as the very heart of the commercial world, cultivating trade relations successively with the Phœnicians, Jews,, Assyrians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Romans in ancient times, and Turks Venetians, Portuguese, Dutch and English in modern times." Our hitherto fragmentary information about the Indian conquest of Ceylon and colonisation of Java and Japan falls into its proper place in the scheme of the connected and continuous story of India's sea power that we now have from the pen of this young author. Just picture to yourself numberless Indian ships bigger than any Venice ever built, plough ing the seas of the known world—ships launched from Indian ship yards, officered and manned by Indians, carrying to the varying peoples and places of the earth the finished products of Indian art, and the culture and the refinement of her unrivalled civilization. What an immensity of pride in his past, of hope for his future, wells up in the heart of the Indian as he tries to realise to himself with his mind's eye that glorious vision of the sea teeming with Indian shipping. How the thought keeps thundering at the gates of the brain that the people that has outlived by so many centuries its contemporaries of the ancient world has lived to some purpose and cannot have lived in vain. Not an Indian reader of this work but will see rising before him the vision of a greater India of the future (of the near future, let as devoutly pray) carrying once again in his countless ships to near and distant lands the products of her exquisite art which the world still admires and loves to possess and the gospel of her culture and creed in which the peoples of the earth have began to take a renewed interest. Mr. Mookerji deserves well of every Indian for vindicating the pride that he has always felt for being an Indian. We will not quote from the book, and have barely hinted at the message that this supremely interesting publication has for every Indian. Let each Indian, who knows how to read, read this book, and tell the tale of it to his fellowmen who are less fortunately circumstanced. Mr. Mookerjee sounds a vibrant note of exhortation and triumph for the modern pioneers of Indian shipping. Let the vision he has given us of the past be for us the pre-vision of the future. This enchanting story has winged with a new meaning the words of the poet :—

We shall wipe, O mother, the stain from the brow.

Behold, we are men once more, and have ceased to be mere driven cattle.

(ii). July 6, 1912.

LORD CARMICHAEL AND THE HISTORY OF INDIAN SHIPPING.

HIS Excellency Lord Carmichael has been graciously pleased to address the following letter to Babu Radhakumud Mukherjea, the author of "A History of Indian shipping and maritime activity from the earliest times" :—

"Government House,
Darjeeling.
June 22, 1912.

Dear Sir,

I have been very busy, and was not able to read your book "A History of Indian shipping and maritime activity from the earliest times" as soon

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after you kindly sent it to me as I should have liked to do; even now I have not been able to read it with care; I have only hurriedly skimmed through it. I hope, however, to refer to it from time to time, and I am sure I shall do so with advantage to myself. I am very grateful to you for sending it to me. I hope the reception which the book has met with from the public comes up to your expectations. Possibly a book like yours ought not to be expected to bring in much revenue to its author; but if that is so in this case, I can only hope that you gain pleasure from the thought that in writing it you were doing a praiseworthy action: for I feel sure there must be many in India—as there certainly are outside of it—who recognise that any one who carefully investigates the original materials and puts them before his fellow-countrymen in a way to enable them to understand any branch of their history is doing good.

Yours truly

CARMICHAEL."

The letter speaks for itself. It shows an aspect of His Excellency's character and the predilection of his mind which promise well for those who are engaged in original investigation into the history and antiquities of India. "Any one," says His Excellency, "who carefully investigates the original materials and puts them before his fellow-countrymen in a way to enable them to understand any branch of their history is doing good." This is an opinion which will be endorsed by every one, and coming from the Governor of the Province will be an encouragement to many humble toilers in the arduous and thankless task of original research in which they may be engaged. His Excellency very rightly says that work of this kind is not remunerative, but it is in the power of the Government of Bengal to encourage such work as that of Babu Radhakumud Mukherjea by distributing it freely to all the libraries of the country. We hope this will yet be done. It will be a pratical manifestation of sympathy which will be greatly appreciated by workers in the field of Indian history and research.

(iii). July 12, 1912.

WATER-TIGHT COMPARTMENTS.

We have heard a good deal about water-tight compartments in connection with the recent, "Titanic" disaster. It will perhaps be news to most people, even in this country, that our ancestors had something very like these compartments in their ships many centuries ago. Here is the description of some Indian ships given by Nicolo Conti in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, for which we are indebted to Mr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee's recent book on Indian shipping:—"The natives of India build some ships larger than ours, capable of containing two thousand butts and with five sails and as many masts. The lower part is constructed with triple planks, in order to withstand the force of the tempests to which they are much exposed. But some ships are so built in compartments that should one part be shattered the other portion, remaining entire may accomplish the voyage."

(iv). July 24, 1912.

A LOST INDUSTRY.

Professor Radha Kumud Mookerjee in his History of Indian Shipping deplores the disappearance from India of a great industry which at one time contributed so much to its wealth and greatness. All lovers of their country will share this feeling. But they have little conception of the magnitude of the loss which is being silently borne; and unless they fully realize it, no effort is likely to be made to retrieve it. England owes her greatness to her carrying trade. Cromwell wrested the sceptre of the seas from Holland by his Navigation Act which made it compulsory for English merchants to send their goods to foreign countries on board English ships. The underlying principle of the Navigation Act has ever since governed the maritime laws of England and has contributed to secure for her, her world-wide trade and influence. Our foreign and inland trade is expanding, but the carrying of it all is in the hands of foreign shippers. A few facts will illustrate the magnitude of our yearly loss and the urgent necessity there is for earnest efforts to repair it. For our helpless dependence on foreign shipping we have on a rough estimate to pay a price of about 25 crores of rupees a year. The total value of our trade is about 344 crores of rupees and the entire trade is at the mercy of foreign shippers who are at liberty to impose on us whatever freights they wish. Even in the matter of our coastal trade aggregating in value to about 46 crores of rupees about 85 p.c. is appropriated by foreign shipping, leaving only 1/7 to our people. Similarly our entire passenger traffic is in the hands of foreign shippers. Nor is there any Steam-ship company that can take up and appropriate the yearly postal subsidy of over 7 lakhs of rupees that now go to a foreign Company. In the Oceanic trade of which the total tonnage is 11,800,000 tons our indigenous shipping represents 95,000 tons or only about 8 p.c.; while of the aggregate tonnage of 29,61 million tons in the inter-portal trade, only 3,24 million tons is our own, and over 89 per cent. foreign. Our national shipping at the present day means only 130 vessels of under 80 tons each, used in the oceanic trade and 7,280 in the inter-portal trade of the country, of under 20 tons each, making up in all the insignificant number of 7,410 vessels, large and small, for a country or rather a continent whose sea-board extends over a length of 4,000 miles and upwards. Our shipbuilding now is so contracted as to give employment to only 14,321 men who build only about 125 galbats a year in

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shipyards of which the number is now reduced to only 48, while the aggregate capital yearly invested in ship-building may be estimated at between five and six lakhs of rupees. For the above facts which represent a sufficiently dismal picture, we are indebted to Prof. Mukerjee's work. It is a picture which affords food for reflexion to the Government and the people alike. To the Government our appeal is that while it is doing so much for the good of the people, it should direct its efforts to the restoration of a lost industry, with such co-operation from the poeple as they may be in a position to afford. A fleet of Indian merchant vessels would add to the naval strength of England, and would be a source of incalculable moral gain to the Empire. Of course there is a vast amount of local prejudice to overcome. There are the elements of mistrust and suspicion which for a long time darkened the policy of the Government. But the clouds have rolled away. A new era has begun. Conciliation and co-operation are the watchwords of the day; and the statesman who applies himself to the great task of restoring the Indian shipping will go down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of India and of the Empire. We rejoice to find that some of the great organs of English public opinion are entirely in favour of this view. The Royal Colonial Institute is an official organization. His Majesty the King is the patron of the Institute. Earl Grey is the President, and statesmen like Lord Rosebery, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Minto and the Earl of Elgin are among the Vice-Presidents. This is what the Journal of the Colonial Institute says in regard to this matter :—

"We have deliberately chosen to disregard so obvious a source of strength and stability to the Empire as exists in a revival of Indian shipping, and it is to be hoped that Prof. Mookerjee's monograph, although written without any political object, will serve to draw attention to a source from which the Imperial Navy and the mercantile marine might draw additional strength."

The "Spectator" newspaper, which is not noted for its pro-Indian proclivities, makes the same appeal to the Government :—

"We have often expressed the opinion that this navy could be and ought to be revived. We hold most strongly that it would be a valuable addition to the naval strength of the Empire; that it would make use of material which is now utterly wasted; and that it could be most easily and cheaply manned from a seaboard of more than 4000 miles."

We can only express the hope that this appeal will not fall upon heedless ears, but that it will rouse the authorities to action and prepare the way for an earnest effort which may culminate in the restoration of our lost shipping. Our countrymen also have a duty to perform in this connection; and we cannot better conclude this article than by quoting the eloquent words of the appeal which the "Manchester Guardian" makes to them :—

"The eloquent peroration to his book should rouse some of his (Professor Mookerjee's) countrymen to a sense of their dependence upon the energy of foreign shipowners."

(v). September 15, 1912.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA.

In another column will be found a singularly interesting letter which Prof. Radhakumud Mukerjee, M.A., has received from Dr. F. V. Engelenburg, Editor of a well-known journal published at Pretoria, with reference to his work on Indian shipping. In this letter the writer refers to 'a recent bulletin of the "S. A. Journal of Science" containing an article on the origin of a pre-historic culture connected with a group of ruins in Rhodesia.' The writer of this article, we are told, suggests that the pre-historic gold industry in Rhodesia shows the existence of methods similar to those followed in ancient gold mines of Mysore, and thinks it probable that one thousand years B. C. Arab traders worked the Rhodesian mines with Indian miners. "Pre-historic Rhsdesia," Dr. Engelenburg adds, "has only recently entered the field of scientific research; and as I take some interest in the matter and highly value the merits of your "History" I venture to draw your kind— and I hope sympathetic— attention to the existence of Indo-African relations as far back as ten centuries before Christ." Apart from the interest which attaches to the discovery of these relations from the point of view of research and history, there is one reflection which the student of contemporary affairs would find it difficult to avoid. India had business and other relations with South Africa a thousand years before the birth of Christ, but to-day, in the twentieth century of the Christian Era, India's children are treated as undesirable aliens by Colonists whose connection with South Africa commenced only yesterday. What an irony of fate!

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20. The Leader

INDIAN SHIPPING AND MARITIME ACTIVITY.

Professor Radha Kumud Mookerjee deserves to be congratulated upon the valuable monograph he has recently brought on the history of Indian shipping and maritime activity. The work has been developed in its present shape and form out of a thesis which Mr. Mookerjee submitted to the Calcutta University for his Premchand Roychand Studentship. The field which the author has explored is vast, the landmarks, though many, are scattered and indistinct, and the way has, therefore, to be picked out with great trouble and patience.

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Inspite of India's growing trade with foreign countries, her indigenous shipping and maritime activity are simply conspicuous by their absence. While government and people are congratulating themselves and each other on the big figures of the country's exports and imports and the prosperity which they appear to indicate, the whole of Indian commerce and communication with foreign countries is in the hands of foreigners. This position of dependence is only one of the features of the present unsatisfactory economic condition of the Indian people. Our generation may naturally conclude from the existing state of things that maritime enterprise and mercantile marine have never been conspicuous in the annals of this country. Nothing can, however, be further from the truth. Those who have any acquaintance with Sanskrit literature know that our ancestors were by no means strangers to navigation and foreign ocean-borne commerce, and even modern Indian history records the achievements of indigenous armaments. Though evidence of this is not thus wanting no attempt has so far been made to put together all the material bearing on the subject and to narrate a connected story of Indian shipping and maritime activity. That work Prof. Mukerjee has endeavoured to do and he has achieved a remarkable success. It was by no means an easy task. He has had to ransack all Sanskrit literature from the Vedas down to the time of the Puranas, to search for information in Pali works, to consult European authors who have made researches in Indian history, to seek light from old sculpture, paintings, coins and monuments, in short, to put together scraps of evidence gleaned from a variety of obscure and well known sources. The painstaking industry and the genuine love of study and research with which Prof. Mukerji has done his work, are to be admired and his monograph is a welcome sign of the interest our educated people have begun to take in the history, philsophy, religions and literature of this ancient land.

With an extensive sea board four thousand miles in length, with a thousand harbours and with an industrious and skilful population India was bound to occupy a position of importance as a country of enterprising people well advanced in commerce and industry in times when western nations had made little progress along these lines. European scholars have traced the history of Grecian navigation to the times of the Cretan Minos and the relics of the maritime adventures of the Phoenicians of Sidon and Tyre are shown as scattered from beyond the pillars of Hercules to the coast of India. Prof. Mukerji has produced convincing evidence to show how Indians were supplying distant lands with their peacocks and sandal wood, their silk and wool, and their rice and spices at a time when Athens had entered upon her glorious career and the Roman republic was yet unborn. To outsiders India has ever been a land of wonders and wealth and from very remote times down to the eighteenth century which witnessed among European nations a scramble for a share in her commerce, longing eyes have always been cast upon her precious commodities. The active commercial intercourse between Rome and India has been established and the gold coins of the "Mistress of the World" found in abundance in the southern Provinces of this country, testify to the wealth which trade poured into India's lap. The north western parts of India formed the richest satrapy of the empire of the Persian Darius who insisted upon its tribute being paid in gold and in larger quantities than were exacted from the other provinces. The colonial expansion of India in the eastern waters and the formation of a Greater India in Java, Sumatra and other places in the first few centuries of the Christian era, recalled to memory the Hellenic enterprise of the eigth and seventh centuries before Christ, in the Black Sea and along the Italian coast, the foundation of Magna Grecia. Those must have been very sirring times for the people of this continent. It was a period of imperialism in India which found expression in the distant voyages to China and Japan. Indian missionaries penetrated into these countries and eastern lands received their Budhistic religion from the country of his birth. Prof. Mukerji's narrative of this exciting epoch is indeed very interesting. The development of Indian shipping and ship-building was continuous throughout the Mahomedan period and Bengal and the west and east coasts were the scenes of great maritime activity. We have here the testimony of a number of English and other European witnesses who speak highly of Indian ships. The Marhattas were no less powerful on the sea than upon land. Angria's fleet was, at one time, a terror even to the vessels of the European nations on the western coast. Under the rule of the East India Company ship-building received a great impetus and the activities of the Bombay dock were an object of admiration. A number of Parsees were renowned for their wonderful efficiency in ship-building, so that their fame extended even to England.

Prof. Mukerji's fascinating story of Indian shipping and maritime activity is significant not only as a record of brilliant past but as a reminder of the present deplorable decadence. That a country which only a century or two ago was in the fore front of nations as a centre of ship-building and naval daring, is to-day dependent upon foreign countries even for the conveyance of its commodities from its coast is a situation which provides ample food for anxious reflection. But may not the same remark be made with regard to other industrial activities of the Indian people. To-day Indian shipping and ship-building are extinct. But like other trades and industries they can certainly be revived. Our ever growing sea borne trade together with coastal

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trade, is in foreign hands, and we have to pay a heavy price for this dependence. This important aspect of the question has not attracted the attention it deserves. Why should not India build her own ships and control her import and export trade? This will save her crores of rupees every year and provide the diversity of occupation so badly needed for her growing population which has to depend solely on the precarious and crowded agricultural industry. When the people should agitate the question so as to direct public attention to it, our paternal Government ought seriously to take the problem in hand.

The scattered threads of evidence bearing upon his subject have been skilfully pieced together by Prof. Mukerjee, but the space assigned to the different periods appears to be rather disproportionately distributed. This was perhaps unavoidable owing to the wide range of the subject. On account of the vastness of the country and the variety of homogeneous development of the Indian marine, colonial activity in India was very great in the first few centuries after Christ and though naval establishments were systematically maintained by some of the indigenous rulers later on, it must be admitted that maritime enterprise was on the decline soon after the advent of the Muhamadans. In the latter centuries India has little to show of the nature of the naval upheaval and the outburst of commercial daring which were witnessed in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was probably internecine wars and chaos in which India was immersed for seven hundred years before the British power came upon the scene and established order, that killed Indian enterprise. Though the business of ship building went on as before and large and efficient fleets were maintained, the charm of the sea appears to have gone. The prohibition of sea voyage and of the crossing of the Kalapani alleged to be laid down by the Hindu Shastras, marks the stage not only of stagnation but of retrogation as well. Even in the palmiest days of Hindu Imperialism, India was not and could not be a solid nation and its maritime enterprise and naval daring, could not have achieved such soul stirring and inspiring victories as have been recorded in the histories of Athens, the "Queen of Hellas" and the maritime European nations of modern times. There was also a serious fall off in the strength and efficiency of the Indian navies by the time the European powers established their factories on the sea coasts of this country. Inferiority in naval organisation and equipment with joined internal distractions made the path of those powers smooth. It would have been well if Prof. Mukerji had bestowed some attention on these phases of the story he has so lucidly narrated. He has, nevertheless, brought out clearly and convincingly the work of

Principal Brajendra Nath Seal, who has furnished an introductory note to the book, "the central position of India in the orient world, for well nigh two thousand years, not merely in a social, a moral, a spiritual, or an artistic reverence, but also and equally in respect of colonising and maritime activity, and of commercial and manufacturing interests." The book is excellently printed and nicely got up. The numerous illustrations of ships and boats, ancient and modern, occurring in the old Indian Sculpture and painting, such as those of Ajanta and on old indigenous coins or otherwise enhance the beauty and value of the book which is in every way worthy of a warm reception at the hands of the Public.

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21. The A. B. Patrika.

Babu Radha Kumud Mukherjee, author of the book "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times" received the following autograph letter from Lord Carmichael :—

"I have been very busy and was not able to read your book "A history of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the earliest times," as soon after you kindly sent it to me as I should have liked to do : even now I have not been able to read it with care : I have only hurriedly skimmed through it. I hope, however, to refer to it from time to time, and I am sure I shall do so with advantage to myself. I am very grateful to you for sending it to me. I hope the reception which the book has met with from the public comes up to your expectations. Possibly a book like yours ought not to be expected to bring in much revenue to its author ; but if that is so in this case, I can only hope that you gain pleasure from the thought that in writing it you were doing a praiseworthy action ; for I feel sure there must be many in India —as there certainly are outside of it—who recognise that any one who carefully investigates the original materials and puts them before his fellow countrymen in a way to enable them to understand any branch of their history is doing good."

Babu Radha Kumud fully deserves the honor done to him by His Excellency by writing the above autograph letter. What immense good he has done to India by his most original and valuable work will appear from the reviews of some of the influential English papers one of which is published elsewhere from the "Spectator."

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22. The Modern Review.

Indian Shipping: by Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co., London.

This book, of 256 quarto pages, has amply fulfilled the expectations of the public who were looking out for its publication with considerable curiosity. It has enhanced the reputation of the Bengalis for sound scholarship, and has given the entire nation something to be proud of—an authentic account of the high position which India has held throughout the centuries as Queen of the Eastern Seas. Literature—Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, Tamil, Bengali, Greek and Roman,—epigraphy, numismatics, architecture, have all been made to yield their secrets and the result leaves nothing to be desired. There is a list of authorities consulted extending over 8 pages, a subjects-index, and an index of proper names. The book contains several excellent illustrations, and the get up makes it a delight to handle the book.

The passages which one is tempted to glean are almost innumerable. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the introduction, the conclusion, and the chapter on Bengali maritime activity.

"We shall have ample evidence to show that for full thirty centuries India stood out as the very heart of the Old World, and maintained her position as one of the foremost maritime countries. She had colonies in Pegu, in Cambodia, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo, and even in the countries of the farther east as far as Japan. She had trading settlements in Southern China, in the Malayan Peninsula, in Arabia, and in the Chief Cities of Persia and all over the east coast of Africa. She cultivated trade relations not only with the countries of Asia but also with the whole of the then known world, including the countries under the dominion of the Roman Empire, and both the East and the West became the theatre of Indian commercial activity and gave scope to her naval energy and throbbing international life.....The early growth of her shipping and shipbuilding, coupled with the genius and energy of her merchants, the skill and daring of her seamen, the enterprise of her colonists, and the zeal of her missionaries, secured to India the command of the sea for ages, and helped her to attain and long maintain her proud position as the mistress of the Eastern seas."

"The testimony that history bears to the military, religious and maritime enterprise and achievements of the ancient Buddhistic Bengalis in the earlier centuries of the Christian era now scarcely wins belief and acceptance. Yet it is an incontrovertible fact that Bengal of old gave brith to men who marched armies beyond the frontiers of modern India and ruled for a time as the paramount power in the land; who braved the perils of the deep in armed galleys, and carried home foreign itinerants in their ships. It is also equally noteworthy that from very early times she has been the home of many a religious movement whose influence penetrated to lands far beyond her limits. It is hardly sufficiently known that during the first few centuries of the Christian era an enthusiastic band of devoted Bengalis, burning with a proselytising zeal, went as far as China, Corea, and Japan, carrying with them the torch of the Buddhistic faith, while her Buddhistic scholars and reformers, like Atisha, Dipankara, and Silabhadra achieved an Asiatic fame, and were known throughout the wider Buddhistic world. It is also a recent discovery that some of the scriptures of the Japanese priests preserved in the Horiuzi temple of Japan are written in Bengali characters of the 11th century, thus testifying to the extraordinary vitality of Bengali religious activity that made itself felt even in the Land of the Rising Sun. Artists and art-critics also see in the magnificent sculptures of the Borobudur temple in Java the hand of Bengali artists who worked side by side with the people of Kalinga and Gujarat in thus building up its early civilisation. And the numerous representations of the ships which we find in the vast panorama of the bas-reliefs of that colossal temple reveal the type of ships which the people of lower Bengal built and used in sailing to Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, China and Japan, in pursuit of their colonising ambition, commercial interests, and artistic and religious missions. The *Mahawansa* and other Buddhistic works tell us how as early as about 550 B. C. Prince Vijaya of Bengal with his 700 followers achieved the conquest and colonisation of Ceylon, and gave to the island the name Sinhala after that of his dynasty—an event which is the starting-point of Sinhalese history. It is also said that in a still earlier period the Bengalis of Champa, near Bhagalpur, founded a settlement in Cochin China, and named it after their famous native town. No less creditable also were the artistic achievements of Bengal; besides, as we have seen, influencing the art of Borobudur, Bengali art has influenced that of Nepal through the schools of painting, sculpture and works in cast metal founded about the middle of the 9th century by Dhiman and his son Bitpal, inhabitants of Barendra, and from Nepal the art of the Bengali masters spread to China and other parts of the Buddhistic world."

"This tradition of Bengalis being once famous for their maritime enterprises and commercial activities has also been, as may naturally be expected, well preserved in their literature. No folklore is so popular in Bengal as those volumes of poetry evoked by devotion to the goddesses Chandi and Manasa, and in them are contained accounts of the maritime adventures of merchants like Dhanapati, Srimanta, and Chand Saodagar..." From the Chandi of Kavikankan we find that the

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sailors were East Bengal men, and the ships bore poetic names, *e.g.*, sea-foam, 'swan-song' &c.

The ancient Hindu ships carried lifeboats and mariners' compasses and five hundred to eight hundred passengers. There were light-houses in the time of the Chola Kings. The Italian traveller Nicolo Conti (15th century) says that the natives of India built ships larger than could be found in his country, and 'some ships are so built in compartments that should one part be shattered, the other portion remaining entire may accomplish the voyage.' Of some Indian merchants of Southern India he says that 'some will carry on their business in forty of their own ships, each of which is valued at 15,000 gold pieces.' Pearl fishery was one of the important national industries of the Tamils. In A. D. 1510 Albuquerque found a strong Hindu element in Java and Malacca, and Sumatra ruled by a Hindu, named Parameswara. During this period a ship built in the dockyard at Agashi on the western coast performed several voyages to Portugal. The Indian ships met with about the same time by Captain Saris in the Red Sea were 1200 tons in burthen, whereas the English ships of that age were 300 to 350 tons at most. The celebrated Nowara fleet of Akbar and his successors had its headquarters at Dacca. Kedar Roy and Protapaditya in Bengal, and the Angrias on the Malabar coast, were the greatest sea-captains of the age. The Bombay Marine (1736—1837) was entirely in charge of Parsee master-builders, and so great was their fame that they built ships of the line for the Royal Navy of Great Britain. The teak wood ships of Bombay lasted fifty years and upwards whereas the oaken walls of Great Britain had to be renewed every twelve years, and their cost was also four times as great. Many of our old wooden ships have passed at second and third hand into the coasting trade of north-western Europe, and are still to be met with in Norway, Scotland and Holland. The Calcutta Marine (1780—1863) built as many as 376 ships. Lord Wellesley wrote in 1800 of 'the state of perfection which the art of shipbuilding has already attained in Bengal.' M. Solvyns wrote thus in 1811 :— "In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe—so much so that the English, attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping.....The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patience and fine workmanship."

Let us now listen to the lament of the patriotic author for this once flourishing, but now lost and all but forgotten trade :

"India now is without this most important organ of national life. There can hardly be conceived a more serious obstacle in the path of her industrial development than this almost complete extinction of her shipping and ship-building. And yet India certainly is one of the countries which can ill spare a national, indigenous shipping. The sea-borne trade of India is continually expanding, with the result of increasing our dependence on foreign shipping, and for this we have, on a rough estimate, to pay a price of about 25 crores of rupees a year. We have trade relations with every quarter of the globe.....The total value of this trade is about 344·2 crores.....and the entire trade lies at the mercy of foreign shippers, who are at liberty to impose on us whatever freights they wish to charge for the use of their ships. Even in the matter of our coastal or inter-portal trade, which is also expanding, aggregating in value about 46·37 crores of rupees, a policy of free trade is pursued, throwing it open to the shipping of all the world, instead of reserving it, as most all other countries do, for the national shipping, so that about 85 per cent. is appropriated by foreign shipping, leaving only one-seventh to the native. Similarly our entire passenger traffic is in the hands of foreign shippers : our Mahomedan pilgrims to Mecca and other places ; our emigrants and immigrants, numbering on an average 25,000 per year ; our passengers that voyage within Indian limits, numbering over 15 lacs every year ; and lastly, the outgoing and relieving British soldiers of the Indian Army, numbering more than 25,000 every year, their transport costing annually about 55½ lacs of rupees—all these have to voyage in foreign ships, while even in the matter of the conveyance of mails there is no Indian steamship company that can take up the work and appropriate the yearly postal subsidy of 7·8 lacs of rupees that now goes to a foreign company. The extent of our dependence will be evident from the fact that in the oceanic trade, of which the total tonnage is 11,800,000 tons, our indigenous shipping represents only 95,000 tons, or only about ·8 per cent. ; while of the aggregate tonnage of 29·61 million tons in the inter-portal trade, only 3·24 million tons is our own, and over 89 per cent. foreign. Our national shipping at the present day means only 130 vessels under 80 tons each, used in the oceanic trade, and 7,280 in the interportal trade of the country of under 20 tons each, making up in all the insignificant number of 7,410 vessels, large and small, for a country, or rather a continent, whose seaboard extends over a length of 4,000 miles and upwards. Our ship-building now is so contracted as to give employment to only 14,321 men, who build only about 125 galbats a year in shipyards, of which the number is now reduced to only 48, while the aggregate capital yearly invested in ship-building may be estimated at between five and six lacs of rupees."…..

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FOREWORD

BY

PRINCIPAL BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL, M. A., PH. D.

(who opened the First Session of the Universal Races Congress, London 1911.)

Prof. Mookerji's monograph on Indian shipping and maritime activity, from the earliest times to the end of the Moghul period, gives a connected and comprehensive survey of a most fascinating topic of Indian history. The character of the work as a learned and up-to-date compilation from the most authoritative sources, indigenous and foreign, must not be allowed to throw into the background the originality and comprehensiveness of the conception. Here, for the first time, fragmentary and scattered records and evidences are collated and compared in a systematic survey of the entire field; and one broad historical generalization stands out clearly and convincingly, of which all histories of world culture will do well to take note, *viz.*, the central position of India in the orient world, for well-nigh two thousand years, not merely in a social, a moral, a spiritual, or an artistic reference, but also and equally in respect of colonizing and maritime activity, and of commercial and manufacturing interests. A multitude of facts of special significance also come out vividly, and, in several cases, for the first time, in the author's presentation, *e.g.*, the teeming ports and harbours of India, the harbour and other maritime regulations of the Mauryan epoch, the indigenous shipbuilding craft, the Indian classification of vessels and their build, the paramount part played by indigenous Indian shipping in the expansion of Indian commerce and colonization from the shores of Africa and Madagascar to the farthest reaches of Malaysia and the Eastern Archipelago; the auxiliary character of the foreign intermediaries, whether Greek, Arabian, or Chinese; the sources of India's manufacturing supremacy for a thousand years in her advances in applied chemistry, etc. In establishing these positions, the author, besides availing himself of the archaeological (including architectural and numismatic) as well as other historical evidence, has drawn upon hitherto unpublished manuscripts and other obscure sources. But the signal merit of the survey is that these facts of history are throughout accompanied by their political, social or economic interpretation, so that the monograph is not a mere chronicle of facts, but a chapter of unwritten culture history, conceived and executed in a philosophical spirit. The author's style combines lucidity with terseness, compresses a large mass of facts into a small compass, and is equal alike to the enumeration of details, and the march and sweep of a rapid historical survey.

One characteristic cannot escape the most casual reader of this volume: Prof. Mookerji takes his materials as he finds them, and does not clip and pare them down in the name of historical criticism, or handle them after the accredited methods of speculative chronology. By confining himself to settled landmarks, and traversing his ground by rapid strides, proceeding from epoch to epoch, he is able to avoid the quicksands of Indian chronology. As for the critical methods of sifting evidence, there is a great deal of misconception in the air, and it is best to point out that the methods which are imperative in testing an alleged fact or event are highly unsuitable in a review of the formative forces, agencies, movements, of nation's history as preserved in the store-house of national tradition. To take an example from the so-called higher criticism, to explode the Mosaic authorship is not to explode Moses in culture-history. In fact, whether in Semitic, Chinese, or Indian philology, the destructive (and explosive) criticism of the seventies and eighties of the last century is now itself exploded, and has been followed by a finer and more accurate sense of historic origins and national evolutions. For the rest, it must be recognized that, while accuracy and scientific criticism, in the measure in which they are attainable in the social sciences, must always be essential to a right historical method, a first sketch or mapping of an entire province, the work of scouts, pioneers and conquerors, cannot usefully employ the methods of a trigonometrical or a cadastral survey.

Letter from the Director of Public Instruction Bengal,

No. 12099.

CALCUTTA, *The 21st September 1912.*

SIR,

In reply to your letter of date I have the honour to inform you that the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, has decided to purchase fifty-one copies of your book entitled "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the earliest times." * * * *

TO BABU RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI,

26, Sukeas Street, Calcutta.

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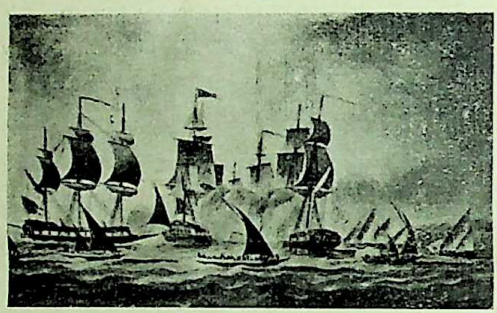
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"MAHARATTA GRABS AND GALLIVATS ATTACKING AN ENGLISH SHIP."
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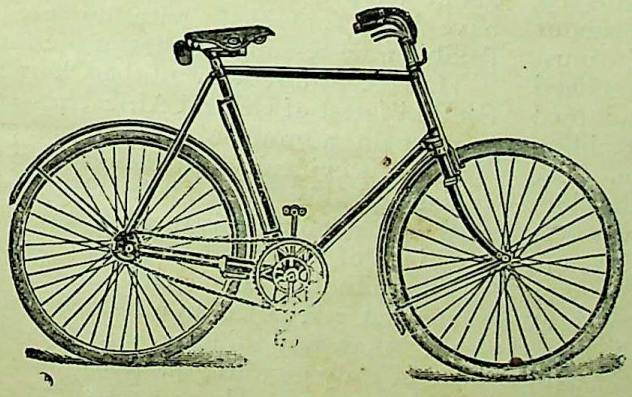
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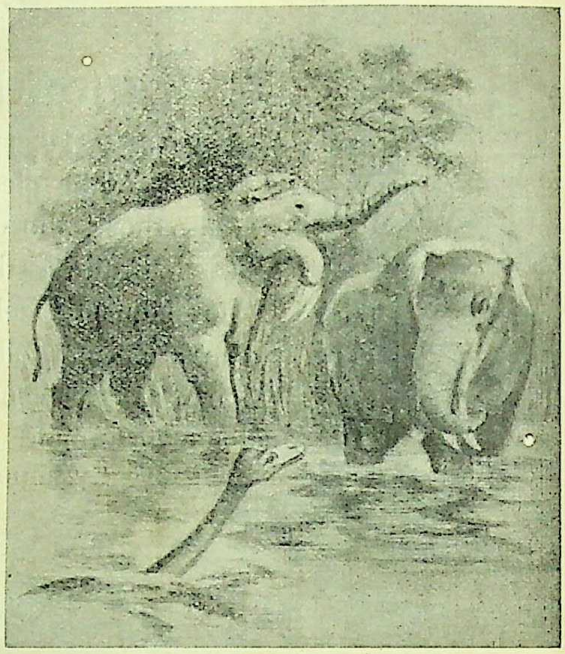
It was therefore well protected, and was probably capable of fighting fiercely, though it was clearly a strict vegetarian in its diet.

There were flying dragons also in those days, some of them having a spread of wing twenty-five feet wide, while others were no bigger than a sparrow. It must, however, be pointed out that these wings in no way resembled those of a bird, but were membranous structures more or less akin to those with which we are now familiar in the bat family. These creatures had four fingers on their fore feet, three of them of normal length and armed with claws; but the fourth was enormously prolonged in order to support the outer margin of the wing. In general appearance these flying dragons had numerous points of resemblance both to birds and to bats; but the structure of their bones proves clearly that they were reptilian in character.

The Pterodactyls, as they are now called, were evidently very plentiful; and while the smaller kinds seem to have fed on insects, the larger ones, armed with powerful teeth, probably preyed upon small animals; but certain species seem to have swum on the surface of the sea and levied toll upon the fishes.

Coming now to the age of mammals, we find that many of the early quadrupeds were gigantic in size and extraordinary in form. One of the most remarkable of these was the Tinoceras, which was about twelve feet long, without reckoning the tail. Its weight is calculated to have been about three tons. In general appearance it must have resembled an elephant with the head of a rhinoceros; but its skull was adorned with six great bony prominences resembling the so-called horns of the giraffe. The canine teeth in the upper jaw were developed into two long sabre-like tusks, somewhat resembling those of the walrus, but flattened in section instead of being round. In what way these could have been of any use to their possessor is not at all clear, as the animal apparently fed upon grass and other succulent vegetation. It seems to have lived in herds, pretty much like cattle at the present day.

Another monster was the Brontops, which flourished in vast numbers round a great lake which existed in North America in the Miocene period. It was some twelve feet long without the tail, and eight feet high at the shoulders, while in general appearance it closely resembled a two-horned rhinoceros with the exception that the horns



The Dinotherium, a huge animal resembling an elephant, had recurved tusks very like those of the walrus.

were placed side by side instead of one in front of the other. Its head was a yard in length, and the tips of the two horns were about twenty inches apart. It seems to have been provided with an elongated flexible nose resembling that of the tapir.

The recent discovery of the Okapi in the Semliki forest of Central Africa, has aroused interest in a group of extinct monsters to which it is evidently allied, and from which it has probably descended. Of these, one of the most notable is the Sivatherium, the remains of which have been found in Northern India. In general appearance it somewhat resembled an antelope; but was larger than any rhinoceros, and possessed a head of truly gigantic proportions. It had four horns, two short ones immediately above the eyes and a pair of large flattened ones behind them. Its jaw was larger than that of any known ruminant, being twice the size of that of a buffalo, and the upper lip was prolonged into a short proboscis or trunk. In many respects it seems to have

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been a link between the families of the giraffe and the antelope.

South America, in the days of old, possessed a gigantic creature in the shape of the ground sloth, or Megatherium, a cast of the skeleton of which may be seen in the British



The prehistoric ground-sloth of South America was about eighteen feet in length, and many of its bones were more massive than those of an elephant. The figure of a man has been drawn to the same scale for the purpose of comparison.

Museum of Natural History, in the act of grasping the trunk of a tree. Our illustration, in which a man may be seen standing, for comparison, beside the figure, will give a good idea of its enormous proportions. The creature was obout eighteen feet in length, and many of its bones were much more massive than those of the elephant, the thigh bone being nearly three times as thick. The limbs were of tremendous strength, and the feet were armed with powerful claws. As in the case of the ant-eater it apparently walked with its toes doubled in.

One of the most remarkable facts about these gigantic creatures was the way in which they obtained their food. In the words of Darwin : "Their teeth indicate by their simple structure that these animals lived on vegetable food, and probably on the leaves and small twigs of trees; their ponderous forms and great strong curved claws seem so little adapted for locomotion that some eminent naturalists believe that, like sloths, to which they are intimately related, they subsisted by climbing, back downwards, on trees, and feeding on the leaves. It was a bold, not to say preposterous, idea to conceive even antediluvian trees with branches strong enough to bear animals as large as elephants. Professor Owen, with far more probability, believes that, instead of climbing on trees, they pulled the branches down to them, and tore up the smaller ones by the roots, and so fed on the leaves. The colossal breadth and weight of their hinder quarters, which can hardly be imagined without being seen, become, on this view, of obvious service instead of being an encumbrance; their apparent clumsiness disappears. With their great tails and huge heels firmly fixed like a tripod in the ground, they could freely exert the full force of their most powerful arms and great claws."

In the same region with the ground sloth lived a gigantic armadillo, which was between eight and nine feet long. It had an enormous plate of armour which covered the whole of its body, so that it looked almost like a huge tortoise. It therefore could not, like the present day armadillo, roll itself up into a ball. The living descendants of these creatures are only a few inches in length.

It only remains to say something about the giant birds of bygone days, which seem to have flourished mainly in what we now know as New Zealand and Madagascar. Of these the most remarkable seems to have been the Dinornis, or Moa, of which about fifteen species are known. Some of these birds attained a height of nearly fourteen feet, and more or less closely resembled the ostrich in general appearance. From the traditions of the Maoris, the native races of New Zealand, the Moa birds appear to have lingered on till the beginning of the eighteenth century, and their bones and broken fragments of the shells of their eggs are constantly found.

In Madagascar lived another huge bird now known as the Æpyornis, the egg of which was nearly fourteen inches in diameter, and had a cubic capacity of over

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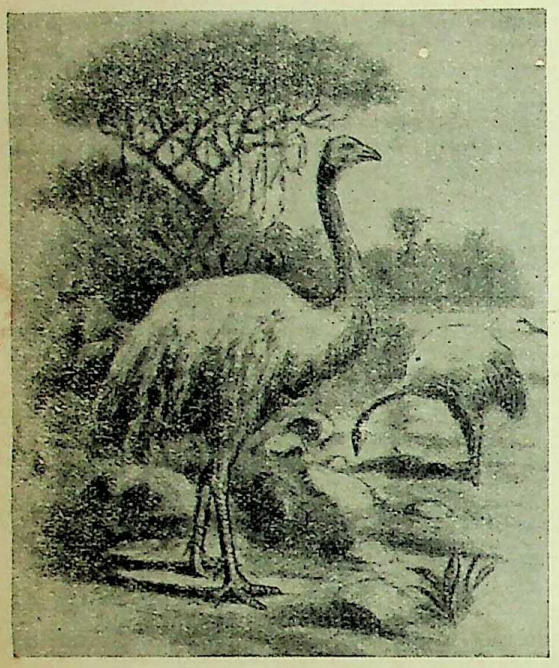
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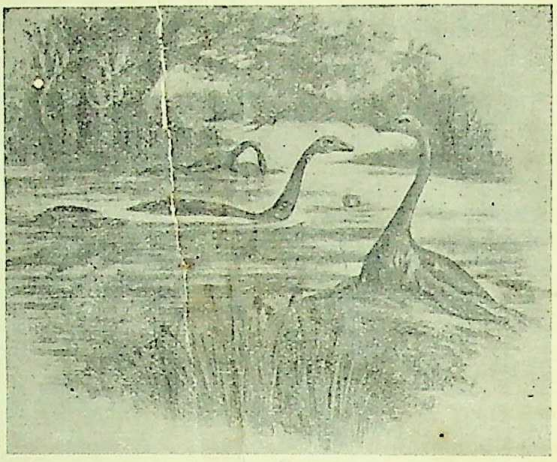
two gallons. It was equal to about 148 hens' eggs or three ostrichs' eggs. Unfortunately only fragmentary remains of the bones of this bird have been found, so that



The extinct Moa, the giant bird of New Zealand, resembled an ostrich in appearance, but attained a height of nearly fourteen feet. Its eggs are still frequently found.

it is impossible to say exactly how large it was. The size of the egg, however, would suggest that it was probably quite as large as the Moa.

Great Britain once possessed, at least, two huge wingless birds—the Dasornis, remains of which have been found in the London clay, and the Gastornis, the bones of which were discovered in the neighbourhood of Crowdon.



The Plesiosaurus, a gigantic aquatic creature, was distinguished by its long neck and small head, which was out of all proportion to its huge bulk.

On the whole we have reason to congratulate ourselves that the gigantic creatures described in this article have long been things of the past. They would, unquestionably, have proved very inconvenient—if not positively dangerous—neighbours for the human race. A considerable proportion of them, it is true, were vegetarians, and their movements were probably slow and clumsy, but none the less their huge bulk and enormous strength would have made them extremely formidable foes for primeval man.

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